# THE HISTORY OF THE Government of France, UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE

Great *Armand Du Pleſsis*, Cardinall and Duke of *Richlieu*, and chief Miniſter of State in that Kingdome.

Wherein occur many Important Negotiations, relating to moſt part of Chriſtendome in his time.

With Politique Obſervations upon the CHAPTERS.

Tranſlated out of French by J. D. Eſq;.

*LONDON*,
Printed by *J. Macock*, for *Joſhua Kirton*, and are to be ſold at the *Kings Arms* in S^t *Pauls* Church-yard. 1657.

G. Faithorne excud

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Great Armand Du Plessis, Cardinal and Duke of Richelieu, and chief Minister of State to Lewis XIII.

Wherein occur many Important Negotiations relating to the Affairs of Christendom.

CHAPTERS.

Translated out of French by J. D. Esq;

Printed by J. Macock, for John Starkey, and are to be sold at the Sign of the Mitre in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1657.

# TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE John Thurloe, Esq; SECRETARIE OF STATE.

*SIR,*

THE Illustrious Cardinall truely Eminent for his sublime qualities, presenteth Himself unto You, in ful assurance of a most ample Protection both to his Memory and Fame: Generous and active Souls have a naturall, and therefore inseparable, inclination to the mutuall Honour and Defence of each other. It were injustice that that Pilot, who in his life time knew so well to sail with security amidst the many turbulent and frequent storms of Fortune, should be tos'd and molested in his Urn, the Harbour where common humanity allows a quiet Station to all: Be pleased therefore, Noble Sir, to undertake the Patronage of this Great Person, in whose History you will encounter nothing but what relisheth of an high Grandeur and an extraordinary Genius. Indeed the cleer and happy Justice of those affairs,

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whereon you are engag'd, will not finde much here for your imitation, yet queſtionleſs many things there are, which upon another account, may challenge your admiration and applauſe. The Symmetrie of your Adminiſtrations doth oblige you to accept of this Dedication from him who devoteth himſelf to your commands in the quality of

*SIR,*

*Your Honours moſt*

*humble Servant.*

*JOHN DODINGTON.*

TO

# To the Reader.

*I Desire thee to excuse the many Errata's which doubtless thou wilt here meet, in regard the Printer, in some places, hath fail'd in point of Orthographie, give him the allowance as in such cases are common, and the scales will be turn'd: for other faults I must also Apologize, in regard of my own affaires, which would not permit me to review my own Coppy or Correct the Press. If thou dost then demand why I undertook it, I shall deal ingeniously with thee, and tell thee, I was ingaged upon it, by the importunate surprisall of a friend who extorted a promise of it from me, ere I well knew what I had promised; I beseech thee therefore to connive at what cannot now by either of us be amended. Thus much more I thought good to let thee know, that if this finde thee merciful, I may perchance present thee with the sequell of the Cardinals Administration until his Death, the manner of his Death, his last Will, his Birth, and Youthfull Studies, with diverse of his Letters, and many quaint Observations upon his Life and Death, which I hope may better deserve thy approval.*

I. D.

## *These Books are lately Printed, and are sold at the* Kings Armes *in* Pauls *Church-yard.*

A Collection out of the best approved Authors, containing several Histories of Visions, Apparitions, Prophesies, Spirits, Divinations, and other wonderful Illusions of the Divel, wrought by Magick, or otherwise. Also of divers Astrological predictions, shewing the vanity of them, and folly of trusting to them. By *G. I.*

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## *These now in the Press.*

The Man in the Moon: Or, a Discourse of a Voyage into the Moon. By *Domingo Gonzales.* Also *Nuncius Inanimatus*, or the Mysterious Messenger; both written by *D. F. G.* a man of great parts and Eminency in his time.

The Indian History of *Anaxandre* and *Orazia*: Written in French by Monsieur *de Bois-Robert.* Translated into English by a Person of Honour some years since.

# THE HISTORY OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE Cardinal de Richelieu.

## Anno 1624.

GOD, who is able onely by the ſtrength of his Arms to overrule Kingdomes according to his own pleaſure, hath given ſome part of their Government to Soveraigns, whom he hath eſtabliſhed as Vicegerents of his Power. The Love which he bears to men hath inclined him to admit them unto the partaking of his Authority. And if he hath ordained intelligences in the Heavens to over-ſee their motions; he hath alſo decreed certain men upon the earth, who ſhould have the charge of reigning over Kingdomes. But though he hath inveſted all Kings with an abſolute Authority, yet he hath not indued them all with one and the ſame *Genius*. His Prudence, which guides all things by Weight, Number, and Meaſure, hath affected, that as in Painting there are *Raphaels* and *Titians*, whoſe pieces ſerve other Painters to learn the perfection of their Art; ſo there ſhould likewiſe be in Regality, *Cæſars*, *Conſtantines*, and *Charlemains*, whoſe Actions might be recorded as examples for all others. As it is ſaid in Philoſophy, (*Perfectum in ſuo genere eſt menſura Cæterorum.*) The worthieſt ſubject in every kind ſerves for a meaſure to all within its compaſſe. And who can refuſe to rank in this number the preſent King, under whoſe Scepter the Kingdome hath the happineſs to be now governed? To ſpeak truth, his Actions have fixed the Kingdome in the higheſt point of glory, that many ages have ſeen; his Prudence, Valour, and Juſtice do ſhine with ſo much ſplendour, that without doubt, they are ſufficient to teach the Laws of Government to all other Princes. He never affected any Title

but that of Juſt; becauſe he made choice of Juſtice for the rule of all his Actions; knowing that it was the moſt illuſtrious perfection in all Kings, that it was it, which rendered their Majeſty moſt venerable. That it was it, which gave a good ſucceſſe to all their enterprizes; and laſtly, that this was it which was the ſtrongeſt Prop of Peace. But we ſhould offend againſt that very Juſtice, if we ſhould deny him the Title of Great, which his Scepter gives to him: The Title of Invincible which his Valour hath merited; the Title of *Auguſt*, which his vertue hath acquired; the Title of Conquerour, which Fortune her ſelf hath beſtowed upon him. His dignity maketh him the greateſt of Kings; his Power the ſtrongeſt; his Conduct the wiſeſt; his Treaſuries the Richeſt; and his Vertue the moſt juſt. We have ſeen ſome Clouds ariſe, which have ſeemed to obſcure his light; but they have onely ſerved to ſet off with advantage the wonders of his Conduct, and he hath ever diſſolved from us all thoſe Tempeſts of Mis-fortune, which have threatned *France*. He hath the Honour to be Son to a Father, to whom a thouſand illuſtrious Acts have acquired the quality of Great. And I think it may be ſaid with truth, if Fortune did ſet limits to *Philips* Conqueſts, that there might be ſome ſubjects for his Son *Alexander* to ſhew his courage on; Heaven did alſo ſet bounds to the glory of that grand Prince, in ſuppreſſing civil wars, that our *Lewis* the Juſt might have occaſion to triumph over Hereſie and curb in the Ambition of the houſe of *Auſtria*. In proſecution of theſe two deſigns, he began to overcome as ſoon as ever he knew how to mount on Horſe-back: That he replanted the Standard of the Croſs in *Bearn*; that he diſarmed Hereſie, over all the Kingdom; that he hath ſo often made the Spaniard and King of *Hungary* to let go their Holds, and that he forced them to relinquiſh the deſign which they had ſo long projected of univerſal Monarchy. Heaven ſeems to have made a Bargain with him that he ſhould overthrow whatever reſiſted him, that his actions ſhould be as ſo many miracles, and that his reign ſhould be full as happy in the obedience and love of his Subjects, as illuſtrious by his victories and triumphs. Which being ſo, how can we paſs by ſo many glorious Actions without publiſhing his Wiſdome and Generoſity? were not that not onely to deny to his Valour the praiſe it juſtly vindicates, but even to deprive Poſterity of an example whereby it might learn what no books of Policy can teach? It is not fit to publiſh the ſecrets of a Prince, but it is juſt to declare his vertues: And if the firſt be forbid by the Laws of Secrecy, the acknowledgement which is due to their merit, and the zeal of the Publick good obligeth us to the ſecond: This is the principal reaſon which hath invited me to publiſh the glory of his reign, and I would condemn my Pen to perpetual ſilence, if it had been mute on this occaſion; ſo neceſſary will it be to thoſe, who ſhall govern *France* in future Ages, to follow thoſe footſteps which he hath left behind him. I confeſs, I am not able to find words equal to the greatneſs of his Actions; but I had rather want words, then acknowledgements for my King, and affection for my Country: but I ſhall nevertheleſs hope to acquit my ſelf ſo much the more fortunately, as the heroick Actions of great Princes, have often rendred thoſe eloquent who have undertook to write them.

A Prince who would ſignalize himſelf by an extraordinary conduct ought to chuſe Miniſters, who are ſufficiently able to aſſiſt him with their counſels, and to put them in execution. For the better chooſing of whom, I think it convenient to obſerve with *T. Livy*, that there are three ſorts of them.

The firſt *Eminent*, who are able to govern all by their own diſcretions, and who have a Prudence vigorous enough, to adviſe of themſelves whatſoever is neceſſary for Government without being beholding to others; who ſee all, penetrate into all, judge of all, and whoſe *Genius* is ſtrong enough to bear up the weight of the greateſt affairs.

The ſecond may be called *Indifferent*, who have not ſufficiency enough to judge of all things, or to execute them, but have a good capacity to apprehend the judgements of others in their Counſel, and ſo to govern affairs by their directions, that they are often times ſucceſſefull in the greateſt enterprizes.

The third and laſt have ſo little *Judgement*, that they are neither able to manage affairs

affairs by their own, or the advices of others; whence it happens, that they are apt to commit very deplorable faults, and to put all things into Confusion. Of the first rank ought a Prince to choose his ministers, if he would design any great attempts, or carry them on to a good success. If he himself too, be of this number, they will bring wonders to passe, if he be not, he hath so much the more need to have persons of this temper neer him. For God who hath naturally subjected little things to great, seems to have given Letters Patents to eminent spirits, to govern, if not by their Authority, at least by their Counsels, the rest of Mankind. It is a dangerous fault to choose Ministers at a venture; and for that reason *Aristotle* blamed the Athenians, who chused their Magistrates by Lot, it being absolutely necessary to elect them by Prudence, and still to prefer the most capable. The Proverb saith, *Ex quolibet ligno non fit Mercurius*, a Sowes Ear will not make a Silk Purse, and true it is, that not all are proper for all affairs. Men must be fitted to their Commissions, least they not having abilities proportionable, do not onely ruine the most glorious designs, but withall, make them end in great mis-fortunes. If men have never atchieved any thing greater then States and Empires, surely they cannot do any thing more glorious, then to govern them well; and since Causes ought to be proportioned to effects, it is necessary to imploy great Persons in great places. That sight which should pierce into the remotest Objects should be the sharpest. That Arm which should throw furthest, ought to be strongest; that light which should shine in many places, ought to be liveliest; and generally all causes which should have most force in their operation, should have most vigour in their power. Which being so, ought not the understanding of a Minister to be quicker, then that of others, seeing he is to dive into truths? His Memory, ought it not to be stronger, seeing it ought to preserve *more Species*? ought not his Soul to be more capable, seeing it ought to be more Universal? ought not his Wisdome to be greater, since he must comprehend more reason? and ought not his Prudence to be more perspicacious, seeing he is obliged to provide for the greatest and most important affairs? An ordinary capacity of mind is sufficient for the guiding of a private life: but he who hath the charge of governing a State, ought to surpass all others in the strength of his *Genius*. God who is the first reason and mover of Nature, may be his example in this kind, and of necessity who so doth serve next under him in the Administration of a Kingdome, ought to be indued with a more vigorous wisdome then others; that he may be as the understanding Soul in a civil Society, and a guider of all others motions by his own Councels. Not to follow this rule, were to put all into confusion and disorder, and one of the greatest vanities which is under the Sun, saith the Spirit of God in the Scriptures, is, To place Fools upon the Tribunal, and to leave Wise men standing upon the ground. It were to set a Sailor to the Helm, and the Pilot to the Oar; it were to commit the guidance of the *Primum mobile*, to the last or the least of all the Celestial Spheres.

## *The Reception of the Cardinal into the Administration of the* STATE.

THose eminent qualities which raised the Cardinal from above the pitch of other men, induced the Queen mother to present him to the King her Son, to assist his Councels, which qualifications, had not been alone sufficient for the Administration, if not accompanied with Fidelity. Although this Vertue seems to have lesse splendor then others, yet this is it which is so needfull a quality, that the greatest Souls are not proper for that condition if their Ambition, Covetousness, or their private interest, are able to divert them upon any occasion whatsoever. But in whom did it ever appear with so much splendor, as in the Cardinal, who did alwaies make it his end, never to seek for Honour and Wealth but in his Majesties service? Which his Majesty had very singular proofs of, by his management of those important Affairs, whilest he was Secretary of State, and he had one most ample particular assurance of it, in his removal from the Court; during all which

time, his Majesty could never find that he held the least intelligence with the Queen Mother, or those Grandees of State, to make Cabals contrary to his Authority, though he had understanding enough not to be ignorant of some means which serve to imbroyl things on such occasions. At first he was contented to Officiate like a good Prelate in his own Diocess, without medling in any publick affairs, but those which are common to all good French men, who have any knowledge thereof; and being afterwards removed into *Avignon*, he had no other intention, but of conversing with his Books, and such vertues as are required in those of his Coat, testifying by this great reservadness, that he was so much the more worthy of those imployments, which had formerly been conferred upon him, according to that of the wise Politicians, There are none fitter to command, then those who obey with moderation and fidelity; the reason is, in obeying they learn to command, and that all men do willingly submit to them, who being private men have lived modestly and inoffensively. But how could the King be capable of the least suspicion of his Fidelity, after that one Procedure of his which was seen by the whole Nation, when he was recalled from *Avignon*, to divert the Queen Mother from those designs, which they who had advised her to withdraw from *Blois* to *Angoulesme*, did perswade unto her? It was no little honour for him, to see that they who had so ill treated him, did yet believe he had sincerity enough to serve them in such an occasion as that was. He got an accruement of Glory too, by his Loyalty in his quick dispatch to that great Princess, and by declaring to those Grandees then with her, that whatever opportunities he had to make them repent of those injuries they had done him, yet he would never deceive or betray them.

The Queen Mother was in a good Hold, the greatest part of the Princes and many Lords offered her their service; insomuch that would he have joyned the faculties of his mind to those forces which they might have raised, he might have held them so much play, that they would have found themselves intangled. It seemed he was invited to testifie a sensible apprehension in the Queen his Mistresses behalf, he having received from her hands many signal favours in recompence of the services he had done unto her, and that then he had nothing to hope for but her good opinion, so much had those Gentlemen thwarted him. But neither the resentments of former indignities, nor his indeavours in his Mistresses behalf, nor the hopes of a greater Fortune, nor the consideration of his own interest, could ever so little shake him in his Fidelity. After he was arrived at *Angoulesme*, and that his own merit had restored him to that place of esteem, which he formerly held in her Majesties good favour, he proposed no other end in his discourse, but to set her right with the King. He presently assured her, that he suffered in the disasters to which her enemies had brought her, and not resting barely there, he made use of this compassion, to insinuate himself more effectually into her soul, and to gain a greater power over her spirit, that he might improve to advantage the charms, which his complaisant humour had given him, and shewed clearly to her, that if she thought it her mis-fortune, not to be Mistress of his Majesties Person and Councel, her condition would be much more to be deplored, seeing she was no better then a Slave to the designs and Wills of those who hurried her into broyls, and that she could not chuse a worse party into whose hands she might commit the management of her own interest. Hee made it evident to her, that Arms were but a weak means in *France* to restore people to the Government, seeing his Majesties have been ever Victorious; they who provoke him doe but totally destroy themselves. Of this truth, he produced several examples, which are recorded in all Revolts from time to time: Lastly, he convinced to her, that she might with ease re-assume that Authority from whence she was fallen, would she but re-unite hers with the Kings interests; that if shee should not obtain all at the first dash, shee ought to expect some thing from time, but with confident assurance, that the King her son had such natural resentments for her, that they alone would force him, to accord her whatever she could with reason expect, though he were not invited to it by her prudence, or the Counsels of those who had the honour to be her servants. That during

ring her separating her self from his Majesty, she could hope for nothing but scorn and debility, whereas she should no sooner oblige his Majesty by restoring to him, her heart and affections, but she would find her self attended back to the Court, honoured and obeyed by all the world as she was formerly wont to be. These were some of those reasons which he laid before her; and true it is, that his Prudence animated with his Fidelity, induced her to resolve upon that Accommodation which hath so long kept their Majesties in a strict union, and *France* in so sweet a repose.

His Majesty did better understand then any other person, all the particulars of the Cardinals negotiation, and apprehended so great an esteem of his Fidelity, that he thought no consideration able to undermine it; and seeing that one, accompanied with many other eminent qualities, had easily convinced, that he had not in his whole Kingdome, a person more capable or worthy of the Administration then himself. Who can describe with what dexterity the whole face of Affairs were changed, which before were managed but lamely and by halfs? Whereas he conforming himself to those inclinations, which carried his Majesty to great designs, perswaded him to set them forwards, and assisted him in their execution. Formerly all affairs were carried without secrecy, so that strangers had all the intelligence of their resolutions; which they disappointed and obstructed, before they were in a forwardness to be set on foot. But this great Minister, knowing secrecy to be the Soul of Counsel, and that none are better then those which continue unknown even after the execution, brought forth every day wonders effected by his Prudence, of which the Grandees themselves had not so much as a thought. Indeed it was so much the easier for him so to do, his Majesty being the most secret Prince that ever was. Formerly, every one was impatient at the obstacles and delays of the Marquess *de la Vieuville*; whereas after his establishment, all those who had any affairs to negotiate or represent, for his Majesties service, were over-joyed that they were to Treat with a Minister, whose Countenance was a Throne of sweetness and bounty, and whose words have so powerfull a Charm, that they still went away satisfied, what ever difficulties were proposed by them. Besides, they were constrained, as it were to pay him all respects; and the Gravity too, which the Graces have bestowed upon him, is so agreeable and taking, that the respect which it begets in the soules of men, never thwarts that love which is due unto him, and that love doth not at all hinder them from fearing to displease him.

The ancient Allies of this Crown, formerly left for a prey to their enemies, began to be confident of him, as soon as ever they had known him, and finding that his *Genius* did not terminate in a meer defensive, they betook them to their Arms, not onely to oppose those unjust Usurpations, which were made upon them, but also to assault and set upon those who had began them. In short, as he never declared himself to be for any Faction; but on the contrary, shewed himself much averse to all Rebellions; both the Grandees of the Kingdome and *Hugonots* too, were not long to learn that it would become them for the future, to live within the limits of their obedience: And lastly, not being able to stay with any Mutiny, he soon began to make them take some course of living; which is the surest foundation of Peace in a Kingdome: so that every one had the content to see *France* flourish, both at home and abroad, and to acquire its former lustre, which hath alwaies made it acknowledged to be the first Kingdome of *Europe*.

## *The Marriage of the King of* England *with the Lady* Henrietta Maria *of* France.

THe first considerable affair, which presented it self after the Cardinals admittance to the Administration, was the Marriage of the Lady *Henrietta Maria*, his Majesties Sister, with *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, the present King of *Great Britain*. The Spaniard had a long time feared it would be made up, knowing that if *France* and *England* were leagued together, they would become so considerable as

that

that they would without difficulty frustrate and bring all his designs to nothing; so he indeavoured to hinder it by pretending a desire himself had to contract an Alliance with *England*; and accordingly hee proposed to match his *Infanta* with the Prince of *Wales*, giving some hopes by *Paraquante*, that he would restore the Palatinate, though he had as little mind to deliver it, as the King of *Great Brittain* had earnest Passion to recover it. He held on this Treaty at least twelve years, yet finding every day new excuses, todefer the conclusion of it: But at last the King of *Great Brittain*, detected his deceipt, which had lain hid under those delays, and found out, that his design was onely to gain time, untill all the daughters of *France* were married elsewhere: at least he had great conjectures of it; to clear all, and bring it to a conclusion, he thought good that the Prince of *Wales*, should in person go into *Spain*. Hee had not been there many dayes, before it was known, both to himself and those of his Counsel, that they had been untill that time entertained with vain hopes, however he would not make known his resentments in a strange Country, where he might receive much damage by it, but being return'd into *England*, he informed King *James* his Father of it, with so much anger, that they resolved to break with him, rather sooner then later to avoid exposing themselves to the disesteem which other Princes might have of their management of this affair; and withall to countenance the breach by the Parliaments approbation. This resolve was as soon executed as concluded, and King *James* having summoned a Parliament, at least to consult on a means for recovery of the Palatinate, informed them of the many reasons which he had to beleeve, that the Spaniards had no intention of concluding those Propositions of marriage which had been so long in Treaty; that the onely end of their design was, to gain time and to fortifie themselves in the Palatinate, and so to settle themselves there, that shortly it would be impossible to remove them thence, and therefore hee thought it fit no longer to hearken after it. The Parliament were induced with so much the more ease, to beleeve these reasons, they having testified on divers occasions, their suspicions of the Spanish tricks, and in conclusion, thought good not to regard any more their Propositions of the Match. But the King of *Great Brittain* stayed not long there, for the Prince of *Wales* his son (who had now good esteem of *France*, and a liking for the Kings Sister whom he had seen, as he passed thorough that Court, without discovering himself) had perswaded him to give him leave to seek for that Princess in marriage, which was proposed in Parliament, and carried without much difficulty for many reasons which were there alledged; particularly, That the French being accustomed to live with those of their Religion, it was to be beleeved, they would not make such extraordinary demands in behalf of the Catholicks, as the Spaniard would have done. It was then resolved to dispatch an Ambassadour into *France*, who might lay the first foundation of that Treaty; so that the King forthwith made choice of the Earls of *Carlisle* and *Holland*. The latter set forward about *Mid-May*. He had order first to wait on the King alone, and to pretend the interests of the Palatinate, but indeed to discover how they would resent his Proposal, and if rejected, not to make any more noise of it; accordingly hee met his Majesty and *Compiegne*, he began to consider about means to recover the Palatinate, and then acquainted him with a great deal of dexterity, that the King his Master desired his Son the Prince of *Wales* might marry his sister. The King who understoood that Proposals of this nature, how remote soever ought not to be received but with honour, testified that he had a great esteem of it, and forthwith debated it with his Ministers, to give him an answer; it was concluded, That this Match was very convenient for the Quality of his Majesties Sister; That in the whole Empire there was not any more hopefull: That History records above twenty Alliances between *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*: That it would be easie to assure her Ladyship the exercise of her Religion, considering what had been granted to the Spaniard: That great Princesses are in this particular, in a worse condition than Ladies of a meaner Quality, by reason half an Age hardly produceth a Match correspondent to their Birth, so that having once lost their opportunities, they live to see the Har-

vest

veſt of their Beauties reaped by years, without ever marrying; whereupon it was reſolved to ſee what particular Propoſals would be made, this reſult was ſignified to the Earl of *Holland*, who aſſured them that the King his Maſter would receive it with much joy, yet deſiring to enter into any further Treaty, untill he had received particular inſtructions from his Majeſty. Who upon the receiving of that newes, diſpatched with all diligence, the Earl of *Carliſle*, with full power to conclude the Match. The Earl of *Holland* went to *Amiens* to meet him, that they might confer together what they had to do, and afterwards being come near to *Campeign*, the King hearing of it, commanded the Duke of *Chevreuſe*, to go receive them with twelve Coaches full of Nobility, and withall to entertain them magnificently, and defray their charges during their abode at Court. The day after their arrival, they had Audience given them, and the Propoſals which they made appeared ſo reaſonable, that the King preſently judging that they might eaſily be reſolved, appointed Commiſſioners to treat with them. The Cardinal was at that time newly advanced to the Adminiſtration, but he made it apparent, that he was not a Novice in the management of it; for the King deſiring his opinion of this Treaty, he not onely added many other reaſons to thoſe alledged in the firſt conſultation; but moreover ſuggeſted to his Majeſty ſuch judicious means to carry on the buſineſs, that he could not enough admire his Prudence.

Amongſt other reaſons of the commodiouſneſs of this Match, hee repreſented to him, that *England* once leagued with *France* by this Alliance, there was hopes that they would joyn their Forces to aſſiſt the German Princes, ſince it was yet more for the Intereſt of *England* then *France*, to re-eſtabliſh them; which being ſo, their powers would not onely ballance thoſe of the houſe of *Auſtria*, but overpoize them too, with never ſo little aſſiſtance from thoſe Princes: That the happy ſucceſſe which would follow, would adde as much Glory to his Crown and State, as diſcredit and confuſion to his enemies; Moreover, that it being very expedient to curb the Inſolencies of the *Hugonots*, this marriage would be of great uſe, as well becauſe it would with-hold the King of *Great Britain*, from aſſiſting them, as alſo, becauſe it might be a means to procure ſhipping from him for the reducing of *Rochel*; in ſhort, That there was great hopes to beleeve, the Princeſs might much advance the Catholick Religion in *England*, if as there was no doubt the were beloved by the King and the Prince her Husband. So that of all ſides there was nothing Prognoſticated but great happineſſe, judging it requiſite, to uſe addreſſe and prudence for the ſpeedy effecting of it.

The King did very wel reliſh the Conſideration, and thereupon commanding him to have a particular eye upon the Treaty, his judgement which preſently penetrates into affairs, and quickneth expeditions, did negotiate it with ſo ready a Conduct, that he ſhortly brought it to ſuch a paſſe that it might receive a Concluſion; and that which I finde in it moſt to be admired, is, That the ſucceſs hath ſhewed he was not miſtaken in his conjecture. *England* alſo did forthwith joyn with *France*, to give means to *Mansfield* to enter with a puiſſant Army into *Germany*, that he might attempt the re-eſtabliſhment of the Palatine; and the year following, the King of *Great Brittain* ſent ſhips to the King, which helped him to gain a glorious Naval victory againſt thoſe of *Rochel*. The ſame effects had aſſuredly continued without the Intregues of Madam *de Chevreuſe*, without the ill conduct of ſome who accompanied the Princeſs, and without the death of King *James*. For his Majeſty from that time ſhewed himſelf ſo affectionate to *France*, that one day he openly ſaid before divers Lords of the Court, that the King had gained more upon him, then any of his Predeceſſors, and that he would not onely imploy his Subjects lives, but his own too, in defence of his intereſts, and to oppoſe the Rebels who ſhould attempt any Inſurrections in *France*; and leſſe could not be expected from the Princeſs in the behalf of Religion, if death had not prevented that Monarch from ſeeing the marriage conſummated; for the Paſſion which he had already in her behalf, though he had never ſeen her was ſo ſenſible, that he was heard ſay, with a great deal of tenderneſs, which was taken notice of amongſt other diſcourſe of the ſame nature;

That

That he would quarrel with her, becauſe ſhe would not read his Letter, nor that of the Prince his ſon, without leave from the Queen her Mother, but withall that he was much bound to her, becauſe after ſhe had read them, ſhe laid his under her Pillow, but his ſons in her Boſome, to ſhew that ſhe did rely upon him, and lodge his ſon in her heart.

*Politick Obſervation.*

ALliances with ſtrangers by Marriages have paſſed amongſt others for the Principal means, which are thought proper to augment the Peace and Power of a Kingdome. By them it is, that we often ſee thoſe great fires of War which conſumed them, extinguiſhed, and the ſweetneſs of a happy Peace reſtored to the people. Thus *Hugh* the Earl of *Chaalons* ſon, by his Marriage with *Alice*, Inheritrix of the Earldome of *Bourgogn*, reſtored peace to both, who had along time groaned under the miſeries of War. Thus thoſe great enemies which exaſperated the houſes of *Bourgogn* and *Orleance* were allayed for ſome time, by the Marriage of *Philip* Count *de Vertus*, ſecond (ſon to the Duke of *Orleance*, who had been ſlain by the Duke of *Burgogn*) with *Katharine* of *Burgogn*. And to re-inforce this truth with ancient examples. Thus *Argas* King of *Cyrene* promiſed to beſtow his onely daughter *Beonice*, upon the ſon of his Brother *Ptolomeſ*, whereby to obliterate, the memory and reſentment of the hatred which had been between them. But Peace is not the onely benefit recorded to attend Marriages. For how often have Princes inlarged their bounds by that means? Who knows not that the Houſe of *Auſtria*, had not been thus Potent, but by Alliances, and that the marriage of *Henry* Inheritrix of *Ultrich*, *Burg*, *Longravat*, and *Alſace*, with *Albertus* ſirnamed the Sage; of *Elizabeth* Inheritrix of *Auſtria*, *Carintia*, *Tyrol*, and *Goricie*, with the Emperour *Albertus* the firſt; of *Jane* Inheritrix of *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, *Scilia*, and *Naples*, with *Philip* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*; of *Anne* Inheritrix of *Hungaria* and *Bohemia*, with the Emperour *Ferdinand* the firſt, brother to *Charles* the Fifth, have been the true Riſe of its Grandure, which was inconſiderable at that time, they had no other honour, but that of being iſſued from the County of *Abſpurg* in *Switzerland*? Beſides, Princes allyed by marriage commonly joyning their Forces together, do not a little help to defend one another upon an occaſion, and even to favour thoſe enterprizes which either of them ſhal make to increaſe their power. *Lewis* the ſecond well knew how to break off the Match, between *Charles* Duke of *Burgogn*, with *Margaret* daughter to *Richard* Duke of *York*, and Siſter to *Edward* King of *England*, which would have joyned the Engliſh Forces with thoſe of *Burgogn*, by demanding that Princeſs for *Charles* his brother, though he had no intention to marry him to her, he being too too prudent to match a Brother ſo inclinable to Rebellion, with an enemy ſo Potent as ſhe was. It is true, if the Aliance of *France* with *England*, was then thought to be diſadvantagious to the good of *France*; yet now, that which may be concluded on with them, is of ſo much the greater concernment, becauſe having nothing more to do, then to ballance the houſe of *Auſtria*, it could not gain a greater advantage in relation to that deſign, then by this means; for this being one of the powerfulleſt Kingdomes in *Europe*, will turn the ſcales to that of the two Crowns, with which it ſhall bee joyned in Alliance. *France* cannot hope that *England* would (upon any conſideration of marriage whatſoever) relinquiſh their own particular intereſts, ſeeing Soveraigns have nothing which is dearer to them; but it will have good reaſon to beleeve, that it will never invade us unleſs provoked by honour, or ſome great Conſideration; and on the contrary, that they would aſſiſt us with a good will in ſuch enterprizes, where they could receive nothing but Glory. After all, *France* will have this benefit to hinder their being leagued with our enemies who joyned with them, might much damage us, and it is advantage enough to avoid thoſe miſchiefs, which would follow, if it were left undone, and by that means to prevent the uniting of our enemies with them.

The

The Cardinal knew, That that Minister who hath a care of the Church interest, draws down a thousand blessings from Heaven upon the State. Accordingly he did particularly imploy himself, to get as much liberty as possibly he could in *England*. The Earles of *Carlisle* and *Holland* came with confidence, that there could not be any great strictness used in that particular, but imagined as their Master did, that the diversity of Religion which was in *France*, would induce them not to be too earnest; only of an Assurance, that the Princess and those of her retinue, should have free liberty to exercise that Religion, whereof they made profession; but the Cardinal quickly told them, That the King his Master, being more obliged by divers Considerations, to procure greater advantages to the Church then the Spaniard, they ought not to hope that he would be satisfied with less then they.

He represented to them that his Majesty, being the eldest son of the Church, and bearing the Title of the most Christian King would be much blamed, if he proceeded upon other terms; besides, that this Alliance could not be concluded, without the consent of the head of the Church. That it would be ill received at *Rome*, if it should be proposed there with conditions less favourable to the Catholicks, then those which were granted to the Spaniards. To which for the present the Embassadors replied, That the King their Master, had not procured the Parliaments consent for this Alliance with *France*, and breaking off that with *Spain*, but in consideration, that they would not have been so strict, in requiring so many favours in behalf of the Catholicks; and withal, that it was held there as a fundamental Law not to grant them any freedomes by reason of many great inconveniences, which would in time happen to their State. The Cardinal was not wanting to reply, that he was well informed neither the King or Parliament, were induced to break with the Spaniards untill they were convinced, that their Treaty was onely feigned, and that they had other designs, then of giving the Infanta to the Prince of *Wales*, and as for what related to the Peace of the State, (he answered) that the liberty which was granted to the Catholicks, could not trouble it, seeing experience hath evidenced it on a thousand occasions, that there is not any thing which doth more stir up People to Commotions, then the restraint which is imposed upon the exercise of religion, That, that is it, which incites people to shake off the yoke of their obedience, and that never any thing but mis-fortunes have followed that Prince, who would force men in that beleef which they had a long time imbraced: That in truth, Religion might by fire and sword be destroyed and rooted out, before it be fully setled in the soul; but after that, it will be so far from being changeable by force, that rather on the contrary, violence will but ferment and fix it so much the more; because those things are more difficult then the care which ought to be had for their conservation. That in effect, this Maxime was verified in *France*, where the liberty which was granted to the *Hugonots* by the Edict of Peace, had converted a far greater number then all the rigours of punishment and war. These reasons were so strong that the English Embassadours found themselves unable to answer any thing against it. But it was not sufficient to perswade them, the King of *Great Brittains* consent was needfull. It cannot be denied, but there were great hopes of obtaining it, considering his particular inclination, he himself being well disposed to be converted, and that he was also satisfied in Conscience concerning the principal difficulties, in the Catholick Beleef, and had permitted the Arch-Bishop of *Ambrun* (sent at his intreaty by the King, to sound him upon some other points) to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation to above twenty thousand Catholicks in *London*; indeed it was apprehended a little hazardous, lest the Parliament should not consent to it, they having a great power in the resolution of affairs. This difficulty induced the King after the Cardinal had informed him of it, to send the Marques *de Effiat* into *England*, in the quality of an extraordinary Embassadour, to negotiate all the affairs which related to the marriage. In his instructions were particular orders, to indeavour to perswade his Majesty of *Great Brittain*, to like well of those reasons which the Cardinal had imparted to his Embassadour,

and moreover, to tell him in particular, that conſidering the Parliament was compoſed of Proteſtants and Puritans, he ought to ſuſpect them on this occaſion, that himſelf being party againſt them, there was no apparence of any reaſon, to delay that which concerned the Catholicks Intereſt; Moreover, that it was dangerous for a Soveraign, to uſe violence towards his ſubjects in matter of Religion, ſeeing that it teacheth to deſpiſe life; and who ſo deſpiſeth his own life, is maſter of any other mans, of what condition ſo ever he be. That this conſtraint is repugnant to the ſafety of Kings, of which in Hiſtory are many examples, eſpecially in theſe latter ages. Theſe reaſons were very conſiderable, but withall the Marqueſs *D' Effiat*, followed them home with ſuch addreſs, and vigour that they made the ſame impreſſions upon the Kings, as they had done upon his Embaſſadours minds, who indeed did much contribute by their Letters, to bring it to a reſolution.

## *Articles of Marriage, between the King of* Great Britain, *and the Princeſs* Henrietta Maria *of* France.

THe Negotiation was ſo fortunate, that the King conſented to all thoſe Articles which were demanded in behalf of the Catholicks, and accordingly, his Majeſty gave command to his Embaſſadours, to accord it, and on the 10*th*. of *November*, they were ſigned by them with the Cardinal, upon theſe conditions: That the Kings Siſter ſhould have all manner of liberty to increaſe the Roman Catholick Apoſtolick Religion, together with all her Officers and their children; that to this purpoſe, ſhe ſhould have a Chappel in every of the Kings houſes, a Biſhop and twenty eight Prieſts, to adminiſter the Sacrament, Preach Gods Word, and doe ſuch other Offices as their Function required.

That the children which ſhould be born of this marriage, ſhould be brought up in the Catholick Religion untill the age of 13 years, by the Princeſs.

That all the Domeſticks which ſhe carried into *England*, ſhould be French and Catholicks, choſen by the moſt Chriſtian King, and they dying, ſhe might take others into their place, French and Catholicks, by and with conſent of the King of *Great Brittain*.

Moreover, that both the King of *Great Brittain*, and Prince of *Wales* his ſon, ſhould bind themſelves by oath not to attempt, by any means whatſoever, to make her change her Religion, or to force her to any thing which might be contrary to it, and ſhould promiſe by writing upon the faith and word of a King and Prince to take order, that all thoſe Catholicks as well Eccleſiaſtick as ſecular, which had been impriſoned ſince the laſt Act made againſt them ſhould be ſet at liberty.

That the Engliſh Catholicks, ſhould not be any more hunted after for their Religion, nor conſtrained to ſwear any thing contrary to the Catholick Religion, and that ſuch ſeizures of their Goods, as had been made ſince the laſt Act, ſhould be reſtored to them.

And generally, that they ſhould receive more liberty and favour, in reſpect of the Alliance with *France*, then had been promiſed them upon the Spaniſh Treaty.

This was as much as could be deſired for the preſent, in behalf of Religion, until the Princeſs (who was induced with all the qualifications both of Body and Soul, which could render a Princeſs beloved) ſhould have acquired a good power over King *James* his ſpirit, and the Prince of *Wales* her husband, and ſo finiſh the remainder, which the King expected both from her zeal and behaviour, with the more confidence, becauſe Ladies have a great hand over their husbands, and Father in Law, when they are once intirely loved by them.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THere is good reaſon to hope for the Converſion of a Prince, from the Princeſs whom he marries; Women have ſo natural an art to perſwade men, and to lead them to what they deſire, that there is hardly any thing impoſſible for them

to

to do: Their beauty alone hath such strong charms, that they imprint in the soul, by their eyes, all the affections they have a mind to, and the Love wherewith they are cherished, gives them so great a power, that if they have never so little ingenuity, one cannot defend himself from their perswasions, and if it be thus true in general, it is not lesse in the particular of converting their Husbands or the People who are subject to them. History, is so full of Proofs of this nature, that one must be altogether ignorant, if he knows not, that the divine Providence, hath divers times made use of their means for this glorious purpose. Thus *Clotilda* daughter to the Duke of *Burgoin*, was the occasion that *Clovis* one of our first Kings, her husband, imbraced the Christian Religion, and banished Idolatry out of his States.

*Ingund* sister to *Childebert* King of *France*, being married to *Hermenegild* King of the *Goths*, converted him to the *Holy Christian Faith*.

*Clotilde*, daughter to the King of *Mercie* in *England*, married a King of the West-Saxons made him become a Christian and she her self a Saint.

*Theodelinda*, wife to *Agilulph*, King of the Lombards, perswaded him and a great part of his people, to lay by their false Gods, and to live under the Laws of the Gospel.

*Gizel*, daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Bavier*, and Sister to the Emperour, *Henry* the first, being married to *Stephen* the first of that name, King of *Hungaria*, made him and his whole Kingdome resolve to imbrace the Faith of Jesus Christ, and thus many others of the like examples do verifie, that Queens have ever had a great power in this particular, and the spirit of God which hath made use of them for such glorious effects saith, *The unbelieving Husband shall be sanctified by the believing Wife*. Heaven it self fights for them in such occasions when they labour for his glory, besides it cannot be denyed but that their Rhetorick is perswasive, that their accord do some time passe for currant and undeniable reasons, that their words are charms and that their addresse is able to matter the greatest courages.

In the midst of this diligent care which the Cardinal took for the Interests of Religion and the State, his Prudence was not forgetfull of any thing which might bee thought in favour of the Kings Sister. It was agreed in respect of eight hundred thousand Crowns, which his Majesty gave her in marriage, that she should renounce all successions either Paternal, Maternal, or Collateral, which might befall unto her; and accordingly after she had received leave from her mother, the Queen Mother, so to do, she did renounce, and the King of *Great Britains* Embassador, did ratifie it, that in future no such pretensions might arise, to trouble the quiet of the Kingdomes, as formerly had been. Withall, he took such tender care of all advantages for her, that she could not suffer any inconvenience by any accident whatever.

It was agreed upon by his care, that the Prince deceasing without issue, the mony should be totally restored to her, to be disposed of according to her own will whether she did live in *England* or in *France*.

That if he had children by this marriage, there should onely be two thirds of her Portion returned, the other being moveable, that the last twenty of the third part, should be made a yearly rent to her, during her life, that her Dower should be eight hundred thousand pound *sterling per annum*, returning French mony, at sixty thousand Crowns rent, which should be assigned to her in Lands and Houses, one of which should be such, and accordingly furnished that she might make her usuall residence there.

That the King of *Great Britain* should be obliged to treat her and her Family with that Port which was fit for one of her quality, that there should be fifty thousand crowns in Jewels presented to her, by the King of *Great Britain*, as a marriage favour, which should remain to her and hers as well as those which she then had, as also such as she should have in future.

That she should have the free disposal of Benefices and Offices, in those lands which should be given her in Dower, and that one of those lands should be a Dutchie

or an Earldome, that it ſhould be lawfull for her in her Widdow-hood, to return into *France*, whether ſhe had children, or not, that in caſe ſhe ſhould return, the King of *Great Brittain* ſhould conduct her at his own proper charges to *Callis*, with ſuch honour as ſhould be fit for one of her quality.

That her houſe ſhould be furniſhed with ſuch dignity, and ſhould be filled with as many Officers, as any Princeſs yet had, or as had been accorded to the *Infanta* of *Spain*, upon the late Treaty which had been propoſed. Briefly, that for the aſſurance of theſe conditions, he, of the two Kings, who ſhould be deficient to accompliſh what belongeth on his part to do, ſhould be bound to pay four hundred thouſand crowns to the other, as a penalty for breach of them.

This was as much ſecurity as could be had for the preſent, but one thing is not to be forgotten, which was, that all the Treaty, all the promiſes given and taken, and all the Acts which were concluded on, paſſed in the Kings name, as the Perſon, to whom the marrying of the Princeſſes of the Bloud did really appertain, and which he might do according to his own pleaſure, and upon ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit; whereas they are onely concern'd to give their conſents both to the Perſons and Articles which are reſolved on.

Cuſtome, may raiſe obſtacles againſt marriages and make them void, if there bee any defect of following the uſual order which is preſcribed. The Popes have found by the Canon Law, that they have this Power: Particularly *Alexander* the third, who when a Biſhop asked him the Queſtion, whether Marriage between the Children of two Goſſips were allowable, anſwered him, yes, in caſe the cuſtome of the Country did permit it. But I ſhall ſay moreover, that the ſame Pope hath declared, that there might be ſuch Cuſtomes in *France*, which might annull marriages, though on the other ſide, thoſe of *Rome* may licenſe them. According to that anſwer, which was made to the Biſhop of *Amiens*, who deſiring to know if a marriage made with a Eunuch were good, was anſwered, that the general cuſtome of the French Church, was to diſſolve it, and he was contented ſo to permit it though the Roman Church uſed the contrary. It is the Cuſtome of *France*, that no Princeſſes or Ladies of great quality, whoſe marriages may be of concern to the State, may marry, but by and with the Kings order and conſent. The ſecond Race of our Kings furniſheth us with an example very remarkable, in the marriage of *Judeth* Widdow of *Edmulph* King of *England*, who being married without the conſent of *Charles* the Bauld, with *Bauldwin* grand Forreſtier, and afterwards firſt Earl of *Flanders*, he declared the ſaid marriage to be nul by thePrelates & Clergy of *France*, aſſembled at *Senlis*, though ſhe were at her own diſpoſal, by her firſt marriage and royalty, though Pope *Nicholas* the firſt, would have pickt a quarrel at it, and have confirmed it. Some one perchance, not well informed, may ſuppoſe, that this Pope wanted courage, but there is no reaſon for it: ſeeing he had ſpirit enough to excommunicate *Lotharius* for marrying a ſecond wife, leaving his firſt, though his Clergy at *Metz* and *Cologne*, did favour him to conſtrain him to quit his laſt Wife, and to receive his firſt; as alſo to diſpoſſeſs two Biſhops, who had Abetted the diſorder; the true reaſon is, he knew that the Cuſtome of *France* did not permit *Judith* to re-marry without the Kings conſent. The third Race, affords us another proof, reported by a Hiſtorian, who deſerves ſo much the rather to be credited, he being generally known for one of the enemies of *France*. It was the marriage contracted by *Proxy*, between *Maximilian*, and *Anne* of *Brittain*. It's true, it was not conſummated as that of *Judith* was; but becauſe it was concluded without the conſent of *Charles* the Eighth one of our Kings. His Majeſty making uſe of his Power, declared it Null, by reaſon of that default. In fine, it was allowed for naught, and both parties remained Free, *Maximilian* afterwards marrying *Margaret* of *Milan*; and *Charles* the Eighth married the ſame *Anne* of *Brittain*, and no one doubted the validity of either of the marriages.

If theſe examples evince to us, the Antiquity of this Cuſtome, and how the Church hath allowed of it, we cannot ſuſpect or doubt, but that they are grounded upon juſt reaſons, ſeeing the marriages of perſons of ſuch quality, are of great importance

to

to the State, and ordinarily are the originals of Peace or War, and ſerve for a Stair-Caſe to ſuch, who aſpiring higher then they ought, raiſe enterprizes againſt the Soveraignty, as *Cornelius Tacitus* hath obſerved; it doth therefore reſt ſafely to bee concluded on, that the Princeſſes of *France* cannot lawfully marry without the Kings conſent. So that neither men or women who have had them in their poſſeſſion, did never make a difficulty to promiſe, either by Oath, or any other aſſurance, that they would not contract them in any marriage without their conſents and approbation.

*Philippes Auguſte*, took ſecurity of *Mahaut*, Counteſs of *Flanders*, that if it ſhould happen that ſhe and *Eude* the third Duke of *Burgogn*, ſhould ſeparate, ſhe ſhould not re-marry without permiſſion. *Philip* Earl of *Namur*, promiſed the ſame King that he would not marry *Jane* or *Margaret* of *Flanders*, his Neeces, whoſe Guardian he was without his conſent. *Jane* Counteſs of *Flanders*, promiſed by a particular inſtrument unto *St. Lewis* the King, that ſhe would not marry with *Simon de Montfort*, but with his allowance. *Jane* daughter to *Philip* of *Burgogn*, being delivered to King *John*, by the Treaty between him, and the Earl of *Savoy*, amongſt other things it was then concluded, that ſhe ſhould be married where his Majeſty ſhould think fit, provided it were not to the *Dauphine* his eldeſt ſon. And *Francis* Duke of *Brittain*, ingaged by a Treaty with *Charles* the Eight, not to marry either of his two daughters, without his adviſe, under the penal forfeiture of two hundred thouſand crowns of Gold, and for the greater ſecurity, he bound unto him the principalleſt Towns in his whole Dutchee.

### *The Deputation of Father* Berule, *to his Holineſs, to obtain a Diſpenſation for the above-mentioned Marriage.*

THe reſpect wherewith the King had ever honoured the Holy Father, made him reſolve with the Engliſh Embaſſadours in the firſt Article of the Treaty, That in conſideration of that diverſity of Religion, between the Princeſs and the Prince of *Wales*, his Majeſty ſhould ſend to his Holineſs to procure a Diſpenſation before the Marriage were effected, to obtain the ſaid Diſpenſation, the Cardinal propoſed to the King, to ſend Father *Berule*, Superior General of the fathers of the Oratory, and to commit the charge of it to him, as a perſon capable of ſuch a negotiation, and whoſe Piety (which amongſt the People is extreamly recommendable) might take off all ſhadows or apparencies, which the weakneſs of their ſenſes, or the malice of the Spaniards might raiſe abroad concerning it. It ſhould ſeem he did fore-ſee that Fury, wherewith the Spaniſh Partiſans writ againſt this marriage. So angry they were, that they had not prevented it, not reflecting, that for eleven whole years they had teſtified to the world, that they would have done the ſelf-ſame thing. But that I may not be hindred by thoſe outragious ſpeeches, which proceeded from thoſe ſpirits puft up with Ambition, who then began to diſcover that *France* had a Miniſter capable to countermine them, and to oppoſe their unjuſt deſigns. I ſhall inform you, that the inſtruction, which was given to Father *Berule* was, to go to *Rome* with all diligence, and to obtain the Diſpenſation from the Pope, to which purpoſe he was to repreſent to his Holineſs, That the King of *Great Brittain*, having demanded the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria* the Kings Siſter, in marriage, for the Prince of *Wales* his ſon, his Majeſty was the more inclinable, to hearken to the Propoſition, becauſe hee looked upon it as a probable means to convert the Engliſh; as heretofore a French Princeſs married into *England*, had induced them to imbrace Chriſtianity. But that the Honour which hee owed to the Holy Chair, and in particular to his Sanctity, who had formerly held him at the Font of Baptiſm, in the name of Pope *Clement* the Eighth, had not permitted him to conclude upon the Treaty, before the obtainment of his Diſpenſation. That this Marriage ought to be regarded for the Intereſt, not onely of the Catholicks in *England*, but of all Chriſtendome, who would receive great advantages by it, that there is not any thing of hazard for the Princeſſe, ſeeing ſhe is as firm, as

could

could be desired both in the Faith and Piety. That she should have a Bishop, and eight and twenty Priests, to do all Offices. That she should have none but Catholicks in her Houshold. That the King of *Great Britain*, and the Prince of *Wales*, would oblige themselves by Writing and Oath, not to solicite her directly or indirectly, neither by themselves, or any other persons, to change her Religion: Moreover, that there being nothing to be feared in relation to the Princesse, there were great hopes, that she might be intirely beloved by the King (who was well disposed already to become a Catholick) and by the Prince of *Wales*, That they might the more contribute to their conversion, in regard that women have very great power over their Husbands and Father-in-Laws, when Love hath gotten any power in their affections. That for her part, she was so zealous in Religion, that there was no doubt but she would employ her utmost industry in so pious a design: That admitting God should not succeed her intentions either upon King *James*, or the Prince of *Wales*, there were hopes her Children might become restorers of that Faith which their Ancestors had destroyed, seeing she had the education and bringing of them up in the belief and exercise of the Catholique Religion until they were thirteen years old; and that their first seeds of Piety, having being instilled into their soule, and cultivated with carefulnesse, when they became capable of good Instructions, might infallibly produce stable and permanent Fruits, that is, so strong a Faith, as might not be shaken by Heresie in a riper age. And after all, That the Catholiques of *England* would forthwith receive great advantages by it, seeing both the King of *Great Britain*, and the Prince of *Wales*, his Son, would oblige themselves by word and deed, not to hunt them out, or when they were discovered, to punish them: To free out of Prison all such as were layed up; to restore them their Monies and Goods which had been forced from them after the last Act, if they were possible to be had; and generally to treat them with more favour, than if the Treaty with *Spain* had gone on. Lastly, he had order to informe the Pope, that to render a greater respect to the Church, he had condicioned, that the Princess should be affianced and contracted according to the Catholique form, like that which was observed by *Charles* the Ninth, in the Marriage of *Margarite* of *France* with the late King *Henry* the Fourth, then King of *Navarre*.

These things spoke in their own behalf, and were so eminently visible, that no doubt could be made of them. The Father *Berule* too, wanted neither Ability nor Good-will, but represented them to his Holyness with such dexterity, that his Sanctity gave him hopes of a favourable answer. 'Tis true, the Pope would not grant him a dispence without conferring with the Cardinals, that he might give no jealousie to *Spain*, who had been dealt with in the very same manner, when they desired a Dispensation for the *Infanta*, but they were of his own naming, and such as no one could think, were more subject to Passion than Justice. So they met divers times about it, and though it were with the ordinary delayes of the Court at *Rome* (without which they esteem no affair, can be discussed and judged with Prudence or Majesty enough) yet *in fine*, they referred the expediting of the Dispensation to the Popes pleasure. All that was crosse in the businesse, was barely this. Father *Berule* being naturally addicted to refine all things, was perswaded, that there had not been assurances strong enough, obtained from the English for the securing and hindring the placing of Protestant Officers over the Princesse children; the solicitation of Officers to change their Religion; the continuation of forcing English Catholiques to take Oaths of Abjuration against the Catholique Religion, and the holy See, though indeed it had been expresly concluded and agreed on, That the King of *England* and Prince of *Wales* should engage both by Writing and Oath, not to enforce them any more. However this induced both the Pope and Cardinals to think fit (not acquainting the *viscount Beaune* with it, though the Cardinals Prudence had tyed up the said Father *Berule* in his Instructions, not to doe any thing without him) to oblige the King in the Instrument of Dispensation, to procure from the King of *Great Britain* new assurances in these particulars.

So that he following his own ſenſe, and ſpecious reaſons, upon which he relyed, his Holyneſs diſpatched him upon thoſe conditions, and ſent him back to the King with all diligence.

*Politique Obſervations.*

IF Piety prohibit Miniſters to doe things contrary to Religion; Prudence obligeth them to referre the management of affairs to Perſons who have the reputation of an extraordinary Honeſty, eſpecially to the tranſacting of ſuch things, which notwithſtanding their innate Juſtice, may provoke any evil ſpirits: For though the moſt upright regulate their Judgements by ſome Principles, which ſerve them as a Law in the Government of a State, yet the moſt part, ghueſſing onely by their own ſenſes and apprehenſions, judge of the Affairs by the Perſons who conduct them. Opinion guides the whole world, and ſets a price upon virtue it ſelf; and the reputation alone of him who negotiates, may cauſe his deſigns to paſſe under the notion of good and lawful. If the Foxes good counſel be once ſuſpected by a man, he will be hardly perſwaded, that a Perſon repleniſhed with all the ornaments of a ſingular integrity, will engage himſelf in unjuſt deſigns. The repute of ſuch a perſon ſets a value and a price upon his words and actions, and the opinion which is conceived of him, is ſo abſolute an Empire, that there is no Appeal from his Judgement. It is an ancient ſaying, Truth is the ſtrongeſt thing in the world: But however, if once Opinion hath fixed her Throne in the mindes of the people, Truth will have ſomewhat to doe to diſappoint her. The preſcriptions of a Phyſitian who is in eſteem, doe even paſſe for good: And the Acts of a perſon who hath the credit of a ſublime Virtue cannot be found fault withall. The wiſeſt of the Pagans were not ignorant herſof, but made great advantages by it as occaſion offered it ſelf. *Scipio* the *African*, would ſometimes be a long while together all alone in the Capitol; pretending he did conferr with *Jupiter* concerning the affairs of the Commonwealth, and all this he did, that he might be thought to be endued with a more than humane Piety. *Minos* the Law-giver of *Candia* went down to make Laws into a ſubterranean Cave, which he called *Jupiters* Grot, and thence brought them all written, perſwading the people to believe that they were inſpired into him by that Divinity: And this was an eaſie way to perſwade the people to whatſoever they had a mind to. God himſelf hath thought it very proper too, when he would bring any great thing to paſſe, for he hath choſen uſually ſuch men, who by their eminent virtue are able to make all people believe that whatſoever they declare, could not be but truth: He hath commanded the Prophets and Apoſtles to publiſh ſuch ſayings as would jarr and claſh with the ſenſes of moſt men, and yet he hath repleniſhed them in reſpect of his choice, with the many graces, that it were almoſt impoſſible for the moſt part not to believe them.

## *The deputation of the* Sieur de la Ville-aux-clercs *to the King of* England *in the qualitie of an Extraordinary Ambaſſador.*

AFter the King had payed this reſpect to the Pope, and that the Articles of Mariage had been coucluded, upon the twentieth of *November*, His Majeſtie caſt his eys upon the Sieur *de la Ville-aux-clercs*, one of his Councellors and Secretary of State to diſpatch him into *England* as an Extraordinary Ambaſſador. He gave him particular order to teſtifie unto the King of *Great Britain* and the Prince of *Wales*, the great affection which he had to live with them in a ſtrait and near intelligence, and to aſſure them that one of the chiefeſt reaſons which drew him to agree to the Mariage, was the conſideration, that as one link of their Friendſhip was tyed by Blood, this would render it indiſſolvable. After theſe Complements were once paſt, he commanded him to procure the Articles of Mariage to be ratified,

tified, and to obtain their Oaths and Promiſes by Writing according to what the Ambaſſadors had engaged their words. He diſcharged himſelf with honour, both to the one and t'other Commiſſion; and having ſeveral times entertained them with the Content that his Maſter would conceive by their Alliance; he at laſt concluded with ſuch dexteritie, that he had inſtilled into them all ſorts of good will and affection for *France*; and in particular for his Majeſties Intereſts, and ſo invited them to a quick conſummation of the Treatie, that the ſudden chances which uſually happen to affairs of this conſequence might not breed any alteration or change. This was the ground-work upon which he founded his demands for their Inſtruments and Oaths which had been promiſed, and which both of them were readily diſpoſed to effect, and accordingly they promiſed upon the Holy Evangelift not to attempt by any wayes or means to induce the Princeſſe to change the Roman Catholique Apoſtolique Religion, or to force her to any thing which might be contrary to it. They likewiſe promiſed upon their Faith and words of Princes to grant to the Catholiques more Liberties and Franchiſes in every thing which concern'd their Religion, than had been given in favour of the Match with *Spain*, not to force them to take Oaths contrary to the Rules of the Roman Church, and to take effectual care that they were no more troubled in their Perſons or Eſtates for their Religion, provided they exerciſed it in private, and lived in obedience, as good Subjects ought to doe; and finally, both of them ſigned and delivered two Deeds, for the better aſſurance of their Oaths and Promiſes. After all this, his Inſtructions did not oblige him to be contented with words onely as to that which concern'd the Libertie of the Catholiques, ſo that he proceeded with great earneſtneſs to obtain the effects of it; and he was aſſured that upon the concluſion of the Mariage, there ſhould be a Patent of Enlargement granted to all ſuch as were Priſoners for their Religion-ſake, without being any more troubled for the future; and for what related to all in general, there was a Deed made under his Majeſties own Hand and Seal, directed to the Lord *Conway*, Secretary of State, commanding him to ſignifie to all whom it concern'd, that it was his Majeſties pleaſure, no farther proſecution ſhould be made againſt them: and accordingly the Lord *Conway* gave notice hereof to the Chancellor, Treaſurer, to the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, and to all other chief Officers; principally requiring the Grand Treaſurer, to reſtore unto them all the monies which had been forced from them and payd into the Exchequer, with order not to do the like hereafter; and thus by obtaining their Promiſes, Words, and Aſſurances, they had as much ſecurity as they could with for, could they but be contented to exerciſe their Religion in private and without noyſe.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THe word of a King hath alwayes paſs'd for ſo ſacred, that ours have ſometimes ſcrupel'd at the confirmation by Oath, of what they once gave upon their words. It was for that reaſon Saint *Lewis* would not ſwear in his own perſon to the League then made with *Henry* the third King of *England*, at the Camp neer St. *Aubin*, Anno 1231. but deſired it might ſuffice, if he cauſed it to be ſworn in his name and preſence, by the Prior of St. *Martin* in the fields. Indeed, there being nothing more inviolable than the word of a Prince, it were an offence to doubt of his fidelity, or to deſire his ratification by Oath. The Genius of a Prince was heretofore held in ſuch veneration, that another ſwore for him; now to deſire that he himſelf ſhould ſwear, were to decline that reſpect which is due unto him. However, the Infidelity of ſome hath made it a cuſtom, that all ſhould confirm their Treaties by Oath, when they are of any great importance; which Oath is the ſtricteſt tye which they can be bound in. The Laws look upon it for ſo venerable, that they never permit it to be broken, what ever advantage happen by it. Perjury is condemned as a double ſin, becauſe it not onely violateth that Religion which is due to God, who is invoked as a witneſs, but alſo Faith, which

which is the moſt ſacred Bond of humane ſociety. Which Laws too, do oblige Princes much more then other men, to keep their Oaths, becauſe if they once forfeit their reputation of being faithfull, they have not any thing left them which is conſiderable.

Chriſtians ought to be moſt preciſe in this point, if they would not be put to the bluſh, at the many examples of Pagans and Infidels. It is much to be lamented, that moſt men make no difference between deceit and diſſimulation; that they make no bones of infringing their Oaths, if they may but get any thing by it, they do much rather incline to follow the opinion of *Marius*, (though diſcommended by all the Sages of Antiquity) who thought the Art of well-lying, a great piece of vertue, and that it was an Index of a good Wit.) then that of the Common-wealth of *Rome*; which was ſo religiouſly faithfull for their words, that *Ptolomey* King of *Egypt*, left his young ſon their tuition and protection, without the leaſt apprehenſion of ſuſpition. Neither was he deceived in his confidence for after they had adminiſtred his government with integrity, as ſoon as he came of age, they delivered up the Kingdome into his own hands.

## *The Renewing of the Alliance between his Majeſty and the States of* Holland.

AT the ſame time that the Engliſh Embaſſadours arrived at *Compeign*, the Sieurs *de Nortwick*, *de Paw*, *& d' Eſten*, extraordinary Embaſſadours from the States of *Holland* came likewiſe thither, to deſire his Majeſties Aſſiſtance, and the renewing of the ancient Alliance. The League being ended, and the enemies of their Liberties, beginning to execute the deſigns which they had hatch'd for their ruine. The King who hath never leſſe inclination to aſſiſt his Allies, then to keep his own People in obedience, received them with all kind of favour, and forthwith gave them great hopes of obtaining their deſires. His Majeſty knew, that their Protection was Honourable, that there is nothing more glorious for a Soveraign then to ſhelter under his Power thoſe who are oppreſſed, that what Aſſiſtances he gives them, are moſt aſſured ſigns of his greatneſſe and generoſity, and withall that it was full of Juſtice. The Hiſtory of *Holland* had taught him, that the Princes of *Auſtria*, by their altering the Fundamental Laws, and oppreſſing the publick Liberty of thoſe Countries, had thrown themſelves out of that Power which they once had over them, that the Hollander had reaſon ſufficient for their Authority, to ſhake off the yoke of their obedience, by thoſe Laws which are as ancient as the quality of the Earl of *Holland*. An ancient ſaith, that Power is full of equity, which is imployed in defence of the weak and feeble, and there is not any thing more juſt then to conſerve to ones Allies, thoſe Liberties which belong to them time out of mind, and by the Fundamental Laws of their Country. This in particular was ſo much the more aſſuredly juſt, for Princes who poſſeſſe a Country by Treaty with the People, and upon Conditions cannot infringe them, and not loſe their Authority; and eſpecially if they break Covenants, which doth abſolutely diſcharge ſuch Subjects from their obedience. The Hollanders were acknowledged for Free and Soveraign People, in the Treaty of the League made, *Anno* 1609. by the Kings of *Spain*, and Arch-Dukes of *Flanders*. And in the ſame quality have the Kings of *England*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, the moſt part of the Hans Towns, the Common-wealth of *Venice*, and many Princes of *Germany*, ever treated with them; whence it appears a work of Juſtice to aid them in maintaining their Franchiſes. A work of Juſtice ſo much the more certain, for that liberty hath been ever eſteemed a juſt cauſe for a War, every one concluding it more glorious to die then to live in ſervitude, from which his Birth and the Priviledges of his country have exempted him.

Beſides theſe important reaſons, the King was no leſſe informed of the eſpecial advantages which *France* might make, by defending of them, that it is above threeſcore years together, that they have obliged not onely this State, but the moſt part

of *Europe* to aſſiſt them, to ballance the Power of *Spain*, and ſo to find his Armies imployment in that Country, that his deſigns elſewhere might be fruſtrated; beſides, that it was now much more neceſſary, in regard the Gariſons were to be eſtabliſhed in the Valtoline, and it would concern the State to make him ſome diverſions, that might entertain his Armies elſewhere; withall he found, that if he did aſſiſt *Holland* with theſe ſuccours, it would ingage them to do as much for him, when occaſion ſhould require it, which was no inconſiderable thing, as *Henry* the Great found by experience, when he was by them aſſiſted, againſt thoſe unjuſt oppoſitions which were formed by the League to thwart and croſs him. He himſelf too might fall into the ſame neceſſities, ſeeing the proſperity of Kingdomes, is like a Calm at Sea, which as it is often over-blown with ſtorms, ſo that too, is no leſs ſubject to interruption, by civil or forraign Wars. Theſe reaſons were indeed too too weighty to reject that peoples demands. And his Majeſty whoſe greateſt pleaſure conſiſts in doing ſuch things as might teſtifie both his Juſtice and Courage, gave all ſorts of Aſſurances to their Embaſſadours, of a ſtrong ſuccour, and thought good to make a Treaty for the renuing of the ancient Alliance.

His Majeſty gave the Cardinal power to conclude on the Conditions with them, and this great Miniſter, who had not a little fortified his Majeſty in that reſolution, having determined them, concluded it in the moneth of *June* at *Compeign*, by which he bound himſelf to deliver them by way of Loan, three Millions, and two hundred thouſand Livers in three years. On condition, that they ſhould re-imburſe them, three years after the War was ended. That they ſhould neither make Peace or League with any one what ever, without his advice and interpoſition. That if he had any occaſion of Ships of War, they ſhould furniſh him either for ſale or hire, at a reaſonable Price. That in caſe he himſelf were ingaged in any Wars, they ſhould repay him one half of the ſaid ſumms of money or aſſiſt him with Ships, according to the Proportion of that which was lent them. That they ſhould cauſe ſuch French Regiments as ſhould be entertained in *Holland*, to be conducted to *Calais* or *Diepe*. And thus in one and the ſame moneth, the Cardinal made his entrance upon the Adminiſtration very remarkable, by the reſolution of the Match with *England*, which ingaged the King of *Great Britain* in his Majeſties intereſts, by the entertaining of the Spaniſh Forces in the Low Countries, by which he diverted them from aſſiſting the Valtolines ſo powerfully as otherwiſe they had done.

*Politick Obſervation.*

IF Marriages ſerve to augment the Power of a King, certainly thoſe Alliances which are made with neighbour States, for reciprocal aſſiſtance in War, do no leſs contribute towards it, provided they be well eſtabliſhed. Two States well united, are undoubtedly ſtronger then one alone, and as an ancient Author ſaith, if an enemy ſhould prevail againſt one, yet two would be able to oppoſe him. Partnerſhip is that which inricheth Merchants in Trading, and Alliances enable Princes to make forraign invaſions with their Forces, and if there be ſuch profit to be made out of it, I ſuppoſe they are very neceſſary; for the divine wiſdome hath ſo diſpoſed all Kingdomes, that they have all need one of another. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, *nihil per ſe ſubſiſtit*, nothing is able to ſubſiſt by it ſelf onely, and if in the Microcoſm, every part is needfull for one another, not excepting the moſt noble. God hath alſo imparted Power to Soveraigns, with ſuch equality, that they are never able to increaſe it, without mutual aſſiſtance from one another. Upon this foundation it is, that all Alliances are eſtabliſhed. It is abſurd to beleeve, that the bare friendſhip of Princes, can be a ſufficient Bond, ſeeing that it is intereſt which onely ties them effectually, as is apparent to all men; for that they uſually break them, when once they appear againſt their concernments. If ever there be occaſion to unite them together, it is chiefly when there is danger of a common enemy, and that they would hinder his growing ſtrength, and prevent him from making attempts upon their bordering neighbours, and conſequently upon themſelves.

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*In fine*, it was upon that score that the *Italian* Ambassadors perswaded King *Antiochus* to league himself with them against the *Romans*, representing to him, that if he did not keep them in continual exercise, they would render themselves Masters of his Allyes, and then enter upon his own Country too: And it was for the same reason, that the Princes of the house of *Orleans* finding themselves too weak to make head against the *Burgnignons*, allied themselves with the English, though otherwise they hated them; and that *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, allyed himself with *Lewis Sforza* Tutor to *John Galeazzi* his Nephew, and *Laurence de Medicis*, that they might oppose the *French*, who then threatned them.

## *Colonel* Ornano *is made Prisoner in the* Bastile, *and thence sent to the Castle of* Caen.

WHilest the King negotiated these two important Treaties, and that the Cardinal gave a happy progress to them by his Counsails, the Marquis *de la Vieuille*, who for the two last years had a great hand in the affairs, inform'd the King, that the Colonel *d' Ornano*, Governour to the Duke of *Orleans*, his Brother, took such a course as would in time trouble the State: That he had not forgot any artifice to render himself agreeable to the *Monsieur*, and to gain such a power over his spirit, that the Honour which he had to be his Governour gave him a great power in his Family: That before he had gained the *Monnsieurs* affection, he made his brags openly, that he would get the Mastery over him, to the intent he might raise his fortune to a higher pitch: That he began to sow distrusts in the mind of that Prince, and to extinguish the seeds of that Respect, Love and Obedience which Nature had given to him in creating him: That he took advantage of his good favour, to make himself feared; and that he vaunted to have done many things contrary to his duty, of which there were many particulars, and that he was observed to take great care to hold Intelligence with the Grandees of the Court. This was so much the more to be feared, for that the greatest misfortunes, and the most part of Civil Wars have no other beginning, then misunderstandings of Princes against their Kings. The King thought good to impart it to the Cardinal, and having demanded his advice, of what was proper to be done in that occasion, he did not at all dissemble the danger, it would be, to permit this procedure of the Colonel: But the moderation of his spirit would not suffer him to carry him on to use such violent remedies as others did advise him to; but on the contrary, he represented to him, that the Laws of Mercy obliged Kings to pardon the first faults of Grandees, provided that they would confesse their errors, especially if there be a meanes to prevent any consequence of danger: That the wisest are sometimes subject to miscarriages, and are also capable to repent them; and afterwards to doe great services: That the moderation which many wise Princes have shewed towards such offenders, hath made them more faithful and affectionate then those who never committed any miscarriage at all: That this Repentance, was the more reasonably to be hoped, from the Colonel *d' Ornano*, who till then had lived within those limits, which ought to be observed by those of his condition, that his Father had given him a good example, by those services which he had done until his death: That he had indeed forgot himself, but that his omission might be remedied which seemed to deserve pardon so much the more, in regard it is almost impossible for the greatest part of Mankind not to forget themselves, whenas fortune shall advance them into a place of Eminency: Moreover there was reason to hope, that the onely removing him for some time from the Monsieur would make him reassume his former countenance, would make him sensible of his fault, and he himself would easily be induced to judge that this embroyl wherein he had suffered himself to be surprised would undoubtedly precipitate him into utter ruin, instead of raising him into a higher condition.

This counsel was accompanied with as much Prudence as Moderation; and the

King, who is ever carried of himself to follow the best advice, onely commanded the Collonel *d' Ornano*, to retire himself to his Government of *Pont-Sainct-Esprit*, untill he were permitted to return to the Court, but the Collonel being confident, that there were nothing but surmises and conjectures against him, had the boldness to refuse obedience to this order, perswading the Monsieur to keep him near him, and to procure from the King by any extraordinary instances, that he might not be forced from the Court. The Monsieur beseeched his Majesties with all possible affection. However, the King gave him to understand, that his removal was very necessary to divert those mischiefs which he did not yet suspect, especially to preserve that neer friendship, wherein they had alwaies lived: So he had nothing to reply, and his Maiesty to punish the insolence, which had given so much boldness to the Collonel *d' Ornano* to resist his Majesties will, commanded him to be made Prisoner in the *Bastile*, and shortly after in the Castle of *Quen*.

The displeasure which he conceived at his Imprisonment opened his eyes, he lookt upon his fault with so much resentment, that there was not any protestation of fidelity left unmade by him, from his friends to his Majesty; and finally, having recourse to the Cardinals intercession, that grand Minister, whose Counsels are never accompanied with rigour, unless, when he is inforced by Justice, dealt so with his Majesty, that at last he procured his liberty. After the Marquess *de la Viville* who had diverted him, had been so unhappy, his Majesty caused him to be brought out of Prison, and beleeving his Promises, restored him in his place with the Monsieur; and withall, gratified him with a considerable sum: Whereas he, instead of making any advantage of his imprisonment, of his Liberty, or of the Benefits, which he afterwards received; threw himself upon the Intregues of women, and some Fantastical hair-brain'd young men, who put it into his head, that he was much redoubted on his Masters accompt, which made him conceive so great a vanity, that he boasted in many places, that he would further those motions which some Grandees made to the Monsieur, to carry him from the Court, unless himself were made a Marshal of *France*.

## *The Collonel* d'Ornano, *is made Marshal of* France.

THE King upon advice had, was counselled by people of Quality, either to Arrest him, or make him Marshal of *France*, otherwise some great mishap might follow. The King was inclined to chastise him, not being able to indeavour or consent, that any such honour should be granted to him, out of fear, or to hinder his doing of more villanies. However, his Clemency moderated his just indignation, and prevailed with him to bestow upon him a Marshals Staffe, to reduce him within his duty, and to make him carry himself better for the future. It is true, the Cardinal setled and fixed him in those thoughts, and withall begged him to pardon him, seeing in creating him a Marshal, there would be no cause of fear, for that it would be as easie then as before, to clap him up into the *Bastile*, and that what punishment should be inflicted on him, would appear the juster in the eyes of all the World, in respect of those great favours wherewith he had been obliged; so he pardoned him and made him a Marshal, signalizing his Conduct by acts of mercy, not less considerable, then the wisdom which he had made appear in those two negotiations before mentioned.

### *Politick Observation.*

IT is a great impudence to Court a Prince, with design to prevail against his Soveraign, for besides that, a Soveraign grows quickly jealous, if he finde any to pertake of that Honour, which is due to himself alone. Which one thing is the ordinary fomentation of Civil Wars. *Tiberius* testified a great resentment, for that their Chief-Priests, making their prayers, to the Gods for his health, took the boldness to adde the name of *Nero* and *Drusius*, though they were neer a kin to him,

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and the next ſucceſſours to the Empire, he acquainted the Senate with it, as alſo the Prieſts, and briskly told them he was offended at it. The ſame Emperour ſeeing the Senatours prepare great Honours for his own Mother, did he not make them apprehend by a very neat diſcourſe, that thoſe Honours which were given to Women, ſhould be moderate, and that he himſelf too would uſe the ſame modeſty, in thoſe which were offered to him? When he beheld *Macron* the Captain of his Guards, courting *Caligula*, did he not rattle him up with high language, for that he forſook the Sun ſetting, to adore him Riſing:

Kings are ſo ſenſible in this particular, that it is not without trouble, that they permit Courtſhip to be uſed to their own Children: Thus, though *Philip* of *Macedon*, did intirely love *Demetrius* his ſon, yet he was much offended, when the Macedonians followed him in Troops, and ſhewed an earneſt deſire to inſinuate themſelves into his good favour. But admit this jealouſie do not ſpring up, however ſuch like actions ought not to be allowed, ſeeing infallibly it will breed broyls in the State. It is alſo true, that (men not being leſs capable to quit their wicked deſigns, then to hatch and contrive them) it were dangerous to drive things to extremity, and to ruine them at the ſame inſtant, they were diſcovered. That Phyſician hath but a ſmall portion of diſcretion, who makes uſe of violent remedies, upon the firſt beginning of a ſickneſſe, without ſtaying to expect what Nature might do of her own ſelf, and that Miniſter is too ſevere, who diſcovering ſome deſigns againſt his Maſters ſervice, preſently deſtroys the Authors of it, without giving time, that they might repent themſelves. *Cecinna* is much blamed by *Tacitus*, for taking a barbarous revenge upon ſome diſorders, before he had given leiſure to thoſe who were guilty, to repent: But on the contrary, *Julius Agricola*, is much commended, in that he was moſt commonly ſatisfied with acknowledgment of a fault, and did not cruelly chaſtiſe any, when there was the leaſt hopes of amendment; above all, a Miniſter is the more obliged to this moderation, when he is newly admitted into affairs, and it is conducing to his Maſters ſervice, in regard it is a means to render himſelf beloved. The Sun at his Riſing never appears burning hot, his heat is welcome and favourable, and he ſeems like Roſes and Pearl to the World; and a diſcreet Miniſter conforms himſelf to ſo agreeable an example, and ought to take it for granted, that whatſoever favours he ſhall do at the beginning of his Conduct, will gain him the affection of the People, and in proſecution will heap up upon him, as much Happineſſe as Glory.

## *The Marquis of* Vieville *is made Priſoner at St.* Germans, *and thence conducted to the Caſtle of* Amboyſe.

THoſe ſeveral agitations whereunto Fortune had expoſed the Colonel *d' Ornano*, which ſometimes ſeemed to throw him headlong down, and then agian to raiſe him up to great Honours, were not the onely marks of the Inconſtancy which that flattering Goddeſs made appear during this year: For after ſhe had raiſed up the Marquis *de la Vieville* juſt to the Adminiſtration, and to the Superintendance of the Treaſuries, ſhe was pleaſed ſo to caſt him down, that the King cauſed him to be arreſted at St. *Germain en Laye* about the beginning of *Auguſt*, and ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Amboyſe*. To ſpeak truly, it was no ſuch great cauſe of admiration, ſeeing this Inconſtancy ſeems to have choſen Princes Courts for the place to exerciſe her power in, & to have taken a great delight, as it were, to raiſe ſeveral men unto a high point of favour to expoſe them ſhortly after to the greater overthrows, every one had reaſon to attribute it to her moſt uſual conduct, which accuſtometh all men to this Law, that being once mounted to a certain degree of Honour, they muſt then of neceſſity fall back again, and that ſometimes with ſuch violence, that they fall into as great a number of miſeries as they formerly had of felicities. No one can be ignorant of this truth; but as Envy doth frequently aſperſe the principal Miniſters of a Prince, ſo ſhe gave the impudence to a Pen envenomed by the Spaniards, to write, that the Cardinal was the cauſe of it,

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by reaſon of the fear he was in, leaſt the Marquis *de la Vieville* ſhould rob him of the Miniſterial honour.

But how little hath this Enemy of this King, as wel as of his Miniſters, proved his diſcourſe ſo contrary to the Truth? After the diſrepute which they in whoſe behalf he writ, had of the Marquis, they made no long uſe of him, without being ſenſible that he was not an Inſtrument any way proper to raiſe their fortunes after the ruining of his own out of a Gallantry of Humour only. He went from St. *Germans* too with too much flowting, ever to invite his Majeſty by his ſervices, to make him the Miniſter of his Intentions. Beſides, could he be ſo extream ignorant of the Cardinals high and eminent Genius, in perſwading himſelf that the Cardinal could be any wayes ſuſpitious of the Marquis's undermining his Fortune? It were to perſwade the Sun that the leaſt Stars would obſcure his light; it were alſo to accuſe the King himſelf of great Imprudence, ſeeing it is to declare him incapable of diſtinguiſhing whether the Marquis of *Vieville* or the Cardinal were more proper for his Affairs. Certainly if the Sun diſcovers the deformity of a viſage which had layen hid during the night, and maketh the Stars, which twinkle in the dark, to withdraw themſelves upon his firſt approach. The Cardinal entering upon the Adminiſtration, and diſcovering to his Majeſty the incomparable diſcretion of his Counſels, was enough to detect the little ſufficiency of the Marquis, and to hide under the vailes of an obſcure darkneſs, thoſe advices which his vivacity and promptneſs of diſcourſe did make appear with ſome ſplendor, might give his Majeſty juſt cauſe to make no greater eſteem of him: And who ſo would accuſe him in this occaſion, muſt alſo reproach the Sun for having too much light, and to call that in Great Perſons a Crime, which renders them the more to be admired. Every one then knew the true cauſes of the Marquis's diſgraces, the King having given an Accompt of it to the Parliament the very day after his Arreſting; that he might be accuſed, as his Majeſty obſerved, to that Illuſtrious company for his evil conduct (which indeed was ſuch, that all men of any ſenſe thought him incapable of long ſubſiſting) That he had changed thoſe very reſolutions which were made in his Majeſties preſence, without acquainting him with it: That he had treated with Ambaſſadors reſident near him, contrary to his order: That he had oftentimes caſt that hatred which he had contracted, in exerciſing his paſſionate diſguſts againſt ſome particular perſons, upon his Majeſty; and that he had feigned ſeveral advices with deſign to induce him to be jealous of thoſe, in whom hee might put a moſt intire confidence, all all which is ſo true, that the King, that he might not take him unprovided, had often given him advice to alter his behaviour, and to become more exact in proſecution of his Orders, and more reſerved in his words, and in his procedure, as his Majeſty had ſignified in the ſame Letter.

After all which, his faults were ſo much the more known to the King, he having contracted the enmity of moſt part of the Grandees of the Court, by thoſe outrages wherewith he had provoked them, when they demanded thoſe gratuities which his Majeſty had granted to them, and by that exceſſive rigour wherewith he would cut off the Penſions and other Benefits, which they had formerly obtained of his Majeſty, as ſoon as ever he was entred upon the *Treaſury*. For they being once ſo provoked, wanted no addreſs to acquaint his Majeſty with it, and alſo to accuſe him of divers other unhandſome Carriages by ſeveral informers, who offered to prove that he had diverted great ſums from the Service of *Spain*, to his own profit and his Father in Laws, the Sieur *de Beaumarchais*, one of the Treaſurers; all which carried on his Majeſty to clap him up in Priſon.

*Politick Obſervation.*

NO one can doubt, but that a Miniſter who upon his firſt entrance into Affairs, finds them in diſorder, is obliged to apply neceſſary remedies to them; but the Laws of Prudence teach us, that it ought to be with moderation and affability, without

without which, he doth like a rash Physitian, who by giving his medicines in too great a proportion, and using too much rigour towards his Patient, doth so move and heat his natural temperature, that his sickness by it, is rather increased then diminished. It is very dangerous to force men to pass in an instant from one extremity to another, and who so attempts it, shall never escape the darts of Envy and Hatred, which will not onely render all his designs and labour to no purpose, but also expose him too to very great dangers. The first Actions of a Minister are they, which lay the Foundation of that Love or Hatred, which he shall afterwards reap from the people: a harsh rigorous procedure, can procure him nothing but ill will, and it is impossible for him to escape the doing many ill-offices neer this Prince; and though those Customes and Uses, which he would alter, be abuses to the State; yet the Plurality of the People will hardly be conduced to think so when they have been accustomed to those others a long time together; upon which consideration it will be absolutely necessary, to give them time to know better, and to diffuse them by little and little. The wise *Tacitus* saith, he who finds an estate in disorder, shall do much better at first dash to submit himself to the violence of inveterated Habit, and redress it afterwards with dexterity, rather then to fall presently aboard it, and to break all in peeces by a precipitated rashness; and he furnisheth us with two examples, both very considerable for their contrariety. The first is *Tiberius*, who finding the People in a great licentiousness, which the long Peace and meekness of the Emperour *Augustus* had brought them too, seemed at first not to regard it; his Prudence making him judge it improper, to treat them with severity so soon, and that it was fitter for him to dissemble with them a little while; which procedure of his gave an advantagious issue to whatsoever he designed: Whereas the Emperour *Galba*, though a better Prince then *Tiberius*, was as unfortunate as rash, in that at his very first comming to the Crown, he attempted with his utmost power, to redress those disorders which he found: He spilt the blood of such as were Malefactors, with much severity, and shewed himself to be very covetous; which behaviour of his rendred him so odious, that not many moneths after, he was slain in the midst of *Rome* by his own Souldiers. It is with the People, as with a sick man, who if in a Dropsie, he have not water given him to drink, though in it self very hurtfull, throws himself into dangerous extremities, so they, if presently restrained from those Liberties and Freedomes which they had used to injoy, do run into Desperation and Fury, and eagerly push at the destruction of those, whom they suppose Authors of the Alteration. Above all, it is necessary that a Minister, who would change the face of affair with time, should use a great deal of sweetness, and a singular Lenity in it, because insolency and impetuousness are evil qualities, which do not at all conduce to the dispatch of Affairs, and have no other operation, then to render them odious who use it. It makes the most justifiable remedies insupportable; whereas courtesie and kindness, sweetens any anguish, and makes it passe for very reasonable. People do in some sort, rather love disorder in a Minister, provided he be tractable; then vertue, if he be hard of access, rough, or insolent. His commands will carry more Power with them, if they be accompanied with gentleness, then if set on with Force and Fury. For which reason I should wish to him the temper of *Aristides*, who amongst other good qualities that he had, was master of a great affability, which gain'd him the heart of all the World, so that afterwards he might do what he would himself; or the Humanity of *Pompey*, which was such, that never any one went dis-satisfied out of his Presence; or the courtesie of *Augustus* whose Gates were ever open to all who would make addresses to him, and whose Petitions himself received with an admirable courtesie. It is to the examples of these wise men, he ought to conform himself, not with an easinesse or too great a facility, that rather foments publick disorders, but with the noble courageous sweetness of *Brutus*, who according to *Plutarch* was beloved of all People, for his natural goodness, though the intention of his Will was so upright, that he knew not what it was to stoop to the toleration of any disorders.

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## *The Sieurs* de Champigny, *and* de Marillac, *are advanced to the Super-intendency of the Exchequer.*

AFter the diſ-favour of the Marqueſſe *de la Vieville*, his Majeſty being neceſſitated to put into his place a ſuper-intendent; upon whoſe Prudence and Fidelity in the Adminiſtration of the Finances, he might ſafely rely, took adviſe of the Cardinal, well knowing that it is in vain to chooſe Officers if they are not able well to execute their places, becauſe they are as it were the Soul and main-ſpring, by which he ſhall arrive to any good ſucceſſe.

This grand Miniſter then diſcourſing with his Majeſty upon this ſubject did not any longer conceal thoſe aggrievances, which ſeveral men did complain of in the Marqueſs *de la Vieville*, but thought it neceſſary to ſet two in his p'ace. His reaſon was, That the regulating of the Finances, wes much different from that of the Adminiſtration of the State; becauſe if the diviſion and envy which ſhould ariſe between two Miniſters, would draw on many inconveniences; yet the miſ-underſtanding which might make a ſeparation between two ſuper-intendents, would be the more advantagious, it being ſomewhat impoſſible, that two men, who are grown jealous of one another, ſhould divert the monies from the Treaſury, either of them fearing, leaſt his Fellow-brother ſhould detect him. His advice was, to chuſe two ſuch as were of great Honeſty, becauſe admit that one ſhould be corrupted in his Office, yet the other might ſtand firm. Beſides this, he adviſed him to caſt his eyes upon ſuch men, whoſe age and experience had made them of good capacities. He thought ancient men, and ſuch as were verſed in affairs, more proper then others, becauſe they are naturally inclined to more ſtayedneſſe, and have a greater reſpect and authority then young men to move the people, to ſubmit to thoſe Impoſitions, which ſhall be charged upon them: That the experience which they have by age, is the more needfull in affairs of concern, for without that experience Age doth rather make men unweildy and unapt for buſineſs; & that this ſame experience, is known for one of the moſt ſolid Foundations of Wiſedom, of which no one can be more aſſured, then he who hath often been deceived by Fortune, and who hath found to his coſt, that he ought to truſt but a few, and to be confident but of a little. Moreover, he propoſed too chuſe ſuch, as were neither too poor nor too rich; not very poor, fearing leaſt the power of diſpoſing the Treaſuries, might work upon their diſpoſitions, to miſ-imploy it to their own uſes, that they might raiſe themſelves out of their Poverty and Needineſſe; not very rich, leaſt the power and Authority which they poſſeſs might invite them to attempt whatever ſhould be ſuggeſted to them: Above all, he adviſed his Majeſty, not to place in ſuch Offices of charge and truſt, any, but men of underſtanding, and ſuch as had ſome government in their own affairs, there being no reaſon to intruſt the ſecond affairs of the Kingdome with people of but an indifferent Capacity; nor no hopes but of ruine and confuſion from ſuch whoſe life hath been diſorderly, and theſe are the chiefeſt good qualities of which a Super-intendent of the Finances ought to bee Maſter.

The King was not ignorant of theſe truths, but was glad to find them confirm'd to him, by the approbation of this grand Miniſter, and in proſecution of it, deſiring him to name ſome men in particular, upon whom his Majeſty might caſt his eys, to fill up thoſe vacant Offices. He propoſed to him the Sieurs *de Champigny*, and *de Marillac*, as perſons in whom theſe qualities were eminent. Their Age and Experience had made them ripe for all ſorts of buſineſs; their Birth and Fortune had favourably imparted to them the gifts of Body and Mind. Laſtly, that moſt men gave them the Honour of eſteeming them both Valiant and Loyal; ſo his Majeſty, equally depending upon their reputation, and the Cardinals advice, honoured them with the Super-intendency. It cannot be denied, but that moſt of the Cardinals faithfull creatures, reflecting upon the little ſervice, which the Sieur

*de*

de *Marillac*, would have done the State in his own person, took occasion to talk of it, that he should be so preferred into affairs, without remembring those extravagancies of his, during the Confederacy. But such ought to consider, that resolutions ought not to be judged by the event; that the wisest Counsels are sometimes attended with ill success, as well as the most rash and unadvised attempts; and I shall tell them withall, that the Cardinal could hardly have imagined, how much it was to be wished, that the Sieur de *Marillac* would have rebated some part of that unquiet and rebellious spirit of his, which he manifested during those troubles, in relation to that reservedness and moderation of which he was known to be master, when he had no other Office but that of the Requests and Councellour of State, which moderation of his, gave good cause to hope that his riper Age, had totally extinguished that seditious fire which had almost consumed him in his younger days.

*Politique Observation.*

SEeing there must of necessity be limits and Bounds in that distrust, which is had of persons chosen to serve in publique affairs; as also, that it is a great fault to trust every one and a greater to trust none, or to remove a person from the Government, whose reputation and conduct, seems to ingage a Trust in him; so on the contrary, the confidence which a Minister hath of a person, who hath the repute of a great vertue (though peradventure there might have been some miscarriage in her former conduct) is no slight testimonie of her owne integritie. A depraved Nature can beleeve no one, hardly himselfe, whereas a Vertuous Noble disposition honoureth such as have the reputation of being sincere and Loyal with so much respect, that there need no great labour to make them be credited. I cannot more properly compare distrust to any thing then to those Poysons which Phisitians sometimes use in their Medicines which administred with discretion and by weight do cure the most dangerous sicknesses, whereas given in a little excess, they presently kil; so doth distrust it is one of the best supports in a Ministers conduct if he useth it moderately, and on the other side, if too much made use of, it causeth a thousand disasters both to the State and the Minister himself. Hee who is too distrustful hath never any quiet; hee never looketh on any thing but it disturbs him, no one cometh neere him but hee suspecteth it is with some ill design, if any one salute him with a little more then usual respect, he presently fancieth such a one will cheat him, and vertue it selfe passeth for Hippocrasie in his opinion; And if by this means hee createth a Hell to himself, his suspitions too are offensive to all who have any manner of conversation with him. I passe by those inferiour persons who do oftentimes render great services to the State, and yet being denied the liberty of presenting themselves, do at last hate the chief Minister, when they think themselves dis-respected. On the contrary, confidence puts the mind in great repose, gaines affection from all the world, induceth to imploy all such as are able to do service with Freedome, and many times maketh enemies themselves to change their designs, and to prosecute instead of persecuting his interests.

The Romans were not fullied with this diffidence, for they never made any difficulty, to re-place those again into their Offices, whom they had formerly removed. They recalled *Camillus* whom they had banished, made him Dictator, honoured him with the Consul-ship, and General of the Army under *Marcus Livius* command, whom they disgraced: And the Emperour *Augustus*, instead of punishing *Lucius Cinna*, who whould have attempted upon his person, had such confidence in him, that he not onely did not distrust him, but advanced him to the Consul-ship, and by that manner of proceeding so won upon him, that he was ever after very faithfull, and very affectionate to all, which concerned him: Mens inclinations are not irrecoverable, and they who have heretofore been incendiaries, may turn to be faithfull servants: Whence it comes, that the Rule which ought to be followed in distrusting of men, is that it be not with excesse, not totally and absolutely to lay

by, and reject all who have been culpable of evil management, but to examine the true cause of their disorder, whether their fault were committed by inclination or accident, if the occasion which induced them, be removed or not, and whether there be good ground to beleeve, that their vertue hath been set right and amended after their bad disposition, judging so much the more favourably of those who are reputed vertuous, because the integrity of a Prince, and his principal Minister of State, is judged by the Qualities and Conditions of those Officers whom they imploy; but withall still retaining a power to curb their evil conduct, if they abuse that confidence which it had of them.

## *The* Garde de Seaux d' Haligre, *is advanced to the charge of Chancellor of* France, *by the death of Monsieur* de Sillery.

FOrtune having made way by the disgrace of the Marquess *de la Vieville*, for the advancement of these two Councellors of State, death would also take its turn to shew its power, giving occasion by the decease of Monsieur *de Sillery*, to advance Monsieur *Le garde de Seaux de Haligre*, to the charge of Chancellour of *France*. This great man was laid a sleep in his Tomb, after he had been known for one of the prime spirits of his time, both in matters of his Counsel, the Seal, and his own particular imporment; whence it happened that the disgrace which befell him, not long before by those bad Offices, which the Marquess *de la Vieville* did him, (who was not able to indure that any mans discretion should over shadow him) was but a Triumph to his vertue. He was removed by the Artifices of that Minister, to go spend the rest of his days at his house of *Sillery*, that he might be eased of the trouble of the world. He made known both to his confident friends who visited him, and to such with whom he held an inter-course by Letters, that this change, wrought not upon his Constancy, and that his disgrace did not at all alter the temper of his mind. He told them, that he had alwaies held it for a *maxime*, to consider Accidents by their true cause, which is the divine Providence, and seeing that no man ought to repine at that which he is forced to suffer, it were but reasonable to conform our wills, to those orders which are established here upon earth; that he was not ignorant how that huge multitude which follows those men who are in great places, doth not follow so much their persons, as their fortunes; and that the solitude wherein he now was, made him find it so by experience, that he did not think he had the fewer friends in having so few Visitants; that in fine, he injoyed a great liberty, such a one as he had never tasted in his most honourable imployments; that the sweetnesse which he found in it, invited him to lament their condition, who were still bound to such Slaveries: And that lastly, he preferred his disgrace before the highest dignty.

It was a middest such prudent meditations, that he entertained himself near a whole year in great content from the Court, untill at last death came to put a period to his days, but left his Glory and Reputation fresh and alive in the memories of all, who knew him. After his death, his Majesty gave the Chancellorship to Monsieur *de Halligre*, which was done by the Cardinals advice, who would by no means divert his Majesty from raising of him unto this utmost pitch of Honour, which was usually accorded unto such as were Treasurers at that time, and upon such an occasion; not that he was ignorant, that his Age rendered his Mind somewhat too weak for the weight of such a charge; for the well performance of which, it was not enough, barely to have acquired the Ornaments of a singular Honesty, which was however very commendable: But he could not resolve to dis-countenance him, it being his first entrance upon the Administration, and early dayes with him; so that he rather aimed to supply the others defects, by his own proper ingeny, which was able enough to defend the State from suffering, as to hinder him from his advancement; withall he hoped, that giving him often, the honour of admitting him to be neer him, he might form him by his Counsels, and render him

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more capable and vigorous in the tranſ-acting of great Affairs. He thought too, that his redoubled cares for ſome ſmall time, might be requited in future, which invited him to take that trouble upon himſelf, as alſo, becauſe he would not caſt off a perſon, whom he found Keeper of the Seal, and in reputation of a Sublime virtue.

*Politick Obſervation.*

TO judge with certainty of the ability or inſufficiency of a man, for management of great affairs, is a thing very difficult. If it often happens that the moſt active ſouls do not well away with affairs of little concernment, it is not leſſe common, to ſee ſome who make themſelves be admired as in indifferent imployments, who being raiſed to thoſe of a little higher degree, acquit themſelves very badly. To verifie which, *Veſpaſian* being over-ſeer of the Scavangers (before he came to the Empire) committed ſo many miſ-carriages, that the Emperour commanded his cloaths to be daubed all over with filth and dirt; but when Fortune had once raiſed him up to be Soveraign, he ſoon made it evident that the evil conduct, for which he was once blamed, proceeded from nothing but to ſhew that he was not born for love and mean actions. Men of great merit behave themſelves ſo negligently in ſmall, low imployments, that they give but a ſlender character of their abilities: On the other ſide, ſome have attained to a great reputation, in the diſcharging of ſmall affairs, and in proſecution of time being advanced to thoſe of greater weight, have found their ruine and confuſion in them. *Galba* may ſerve for an example of it, ſeeing before he was Emperour, he ſhewed ſo much Prudence in the diſpatching thoſe affairs which were committed to him, that every one conceived a very great eſteem of him, but being come to the Empire, he ſoon loſt it. If any one demand a reaſon of it, I ſuppoſe there is none but this; that as there ought to be a proportion between Cauſes and Effects, that they may operate within the Sphere of their power, ſo men ought to be adopted to charges in imployments, conformable to their capacities and ſufficiencies; for that mens minds have certain bounds preſcribed to them, within the limits of which they are able to acquit themſelves with credit and applauſe; but if you advance them above, or depreſſe them below thoſe Spheres, they ſhew nothing but debilities and miſ-carriages. It was in this reſpect that *Tacitus* ſpeaks of *Poppeus Sabinus*, when he ſaid that he was ſufficiently capable of thoſe imployments which were intruſted with him, but not of any higher. *Titus Livy* was not much out of the way too, when ſpeaking of the Dictatorſhip of *Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus*, he ſaid, that he had a courage equal to his charge, but not great enough to be General of the Army. Now in this incertainty, it ſhould ſeem to reliſh ſomewhat of injuſtice; peradventure too of imprudence in a Chiefe Miniſter, to oppoſe the advancement of a man whom hee finds in imployment, and in the reputation of an honeſt integrity. It would reliſh, as I ſaid, of Injuſtice; becauſe his integrity and conduct, reduct, repreſent him for deſerving, and of imprudence too, becauſe vertue having the property of pulling down a hatred upon thoſe who oppreſſe it, it will certainly gain him the diſ-eſteem and diſ-affection of the people, ſhould he have hindred the t'others good fortune; beſides the nobleſt glory of a powerfull man conſiſts in being able to hurt, but at that ſame time to do moſt good to all men, eſpecially to thoſe who are vertuous. A man may eaſily be perſwaded that a Miniſter is vertuous, if he favours perſons of merit; and on the contrary, that he hath none but wicked deſigns, if he bring them into diſgrace, and of this he ought to take the greater conſideration upon his firſt entrance into the Government, becauſe he hath then the fitteſt opportunity of gaining upon the Peoples affections. *Alexander* knew of what concernment this particular was, when as a certain Lord of his Retinue complained that he gave no eſtate to any but perſons of great vertue, he was anſwered by him that he courted vertue, that ſhe her ſelf might pay him Homage over all the world.

*Enquiries into the Miſdemeanours of the Finances.*

THE Sieur *de Marillac* being honoured with the Super-intendency of the Finances, his unquiet ſpirit could not reſt long time without giving ſome object to his violence, the Finances he levelled at, and ſoon ſet them into ſuch confuſion, that they who behaved themſelves in their charges with the greateſt innocency, knew not where to hide their heads, It is true, that it was ſo much the more important, to the good of the State, to repreſſe thoſe miſ-demeanours of many, who did openly ſquander away the Kings monies (which are the Sinnews both of the State and War) in that their ill management did neceſſitate the impoſing of new Taxes upon the People, in that they deprived particular men of ſuch ſumms as the King had granted them, not onely by way of gratification, but ſometimes of juſtice; and in that theſe unjuſt dealings gave means to many amongſt them, to make vaſt expences (a dangerous example to the publique) Yet ſhould hee have had forborn driving thoſe enquiries to that height which he did, and from infuſing into the Kings Soul ſuch a ſharpneſſe againſt them, that they all paſt for criminals indifferently together in his Majeſties opinion.

The order which was followed was this, There was out of each Parliament one Councellour elected by them, who was reputed of extraordinary integrity to be formed into a Court of Juſtice to them, were joyned certain Maſters of Requeſts, and two Preſidents of the Chamber of Accompts of *Paris*. Leave was given to all Informers, who would appear to give in their complaints againſt any Officer, or his Deputy, to the Procurator General, and there was ſo exact an Inquiſition made of all their deportments, that there was hardly one of them which did not run away to ſave themſelves from the ſtorm, which was falling down upon them. This Court continued from the end of *October* of this year, untill *May* in the year following: however it was with more threats then puniſhments, there being onely one put to death and ſome few in Effigie.

Monſieur the Cardinal did for ſome time behold this Tempeſt not giving way to his Prudence, to imploy that Benignity which is natural to him, towards the moderating his Majeſties juſt anger againſt them, as well to teſtifie upon his firſt entrance into the Adminiſtration, that it was not his intention to protect ſuch Malefactors; as alſo in regard it was neceſſary to terrifie and affright thoſe who were culpable, to the end they might for the future live with more Integrity and Juſtice. But in the end, ſeeing that the Principal Actors began to be touched to the quick, with an apprehenſion either of looſing their Honours, or their lives, and to compare themſelves in good earneſt, as much as could poſſibly be deſired, and withall to propoſe to his Majeſty in behalf of their perſons, to eſtabliſh ſuch orders in the Treaſuries, that it ſhould be impoſſible to divert any of the monies, or to defraud any perſons of ſuch ſums, as his Majeſty ſhould order to be payed unto them, he then became the Mediator of their Peace. It is true, it was not without making their Purſes pay for what was paſt, and ſetting up a better order for the future; for he brought them to condiſcend to give hit Majeſty ſeven Millions of Livers, and for the better keeping them in aw, it was ordained that every ten years a Court of Juſtice ſhould be ſet up, to inquire into their Actions, and he procured ſuch order to be eſtabliſhed in the Finances, that it was impoſſible for them to relapſe into their former errours. The King was ſo exaſperated againſt them, that it was no little difficulty to perſwade him to grant them that favour and grace which they begged for. But hee, knowing that the ways of reaſon, are thoſe by which his Majeſty is to be regained; he ſo followed them, that he ſoon re-placed him in his uſual moderateneſs of temper, and repreſenting to him, that it was Clemency was that virtue, which made Princes like unto the Divinity, that it could not but be glorious to pardon thoſe Officers, how culpable ſoever, that their offence was not more criminal then that of Rebellion, in which the *major* part of the French, had in ſeveral Wars heretofore been imbroyled, that he would have ſo much the leſſe reaſon, ever to repent of the

the favour he should do them; for that the late King his Father was highly praised for what he once said to *Monsieur du Mayne*, after he had reduced him to his obedience, *viz.* That the greatest pleasure he had in making a Peace, was the pardoning of Rebels, That the Laws of the Romans seemed to invite him to pardon, seeing they had no other punishment then Banishment for Robbing of Publique Treasury. That the end of a great Prince, is rather to make his Officers good, then to chastize them. That it was enough thus to punish their Purses, so that they might both remember it, and suffer for it; that *Vespasian* had given him a very commendable example, when as he thought it more proper to preserve then destroy Treasuries, in saying he esteemed them one of the strongest props of an Empire, and that he looked upon them as a Meadow, which is mowed at some time or other, or as upon Spunges which are squeezed, when a man would get any thing out of them.

These reasons were so unanswerable, and made such an impression upon the Kings mind, that following the instincts of his natural Bounty, he resolved to pardon them. Accordingly, he Repealed the Chambee of Justice, and accorded to them the favour which they desired, and they established such Orders and Rules, which have tied up those who were most wedded to their own interests, to live very frayedly.

*Politick Observation.*

IT is no new thing to see the Publick Exchequer ill governed. The Treasury was common amongst the Greeks, as *Polybius* and *Chirisophus*, in *Zenophon* witnesse, the latter of which reproacheth them with it, that there was hardly a man amongst them of any mark, who might not be reproved for it. *Aristides* general Treasurer of *Athens*, manifested publickly, that all those who had managed the Treasury of that Republick, not onely in his time, but before, had robbed them of a good quantity, not so much as excepting *Themistocles*. *Cylippus*, did divert a great part of those Riches, which *Lysander* had hid by a Slaves means of his, under the Tyles of his house. When he sayd, if one should look in such a place, he might find good store of Owls; meaning Gold and Silver, upon which the Grecians stamped an Owl, by reason of the Athenians, which was accordingly sifted out, and delivered into the hands of the *Ephores*, who punished him very severely for it. For the same fault amongst the Romans, was *Sylla* accused by *Consorinus*, who grounded his indictment upon this, That he having but little wealth left by his Father, insomuch that he was forced to lodge in a hired house, and was now become excessively rich. It would be easie to produce many of the like examples, not but there have been in all ages, honest, upright men, in whose hands the Publick Treasuries have been regulated, with much fidelitie, and who have not deserved lesse praise then *Pericles*, of whom *Thucydides* reports, that he had not increased by one onely dragm of Silver, the Estate which his father left him, notwithstanding the great imployments he had in the Treasuries. But I can tell you, there have been some Persons in the Ages last past, who have made so little difficulty of diverting the Treasury, that they have gloried in being made rich by it.

If this Crime then be so ancient, the use of punishing them, being once convict is as old, the Grecian and Roman Laws assure us of it, in the examples of *Cylippus*, *Lisander*, and many others, but must he not needs be very imprudent, who would not punish them at all, seeing the defrauding of a Treaty, is a Poyson, which depriveth the State of the use of her Sinews and Muscles: And lastly, which decays its vigour, that it is rendred uncapable of attempting any thing either great or glorious. *Vespasian*, as *Suetonius* saith, inforced the Receivers of his Treasury, to render an accompt of what they received from their fathers, and to restore him the surplusage, as if they had robbed him of it.

The Laws of *France* are more severe, and they have been often executed, against the greatest of the Kingdome, amongst others, Father *de la Berche Enguerand de Marigny*,

*Marigny, le Sieur de Giac, & Camus de Beaulieu,* were convicted of this Crime, under King *Philip*, *Lewis* his son, and *Charls* the 8*th.* and accordingly condemned to die for it.

*Philip de Valois* made an Assembly very remarkable, of the three States, in which it was resolved to make the Treasurers, render an accompt, and to intrust the disposal of the Publick Money, into the hands of the Ecclesiasticks and Noble Men; who it was hoped, would manage them with more Fidelity. In fine, a Commission was granted to the Abbots of *Marmoſtier* and *Corby*, and they had joyned to them for Counsel, four Bishops, and four Knights. *Pierre des Essars* Treasurer of *France*, was then clapt up in Prison, and severall Financiers condemned to pay great Fines.

## *The Affairs of the* Valtoline.

After the declaring what Empires Death and Fortune exercised during this year in the State, the prosecution of Affairs ingageth me to inform you of what passed in the businesse of the Valtoline; but that I may write it with more perspicuity. I think it necessary to take the rise of this Affair, and to observe to you, that the Valtoline is a Country scituated at the foot of the Alps, not unlike a great Ditch, separated by the high Mountains from the Grisons, and those which are on the Coast of *Italy*. It is not of very large extent, not being above twenty leagues in length, and one in breadth, but is very fertile, and of great importance, serving as a Gate to the Spaniards and Venetians, to bring Forces out of *Germany* into *Italy*, as well to defend as to increase their States. The *Venetians* were not ignorant of it, when they were imbroyled with Pope *Paul* the fifth, *Anno* 1603. they made a League with the Grisons who are natural Lords of it, to have free passage through it, as their occasions should require, though *France* had the onely Power to dispose of it, according to the Treaty made with them by *Lewis* the 12*th.* and renewed by *Henry* the Great, *Anno* 1602. during the time of his own life, the life of the present King, and eight years after his decease. Which Alliance with them, gives great offence to the Spaniards, which caused them to make another League with the Grisons, to whom the same Passages were assured, for the safeguard of *Milan*: However after a long Treaty made in the year, 1613. these two new Alliances were turned topsie turvey, and that of *France* re-setled; it is true, it was not for any long time, because the Venetians having been at variance, with the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand*, and the house of *Austria*, sent Secretary *Patavin* to the Grisons, who contracted another league with them, which made the Spaniards re-assume those former intelligences of theirs, insomuch that there were two parties formed amongst them; that of *Planta* for the Spaniards, and that of *Destia* for the Venetians, which kindled such a fire as could not be extinguished to this present day. The difference was such, that from the year 1617. to the year 1621. there were nine insurrections among them, in which sometimes one party, sometimes another had the better of it. At last the Valtolines, annoyed by the Injustices and Extorsions, which the Protestant Grisons used over them, and otherwhiles pretending that they would abolish the Catholick Religion from amongst them, they made a general revolt, and at the perswasion of the Governour of *Milan*, massacred all the Protestants they met with. In *July* 1620. the Grisons could easily have chastised them for this cruell act, whereas they to secure themselves, from the revenge which they expected, had recourse to the Governour of *Milan*, who glad at heart to make an advantage in this occasion, was not backward in sending them souldiers, and building them Forts in their Valley.

The King being then ingaged in re-taking those Towns which the Hugonots had gotten into their possession, could not succour the Grisons with his Armies; but however he sent the Marshal *de Bassompiere*, extraordinary Ambassadour into *Spain*, to require, and in his name to demand that the Valtoline might be restored, and all things re-placed into their former state and condition. The Marshal took extraordi-

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nary pains to procure it, and at last obtained it, and accordingly it was signed at a Treaty in *Madrid*, in *May* 1621. on condition that certain great Liberties might be accorded to the Catholiques there, and with a Proviso, that the Cantons of the *Swisses* and the *Valtolines* should incline the *Grisons* to consent to what had been agreed upon.

But the *Spaniards* proceeding with little Faith to execute the Treaty, procured the Catholique Cantons, by their mony, to deny their consents, which one thing being deficient, they would put off the whole execution of the Treaty; and moreover made one at *Milan*, with the Deputies of the *Grisons*, and two others, with the same *Grisons* and the Archduke *Leopold*, by which they got great advantages in those Countries, and so kept to themselves the power of passing any Forces thorough that Country.

This Procedure made the Duke of *Savoy* very jealous, as also the Princes of *Italy* and *Germany*, which were not interessed in the designs of the House of *Austria*, and having made their complaints to his Majesty, his Majesty, who is as much concern'd for them as the *Grisons*, concluded a Treaty of Alliance with the Duke of *Savoy* and Republique of *Venice*, in *February* 1623, for the executing the Treaty at *Madrid*, and the re-establishing the *Grisons* in their Sovereignty of the *Valtoline*.

This League made the King of *Spain* suspect, that they began to smel the Usurpation which he had made, so that guessing he should find a hard task to preserve it, he offered the King to put all those Forts which the Governour of *Milan* had built, in deposit in Pope *Gregory* the fifteenth's hands, and those of the Holy Seat, to be by them kept until the conclusion of the Treaty, which should be made to end all those differences. The King could hardly be drawn to agree to to the deposit, both because there was no need of any other Treaty then that of *Madrid*, as also by reason of the liberty of passages which the *Spaniard* would keep. However, his Majesty being pressed unto it by the Pope, consented to it, upon condition that all those Forts should be demolished within three months, during which time, the Articles of Accommodation should be agreed on at *Rome*. The Commander of *Sylleri* was then Ambassador at *Rome* for *France*, and the Duke *de Pastrane* had the same charge from *Spain*, and both having received power from their Masters to treat and negotiate this Affair, there were divers Propositions made; *France* never made any difficulty of according to any thing which might contribute to the exercise of the Catholique Religion in the *Valtoline*, or for security of all such as made profession thereof: But they would never agree to those demands which the *Spaniards* made concerning the having of Passages, with so much peremptorines. During which time Pope *Gregory* the fifteenth dyed, and *Urban* the eighth being set in his place, after his first entrance upon the Popedom, proposed new Articles of Accommodation, which comprised as much as could be of advantage for the Church and Catholiques, which were readily accepted of by *France*, but as stoutly rejected by the *Spaniards*, for that it did not grant to them the enjoyment of the Passages.

Their Refusal surprised the Pope, but he being made by some of their Ministers, who had represented to him, that those Passages were the least recompence which they could pretend to, in lieu of many Millions which they had expended for the defence of the Catholique Religion in the *Valtoline*. His Holyness proposed to them, to grant them passage for their Souldiers into *Germany* and *Flanders*, in behalf of the War which they should make against the Heretiques, but upon no other occasion whatsoever. To this the King would in no wise agree, because to have granted them free passage there, upon what occasion soever, were to give them the whole end of their design, which was to unite the Estates which the House of *Austria* hath in *Germany* to those in *Italy*, as we shall elsewhere declare, and by that means to expose the Princes of *Italy* as a Prey to the Spanish Ambition; more especially the *Venetians*, who (should that thing be assented to) have good cause to complain of *France*: Besides, that Article

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was quite contrary to the Treaty at *Madrid*, for the execution of which this Treaty was onely intended. That withall, the King was in a League with thoſe of *Venice* and *Savoy*, and had engaged his Word, his Honour, and his Faith, to reſettle things in their former ſtate. It is true, the Commander of *Sylleric* had been ſurpriſed by the *Spaniards*, and had conſented to thoſe Articles wherein the demand of thoſe Paſſages was included, but however had not ſigned them, and the King diſowned them, and declared, that he having done it contrary to his order, he was not bound to ratifie it, and principally ſeeing he himſelf too, had not aſſented to them, but after he had underſtood of the diſgraces which had befallen the Chancellor his Brother, and the *Sieur de Piſani* his Nephew.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is very dangerous for a Prince to ſit ſtill, and ſee another invade his neighbours for certain Paſſages or Countries, which may lay his States, as it were, hedge by hedge, and eſpecially if thoſe places may ſerve for a Ia-let, or Door to give ſuccours to his own Allies, ſuch a thing were to give him leave to turn his weakneſs into ſtrength, for that united States are ſtronger then when diſunited. Great Rivers whilſt they are in ſmall Brooks, are fordable by every one; and are not feared at all, until all their waters run in the ſame channel; and divided Eſtates may eaſily be ſurpriſed, whereas if united, they are capable of giving jealouſie to their neighbours, as alſo to make attempts upon them.

It is a common ſaying in Philoſophy, *Vis unita fortior*, united Power is much ſtronger than when divided into ſeveral particulars. *Sertorius* evinced this to his Army for a Truth by a witty Invention; he commanded two Souldiers to pull off a Horſes tayl, both which he choſe for the purpoſe, of a different humour and ſtrength; the one of them weak, but ingenious, the other ſtrong, but raſh; the latter, in obedience to *Sertorius* command, took a whole handful of the Horſes tayle, and tugging with all his force, could not pull it off; the ſecond took a quite contrary way, he pull'd them off hair by hair, until he quite made an end; whence *Sertorius* took an occaſion to exhort his Souldiers never to ſeparate themſelves either in a Fight, or upon a March, he told them, they had ſeen, that united Forces are hard to be vanquiſhed, but eaſily overcome if diſunited. If this reaſon be ſufficient to warrant a man, from permitting an Invaſion in any Country, it is the more neceſſary to be proſecuted, when it ſerves for a mutual paſſage for *France* to aſſiſt its Allies, and to receive ſuccour from them, for that theſe Paſſages are of as great concernment as the Allies themſelves, for once being loſt, Allies can neither give or receive any ſuccours at all. That Prince who ſuffers them to be uſurped, expoſeth his ancient Allies to be made a prey, and cuts off one of his own armes, wherewith he might have defended himſelf.

For this very reaſon it is, that our Kings having often diſcoved the *Spaniards* deſigns of invading *Savoy*, have preſently been on foot to defend it, as the uſual Gate of Communication between *France* and *Italy*, which once loſt, they knew that all the Princes of *Italy* would quickly be reduced to the mercy of the *Spaniards*, ſeeing they could not be aſſiſted by *France*, which hath ever been their Protectrix, as alſo, that *France*, if occaſion were, could not receive any ſuccours from them.

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## *The Deputation of the* Sieur de Bethune, *to* Rome *as Ordinary Embaſſador, and the Revocation of the Commander of* Syllery.

THe Commander *de Syllery* being thus ſurpriſed, the King was obliged to call him home, and to ſend in his place *Monſieur de Bethune*, a man of great judgement and reputation, to whom he gave expreſſe order, to declare very reſolutely to the Pope, that he would never conſent that the Spaniards ſhould have paſſage in the *Valtoline*, and to beſeech him in his Majeſties name, that he would uſe his authority to inforce the execution of the Treaty of *Madrid*, that according to the rules of Juſtice, the Griſons might be reſtored to that which had been uſurped from them, both in the *Valtoline*, as alſo in the rights of the League at *Caddee*. A little after his departure, his Majeſty received advice, that the reſolution of denying thoſe paſſages, was approved of at *Rome*, ſo he diſpatched one to him upon the way, that he might every day be more reſolute, and that hee publiſh it aloud to all the world, to ſtop the Spaniards mouths, who made people beleeve, that at laſt wee ſhould give ground and accord it to them.

The *Sieur de Bethune* being arrived at *Rome*, acquitted himſelf ſo worthily of that which was given him in charge, that the Pope no more doubting of his Majeſties reſolution, told him, he would forthwith diſcharge himſelf of the Forts in the *Valtoline*. The *Sieur de Bethune*, was for the preſent ſatisfied with it, and gave notice of it to the King. But upon receiving his Majeſties further pleaſure upon that particular, he very briskly told his Holineſs, it would be a thing of very ill conſequence, to deliver them into the Spaniards power, ſeeing if it were once done, a breach between the two Crowns were not to be avoided. That it were no leſſe againſt the Intereſt of Religion, to ſurrender them to the Griſons who were Hereticks, and that the beſt expedient which could be taken was (but by the By he propoſed it onely as from himſelf) either to raze them, as by the Treaty of *Madrid* was agreed on, or to leave them to the *Valtolines* themſelves, ſeeing there might be an eaſier agreement made with them, then with any others. The Pope found himſelf ſo intangled, that he knew not what to reſolve, ſo that the buſineſſe, had been Wyer-drawn into a great length of time and delays, if he had not been preſsed by thoſe Proteſtations, which were ſeveral times repreſented to him: That the King his Maſter, after he had imployed all the means of a Treaty to no purpoſe, would have recourſe to thoſe of his Arms, without any more ado, to obtain that by force, which was denied to the juſtice of his Reaſons.

His Holineſs being thus hard put to it, would willingly have delivered up the Forts into the hands of the Valtolines; but one thing which hindred him was, he would be re-imburſed of thoſe Charges which he had expended, for their preſervation during the depoſit. The Spaniards offering to give him ſatisfaction in it, did invite him to deliver them up to them. But the *Sieur de Bethune*, making him the ſame proffers from the King, did ſo puzzle him, that afterwards he could not deliver up the Forts to one, without offending the t'other, and without making a breach between them. Now to diſ-ingage himſelf from theſe broyls, he made divers Propoſals, but all tending to delays, the *Sieur de Bethune*, acquainting the King therewith, received expreſs Order, not to conſent to any expedient of that nature, and rather to preſs his Holineſs, to leave the Fort in the Spaniards hands, then to uſe any longer delays; becauſe his Majeſty was fully reſolved, not to let the year paſs away without ſomewhat of Action, and in caſe he could get no other determinate reſolution, that he ſhould write to the Marqueſs *Cœuures*, preſently to enter with an Army upon the *Valtoline*.

*Politick Obſervation.*

IT is uſual with Princes, who are Mediators of Peace between other Soveraigns, to amuſe thoſe Embaſſadours which are with them upon that accompt, with divers new Propoſals, which themſelves judge not to be feaſible. When they find things hard to be concluded on, they hope, that time may in fine produce ſome agreeable overture, both to one and t'other, which may induce them to lay down their Arms; or elſe, they indeavour by this means to give time to him, whom they would incline to favour, to draw his forces together, and put himſelf into a poſture of defence. In ſuch Encounters an Embaſſadour ought to be both Prudent and Stout: Prudent he ought to be, that he may dive into the qualities and conſequences, of ſuch Propoſitions as ſhall be made unto him, either to reject them, if inconvenient, or to make appear that it is on good grounds, he doth not accept of them. Couragious too he ought to be, to maintain his Maſters Intereſts, with ſtrong Reaſons and Generoſity, without fear of being importunate, and without making a ſcruple of ſpeaking out, when need requires. If he diſcovers any weakneſſe, ir-reſolution and dulneſs of Soul, if he be ſlow in finding out expedients, or do not well diſcuſs ſuch propoſitions as are made to him, he cannot eſcape the cenſure of the World; on the contrary he will gain the more honour, if by his vivacity, addreſs, and vigour, he ſhall effect with eaſe, thoſe affairs, which otherwiſe would be intricate and Thorny, and free his Country from Wars, and allay the exaſperations of his enemies; and in fine, reduce the moſt obſtinate to be governed by the Rules of Reaſon. It will be an act of Prudence in him, not to bewray the leaſt apprehenſion of fear, to ſee his Maſter ingaged in a War, which if he ſhould, his enemies would ſoon make advantage of it; on the contrary, he ought rather to imitate the reſolution of *Quintus Fabius*, who being ſent from the Romans to the Carthaginians, preſently told them, that he ſhould be moſt glad, if there might be any expedient found out for an accommodation, which would be for the good of both parties, if it might not be, he there preſented them too Gages, one of Peace and t'other of War, that they might chuſe which they pleaſed. He will be much blamed, who ſuffers himſelf to be amuſed with frivolous Propoſals, made onely to gain time, as it befell the Embaſſadours of *Dyoniſius* the Tyrant, who being ſent to the Syracuſians to treat a Peace, were entertained by *Dion* General of their Army, with ſeveral ſpecious Propoſitions, but without any concluſion, untill he had re-edified a good part of the Wall, by which the Town ſhould have been taken, and then had no other anſwer but this, That the Syracuſians could make no Peace with *Dyoniſius*, unleſs hee renounced the Soveraignty, and content himſelf with ſome meaner Honours. An Embaſſadour ought ſometimes to excite and preſs that Prince with whom he treats, when he cannot draw any reaſon from him, and if his Inſtances ſhall be looked upon as importunities by him; yet his maſter will eſteem them for marks of his Courage and Fidelity; however, ſuch remembrances ought to be with reſpective honour due to Perſons of Quality. For being a little toucht, they rouze up themſelves, but if provoked by offences, they run into extremities. An Embaſſadour of *Genoa*, did heretofore ſuggeſt as much to *Galeas* Duke of *Milan*, by a witty invention, when he was ſo obſtinate that he could not procure ſo much as Audience from him; he preſented him (among other things) a Veſſel, on which he had laid a Baſil-plant, the Duke was ſurprized at it, and knowing not what it ſignified, ſent to know the Embaſſadours meaning, the Embaſſadour willingly waited on him, and told him, that the Genoveſes were as all other Princes, like that Plant, which if a little rubbed in the hand, ſends forth a very ſweet ſmell, but if preſſed untill the juyce come out, it breeds Scorpions; thus he obtained much of what he deſired by this means. To be ſhort, Kings are of that humour, that if an Embaſſadour ſhould be ſo inconſiderate, as to domineer and uſe outragious ſpeeches; it would onely breed Scorpions, that is Bloody Wars, by provoking of their anger; but if he be Prudent and Generous, to preſs with dexterity and moderation,

they

they will become ſenſible, and be reduced in fine to whatſoever ſhall reaſonably be deſired from them.

### *The Marqueſs* de Cœvures, *is ſent to the Cantons of the* Swiſſes, *for the Griſons affairs.*

THE orders in this negotiation, were executed with a great deal of Prudence and Courage; however all would not do, to obtain any reaſon from the Spaniards, who never want opportunities, of making advantages out of the tediouſneſs of a Treaty. The Cardinal who knew of old, all their tricks, adviſed the King, not to ſtand dallying upon the means of a Treaty, as formerly; but forthwith to make uſe of his Arms, to reduce them to terms of Juſtice.

This way of proceeding, was much different from thoſe which had heretofore been uſed; the intent of it being, to raiſe up the Renown and Reputation of the French, amongſt ſtrangers to make no difficulty of taking up their Arms, to obſtruct the enterprizes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, rather then to ſuffer their Allies to be longer oppreſſed; the Ruine of whom, would undoubtedly ſhake the Foundations of this Empire it ſelf. This Generous reſentment, was concurrent with his Majeſties inclination, ſo that he reſolved to ſend the Marqueſs *de Cœvures* into *Switzerland*, at the ſame time that the *Sieur de Bethune* was diſpatched towards *Rome*. There were two Inſtructions delivered to him; by the firſt, he was ordered to re-unite all the Swiſſe Cantons, with his Majeſty, to diſpoſe the Catholicks, to give their aſſent to the Treaty of *Madrid*; and to eſpy if in this re-union, there might not ſome way be found out, for to re-place the Griſons into the Soveraignty of the Valtoline.

The ſecond was to be kept private, if the firſt took effect, elſe he was commanded to incourage the Griſons to riſe, who ſhould receive aſſiſtance from his Majeſty of ſuch Troops as ſhould be neceſſary, according to ſuch orders, as ſhould be received; there went with the Marqueſs, all the Griſons Captains, who were at that time in the Swiſs Regiment, who were thought moſt able to be made uſe of in the Valtoline, to fiſh out any thing which might be thought proper to be known, and to give intelligence to the Marqueſs of thoſe Countries. But that which was the beſt guide of all, was to ſee ſix hundred and ſixty thouſand Livres, paſs in a Convoy to be diſtributed ſome part amongſt the Swiſſes, upon whoſe natures nothing hath ſo great an influence as mony; and the other part upon the firſt expences of the war, if there ſhould be any occaſion to begin it.

Upon his comming into Swiſſerland, he found the Spaniards had made ſtrong Parties there, ſo that it was impoſſible for him, on the ſudden, to open the peoples eyes, that they might ſee how they precipitated themſelves into their own ruine. He imployed the *Sieurs de Meſnim*, & *du Meſnil*, to negotiate with them in final Aſſemblies; and preſently after his arrival, he went to *Baden*, but it was with little ſucceſs untill the General meeting in *Auguſt* at *Soulour*. In the *interim*, he laboured very diligently to gain the Principal Captains, either by diſtributing the Kings money amongſt them, or by inſtilling ſuch other reaſons as might be able to move them. To the Catholicks he gave aſſurances, that his Majeſty did not intereſs himſelf for the re-ſtating the Griſons in the government of the Valtoline, but withall neceſſary conditions, for the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion, which made thoſe ſuſpicions which had been infuſed by the Spaniards to vaniſh. As for the Intereſt of the Church, and the good of their State, it was evidently demonſtrated to them, that the loſſe of the Valtoline, would preſently be followed, by that of the three Griſons, which were inleagued together, and of which the Arch-Duke *Leopold* had already gotten a good part, That after the diſ-uniting of thoſe confederates, the Spaniard being maſter of the Paſſages, would not much trouble himſelf about thoſe little Cantons, which brought into them a great profic, and made them upon that ſcore very conſiderable. In brief, that it would quickly be eaſie for him to invade their Country, and that he would the ſooner attempt it, for

that he did not want any pretenſions, to intitle himſelf to the Maſtery of it. Theſe important reaſons, ſtrengthened with the payment of their Penſions, did ſo ſhake ſome of the Cantons, that thoſe of *Berne* and *Zurich* did firſt conſent, that there ſhould be ſouldiers levied for the King, and ſuch Proviſions of Ammunition, as every place ſhould require. But the Marquеſs chief endeavour was, at the Aſſembly at *Souleur*, where he ſhewed a Maſter-peece of Prudence, ſpeaking very highly of his Maſters name and ſuccours, and making uſe of the mony which he had brought with him, both together ſerved him to good purpoſe for obtaining of them, if not all, yet the moſt part of his deſires. The Catholicks accorded to ratifie the Treaty of *Madrid*, declaring however, that they did not intend to become bound to recover the Valtoline by force. Then he got ſuch aſſurances as himſelf liked from thoſe of *Berne* and *Zurich*, for the Levies of thoſe Souldiers, which they had promiſed; and withall, got it to be approved by all the Cantons, onely that of *Souleur* excepted, which by the means of *Ladoyer Rool's* Faction, refuſed to declare it ſelf. It is true the Catholicks conſented to it, but upon condition onely it were for *France*, but there was a little more then ſo intended in it, for the Marquеſs demanded them for the ſervice of his Maſter, and of his Allies, without openly declaring that it was for the Griſons.

In Proſecution of time, and not hoping to procure any greater aſſiſtance, he began to prepare all things to enter with an Army upon the Valtoline; but however it was, after he had informed his Majeſty of the condition of affairs amongſt the Griſons, where the *Sieur de Landre*, & *de Vaux*, imployed by his Majeſty, had put things into a very good poſture, and untill he had received his Majeſties expreſſe orders and commands.

*Politick Obſervation.*

COmmonwealths, eſpecially Popular are hardly perſwaded to any great undertakings, they are naturally ſo in love with Peace. That there is not any Warre how glorious or profitable ſoever, which they would prefer before it. Princes are capable of being ingaged upon divers conſiderations, either for the love which they bear to their Allies, or out of a ſenſe of honour which they are commonly touched with; or out of an apprehenſion of what may follow; or out of ſuch jealouſie as a puiſſant Neighbour may oblige them to have, or by neerneſſe of blood, or by the compaſſion which they have of others miſeries, and the Ambition to become Protectors of their States. But Republicks are not touched with any of theſe conſiderations. All ſuch as are called to a Common Councel, think of nothing but their own particular Intereſt, and they imagine that whatſoever hinders the injoyment of their Revenue, or ſtops their Commerce, or their Labors, as War is a greater and more conſiderable evil then any others, which you can make them ſenſible of, and they can be drawn to nothing, but in caſe of abſolute deſperate extremity. Not but that there may be amongſt the people ſome Souls and Courages more daring then others but as moſt voices carries it, not their merit who adviſe it, ſo they are no more regarded then Reaſon is, when as a multitude of different Paſſions, entertain the Will upon ſome pernicious object. It is to no purpoſe for a man, to attempt to ſhew them any conſequences which may happen in future for their ſpirits, have not a thing ſo noble as to look further then the time preſent, they are ſenſible of nothing but what is beaten into them, and they will much ſooner be perſwaded to beleeve that Fortune, who they think diſpoſeth of all humane affairs; becauſe themſelves want wit to govern them, will defend them from thoſe evils which they are threatned with, then be induced to take their own defences by Force of Arms. Moreover, their cloſe covetous humour, abhominates any thoughts of expences, without which War cannot be maintained, and the noiſe of Guns and Drums onely, do ſo beat their Imagination, that if perchance they hear talk of a Siege or a Battel; poor ouls it quite ſhareth them out of their little wits. It were to be wiſhed they had more heart and foreſight upon ſuch occaſions, for the length of time, which they ever

ever take, before they make any resolution, is an enemy to good success. Deliberation ought to be taken, and that with great Prudence, but to spend too much time in it, is very dangerous, because opportunities are lost by it, and peradventure such opportunities as the like are never afterwards to be met with, for putting a design in execution.

The Florentines shewed a remarkable example of this particular, when as *Lewis* the 12th. passed into *Italy*, against *Lodowick* Duke of *Milan*. The King desired to make a League with them, that he might make use of their Passages for his occasions, so they sent their Embassadours to treat with him. Now the Embassadours, having agreed to remain Newters in the thing doing, and that the King passing into *Italy* should take them into his Protection, they delayed the ratification of the Treaty for so long, that they could not fully resolve any, until his Majesty was upon the point of getting the Victory. Whence the King judging that they rather sought his Alliance by force, then by friendship, testified by his carriage the little esteem he made of them.

## *The League between the King, Duke of* Savoy, *and Common-wealth of* Venice, *for the restitution of the* Valtoline.

UPon the advice which the Marquess *de Cœvures* had sent the King, of the state of affairs amongst the Swisses and Grisons, his Majesty commanded the Cardinal, to consult with *Signeur Mario Antonio Morosini*, the Venetian Embassadour, and the Abbot *Scaglia* Embassadour of *Savoy*, upon reasonable Propositions and Articles, for the effecting that design of a League, which had been formed amongst them, for the restitution of the *Valtoline*. This Grand Minister, following the inclinations of his great Soul, which will not let him indure, that strangers should find any thing but what was full of Generosity in his Masters Affairs, gave a quick dispatch to them, and withall imaginable Prudence. The sum was, That the Arms of *France*, *Savoy*, and *Venice*, should come to a Rendezvous upon the 15. *September*. Those of *France* at *Bresse*, those of *Venice* about *Milan*, near the Valtoline and Grisons, and those of *Savoy* between *Milan* and *Genoa*. That there should be drawn out of the Army at *Bresse*, a Regiment of 1000 or 1200 foot and 400 horse, to march with the Marquess *de Cœvures* into *Swizzerland*, the rest to remain under the command of *Monsieur de Constable*, which should joyn with those of *Savoy* to enter upon the State of *Genoa*, and make a strong diversion there, and entertain all the Spaniards Forces which were in *Italy*, and deprive them of the *Valtoline*. That order should be given to the Marquess *de Cœvure*, forthwith to raise 3000 Grisons, and 3000 Swis. That it was agreed between one and t'other, that these Levies should execute the whole design, under the name and colours of the King, and the said States Confederates, that all the charges of the enterprize, should be born by them three, to wit, *France* should pay six parts, *Venice* two, and *Savoy* one part. That *Venice* should furnish the Cannon, Ammunitions of War, and all necessary Provisions of Victuals, but the charge of it to be divided as before, it being unreasonable, that she should pay all. Besides Count *Mansfield* who was then in *France*, offered to maintain an Army of 25000 foot, and 7000 horse, under the Prince Palatines name, they paying him three hundred and sixty thousand Livres a moneth, to invade the Countries of the house of *Austria*, in *Germany*, and to inforce them to a restitution of part of the Palatinate, by this forcing in upon them.

The Cardinal represented to the Embassadours, that these Propositions could not be but glorious, seeing the end of them was, to assist a Prince their Ally, and one despoyled of his estates; but moreover, very advantagious, because prosecuting those designs, they should so divert the Armies of *Spain*, that they would never be able to address themselves to recover the *Valtoline*. This was unanimously agreed upon amongst them, and in fine resolved, that each of them should contribute to the payment of those 360000 Livres a moneth, *viz.* the King 180000. *Venice* 120000

and

and *Savoy* 60000. Its true, Commonwealths do hardly reſolve on great enterprizes, eſpecially when there is a neceſſity of great expence. So *Venice* made a denial to contribute to this charge, as alſo to make one in the diverting which was made about *Genoa*, but laid all upon the King and Duke of *Savoy*, as ſhall be declared in the year following. Theſe orders being thus put in execution, the King writ to the Marqueſs of *Cœuvres* to teſtifie to him, how much he approved of this negotiation, and of thoſe means which he had propoſed to eſtabliſh the Griſons in their ancient authority, and commanded him to take the field with ſuch Troops as hee ſhould levy, and ſuch others as ſhould be ſent to him, ſeeing the *Sieur de Bethune* had given him to underſtand, that there was no more hopes of doing any thing by the way of a Treaty. He was alſo inform'd of thoſe concluſions which were made with *Venice* and *Savoy*, that he might govern himſelf accordingly; and laſtly aſſured him that he ſhould want for nothing.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THough moſt Leagues which are made between Princes upon any deſign, are blamed by many, by reaſon of the ſhort continuance of them, as alſo of the little ſucceſſe which uſually hath attended them; yet they are not onely profitable on many occaſions, but alſo very neceſſary. Defenſive Leagues ought to be ſo much the more eſteemed; becauſe (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) no Country is able to ſubſiſt of its own proper force. And offenſive too are not leſs conſiderable; ſeeing they give means to Princes, to make ſuch Conqueſts, as without them they durſt not attempt. The firſt of theſe Truths may be authorized by the example of the *Samnites*, who reſiſted the Romans by their own proper ſtrength, as they told *Hannibal*, as long as they were able to defend themſelves; but in proceſs of time, finding themſelves too weak, they aſſociated themſelves with King *Pyrrhus*, and to make way for the t'other. Is it not moſt certain that the aſſociation of Chriſtian Princes, gave them the means to carry away from the Turks, a moſt ſignal Victory in the Battel of *Lepanto*, which neither of them in particular could with reaſon hope for. It is true, the effects of Leagues, have not been alwaies over happy, becauſe ſeveral Princes making them for different intereſts, eaſily break them as ſoon as they have gotten their pretenſions, be it by force or compoſition. But the diſgraces of this kind, ought to be laid upon the right horſe, that is, upon the Imprudence and want of fore-ſight of thoſe who have managed them, not on the Leagues themſelves. It is not enough to contract them, but they ought to be proſecuted with favourable Conditions, and with Perſons from whom aſſiſtance may be had; and who, if they ſhould ſlip their necks out of the Collar, might not do us any diſpleaſure in it. They are very neceſſary with the neighbouring Princes, upon a place, which is deſigned to be aſſaulted, either in relation to Paſſages, or in reſpect of having from them Ammunitions, both of War, and neceſſary victuals, as there ſhall be occaſion. *Hannibal* knew this full well, when as he was upon his expedition into *Italy*, and made a League with the French and Spaniard; he took Hoſtages of them, and for better aſſurance left Gariſons in many of their ſtrong Holds. The Romans did the ſame, when they made war upon the Lacedemonians, by making a League with *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, without whoſe aſſiſtance that would have had ſomewhat to do to have paſſed on. Beſides when there is cauſe of ſuſpicion of their fidelity, it is neceſſary either to take ſome Perſons or Places of them, by way of Hoſtage; to the end, that their intereſt to preſerve them, may compel them to continue firm in their firſt reſolutions. If many of our Kings who have made expedition into *Italy*, had taken ſuch a courſe as this, were it onely in point of Paſſages, we had not ſeen them expoſed to ſo many dangers, nor indeed to ſo many diſgraces; yet in caſe by their receding they cannot cauſe any great inconveniences, there will not then be ſo abſolute a neceſſity of ſuch ſecurity and aſſurances: However, as it ought to be taken for granted, that they will ſtart aſide, in caſe the enemy give them ſatisfaction, to their intereſts, ſo there ought ſtill to bee

Forces

Forces ready which may clap in upon them, and supply their deficiencies. It is a trouble to see them break their words, yet a Prince shall reap this profit from a League, to make it serve to give a happy beginning to an enterprise, by means of such assisting forces as may be drawn from it, and by dividing expence between them, which else must be undergone by one alone. It will not be presently fit to defie them, for that would be a means to make them take to the other part, but it will be needfull to have an eye upon it, and to be prepared for the worst. Moreover, it is profitable to make Leagues, not onely with States, but with Princes and their Successors, and to contract them with greater certainty, then *Edward* the fourth King of *England* did, who having recourse to one of our Kings, after he had been despoyled of his Kingdome, had no other answer, but that the League was made with the King of *England* and his State, and that he being no longer King of *England*, *France* could not without breaking the Laws of Alliances, imploy their Arms against him, who was present Master of the Crown. To be short, it is good to be carefull that the divers constructions which may be made, may not serve for a pretext for them who would fall off. There must not be so much as the least starting hole left, for them to creep out, or to break their words, especially if they make any accompt of their reputation, which is inseparable from their fidelity, for without that they will perchance hardly resolve to run Counter.

## *The Marquess* de Cœvures *takes the Field to make himself Master of the Forts in the* Valtoline.

AT the same time, that the Kings orders were delivered to the Marquess *de Cœvures*, he received a dispatch from the *Sieur de Berhune*; which told him, that he despaired of getting any reason from the enemy, by those ways which he had till then tried, so that now he must have recourse to *Nostre Dame de Frappe Fort*; who as soon as he had received this piece of Raillary, he resolved forthwith to take the field, concluding there was no reason any longer to defer it, and that if he could surprize the places unexpectedly, without giving them leave to provide themselves, he should strike a great stroke in the businesse without any great trouble. He had long before given order to 3 Swiss, and 3 Grisons Colonels, to raise each of them a Regiment of a 1000 men, so that he had nothing else to do, but to send them word to be ready; on the other side, the Residents of *Venice* and *Savoy*, being come to him, they had agreed upon all things together: The *Sieur de Messet*, had order to make a Magazine of Ammunition at *Zurich*; for the Swisses and Grisons forces, and the Resident of *Venice*, undertook that the Common-wealth should make another at *Bergamo*, for such forces as should march into the Republick; that which was most troublesome, was there being a necessity of discovering the design to several persons, it would be impossible to keep it from being known, and to hide their intentions of the time when they would enter upon the Valtoline. The Popes *Nuntio*, called *Scapy*, and the Marquesse *d'Ogliani* the Spanish Embassadour had notice of it, who made strong indeavours to prevent any Levies amongst the Swisses, or the marching of any Troops which the King should send; but all would not serve the Levy could not be obstructed, for the Cantons of *Berne* and *Zurich* where they were to be made, had given too particular an assurance of it; by means of the money, and the promises which were made them, that they should be seconded with a puissant succour, against any who should attempt any thing against them upon that accompt. But their Contrivances and Cabals were so powerfull, that the Catholick Cantons resolved to stop their Passages upon them; so the Marquesse was forced to his shifts, that his Majesties Commands might not be ineffectual. His remedy was to cause his Horse to march four by four (that is all such as were sent him from *Bresse*) and to secure the Canton of *Bern*, for the conduct of *Vanbecourt's* Regiment; seeming after he was once entred, as if he would force his way either by Fair or Foul means, to the Grisons. It was enough that these Cantons were by

several

ſeveral Treaties bound to open their Paſſages to his Majeſties Forces, upon ſo juſt an occaſion as this was, and it made no great matter whether they refuſed it or not, ſeeing if they ſhould, they might be forced to it, without breaking the Laws of Equity. Thus he, being well informed of the reſolution which the *Nuntio* and the Marqueſs *de Ogliani*, had induced them to take, reſolved not to demand it, untill he were upon the very point of paſſing; becauſe they ſhould be better adviſed, then to deny him, when they find him in a condition not to be hindred, they not having the leaſt time to prepare themſelves againſt it,

All things being thus in a readineſſe for the beginning of the deſign, he ſent the *Sieur de Lande* to *Zurich*, to diſcourſe with the chief of the baniſhed Griſons, and to perſwade them to riſe, and then he commanded the *Sieur de Harcourt* Marſhal of the Field, and the *Sieur du Lande* to joyn with Collonel *Salis*, to enter into the Griſons to ſeize upon the Paſſages of *Steitch*, and *Pont du Rhin*, and there to fortifie themſelves, which was preſently diſpatched accordingly. They ſeized on them with ſuch dexterity, that little or no reſiſtance was found in the doing of it. At the ſame time too, the Marqueſs of *Randan*, advanced with thoſe Forces which were about *Zurich*, and the Cantons did not oppoſe their Paſſage in the leaſt, they being not in a condition to deny them; from thence he marched to *Meinfeld*, where he took no ſmall pleaſure to ſee himſelf amongſt the Griſons: And being not ignorant how needfull it was to keep theſe people united, becauſe dividing of them leaves them liable to the mercy of their enemies, that he might render them more affectionate and procure ſuccours from them; hee took great care to ſet all right in this particular; and indeed his Prudence took ſo effectual a courſe for it, that a few days produced very happy effects of it. He was nimble enough to make them ſhake off the Yoke of the Arch-Duke *Leopold*'s Officers, who had uſurped upon them the juriſdiction, to make them renounce the Oath of Obedience, which was unjuſtly exacted from them; to re-unite the three Confederate Griſons into their ancient Corporation, with thoſe Liberties and Soveraignties which they had injoyed before the late Wars; to eſtabliſh their ancient Seals of Leagues; to obtain a General Pardon for all their Rebellious Subjects in the *Valtoline*, *Chiavennes*, and *Bormio*, and to confirm the ancient Alliance with the Crown of *France*, except thoſe Hereditary Countries of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and their Confederation with the Swiſſes. During this, all the adjacent Forces were gotten in a Body, and leaving 2000 foot and a 100 horſe, under the command of the *Sieur de Harcourt*, for the guard of *Coire*, and thoſe Forts of *Pont du Rhin & Steitch*, he advanced upon the 25. *November*, towards the *Valtoline*, with 6000 foot, and 300 horſe. It was debated what place ſhould be aſſailed; after each one had delivered his opinion, he followed his own inclination, which was to march towards *Tiran*, to open a Paſſage for inter-courſe with the Venetians, and to draw aſſiſtance from them, as occaſion ſhould require. As ſoon as they were advanced to the Valley *du Monaſtere*, the Garriſon in the Fort diſcovered them, and ſet it on fire, not ſtaying to expect their comming. Thence he paſſed to the Valley of *Poſchain*, and forced the Souldiers who were gotten into the Tower of *Caſaccio* (with a reſolution to ſtop the Paſſage of the Mountains) to diſ-lodge the next morning. ſo that he became Maſter of the place. Theſe were the beginnings of his victory: But the people of the County of *Bormio*, terrified at the ſight of the Kings Army, preſently waited upon him, and ſent their Deputies to him to beſeech him in all their behalfs, that he would be pleaſed to receive them under his Majeſties Protection. They were received into his Favour, with confirmation of their ancient Liberties and Priviledges, and aſſurance of the onely exerciſe of the Catholick Religion; withall he left there ſome Companies in Garriſon, who were to keep the Paſſages. That which did trouble him amidſt this Proſperity was that he had onely 4000 men left; however his valour would not give way that he ſhould loſe the day after ſo fair an advantage, though he had no more Cannon, without which the Forts in the *Valtoline* ſeemed impregnable, yet hee reſolved to ſupply this defect by the Courage of his Souldier. *Piantermala* was the firſt place, which he met in his way, which was ſo fortified

fortified that he might have been ſtopped there, had but the ſouldiers within behaved themſelves as they ought; but he made his approaches ſo reſolutely, that the Souldiers ſeemed to be made all of Braſs, ſo little did they eſteem or care for the Musquet ſhot, which ſtrook ſuch a terrour into them, that they left the place, and gave him free liberty to enter, which he did the ſame day with moſt of his Companies in the *Valtoline*.

The Marqueſs *de Bagny* General of the Popes Army, gave preſently an Alarum to all the Valley, who finding himſelf unable to make reſiſtance; eſpecially, ſeeing the Venetians joyned with him, ſent ſeveral Propoſals of agreement. But the Marqueſs *de Cœuvre* gueſſing it was only to amuſe him, and give time to *Serbelon* Captain of the Spaniards to advance his Companies, preſently commanded Collonel *Salis* to make the approaches to the Town with his Regiment; during two days there paſt many skirmiſhes between them, the ſucceſs of which forced the Marqueſs *de Bagni* to retire into the Caſtle, but the Marqueſs *de Cœuvre* preſently entred the Town, and forthwith conſtrained him to render, though indeed upon honourable terms, granted in favour to the Pope, to whoſe Enſigns the King had commanded all ſort of reſpect and honour ſhould be paid.

The quick ſurrender of this place invited the Marqueſs *de Cœuvre* to proſecute his deſigns, and having ſent his forces toward *Sondrio*, the Inhabitants had forthwith opened the Gates, if the Governour of the place had not oppoſed; though he too was not long before he delivered it up. For the Marqueſs having Planted thoſe Cannon which he had received from the Venetians, ſaluted the Caſtle with 40 or 50 Cannon ſhot, which diſ-mounted all their Guns, and hurt and killed many of their Souldiers, and forced the Governour for to march out upon compoſition.

Theſe were the principal Exployts of War, which the little ſeaſon of the year, and the Snows then falling, would permit him to do, but it was a ſure gage of the Conqueſt of all the *Valtoline*, which was taken (as I ſhall hereafter declare) in the 3. firſt moneths of the following year.

### *Politick Obſervation.*

NO one but a great Captain knows how to manage an enterprize to advantage; It is an effect which proceeds not but from a Prudence raiſed above the common pitch, and which is onely proper to an extraordinary courage. The order which ought to be obſerved in ſuch occaſions, is, principally to conceal as much as poſſible may be, the real deſign under ſome imaginary apparencies and pretences, which may be thought ſpecious. It will be a difficult thing thus to do, in reſpect of thoſe many perſons, to whom there is a neceſſity of imparting it, to diſpoſe of things for action; however one may diſsemble the time and place of execution untill the very laſt, and admitting things begin to be ripe, it will nevertheleſs be expedient to do ſome ſuch things as may perſwade the world, that every thing will not be yet a while concluded on; and when it is, it muſt be given out to be in other places then thoſe which are deſigned to be aſſaulted. This will be a means to take thoſe places unprovided, and thoſe who keep them being unprepared for a defence, will be forced to ſurrender. The Romans judged this thing to be of ſo great importance, that they conſecrated all their enterprizes to Silence; and in fine, there are few men who have been ſorry to have kept their deſigns private, but many who have received great loſſes by their making them publick. *Perſeus* King of *Macedon*, purpoſing to fall upon the Romans, had not diſcretion enough to keep his deſign private; ſo that the Senate hearing of it, gave ſuch effectual orders for the making a defence, that the Commonalty of *Rome*, did ſooner hear of the Victory againſt him, then of the beginning of the War. All ſuch as follow his Imprudent example, can expect no better a ſucceſs from Fortune; after this once done, he muſt go ſeek a new opportunity, and a favourable occaſion to put his reſolutions into actions: It being moſt certain, that opportunities are the greateſt weights in affairs, and that

from thence it is, that the good or ill ſucceſs moſt frequently doth depend. God hath choſen Times and Seaſons which are moſt proper, for that which he would bring to paſſe; and a wiſe man ſhall make no ſmall advantage by it, if he take time by the Fore-lock, for having once turned his back, it is impoſſible to effect any thing to advantage. If Trees put forth their Bloſſomes, either too ſoon, or too late, it is a great chance if there bee any fruit at all; juſt thus the good ſucceſſe of a buſineſs, is ſo reſtrained and dependant upon Opportunity and Time, that a few days will either make or mar the whole deſign. It was for this reaſon, that *Julius Cæſar*, as it is delivered by *Suetonius*, did not ſo much look after thoſe times, in which he had reſolved to execute his deſigns, as after thoſe opportunities which Fortune ſhould preſent to him, his uſual courſe being to chuſe ſuch times as were the moſt dangerous, and when one would have imagined he would not have taken the Field. Place too, is not of leſſe conſequence then Time, experience frequently evidencing it for truth to ſuch as are in the Wars, if it be either in a March, in Quarters, or Battel, which are the three principal Actions of War. It was place which gave the Engliſh the advantage of getting a Victory againſt King *John*, and to take him Priſoner, which glory they had never got, had it not been for their ſeizing upon certain riſing grounds and Vineyards, which were near the place of the Battel. But when as time preſents a favourable occaſion and place too, then it is, that all expedition ought to be uſed, not to loſe them; for the delaying of a buſineſs Mines the moſt hopefull and glorious expectations and deſigns: whereas diligence gets a thouſand advantages and victories. Had the *Sieur de Chaumont* furiouſly marched on againſt *Bologna*, he had certainly reduced the Pope to that extremity, that he muſt of neceſſity have made a Peace, there being but a very few people in the City; whereas going on but ſlowly towards the ſiege, he loſt the opportunity which Time had preſented to him.

It is neceſſary to accompany this Promptitude with vigour and courage, ſuch as may aſtoniſh an enemy, and ſurprize him; for though Fortune be a friend to the couragious and daring, yet all muſt make way and give place to the valour of him who attempts with reſolution, & this vertue is known for one of the moſt aſſured beginnings of a victory. To be ſhort, if a man hath made himſelf once Maſter of any place of Importance, he ought not to reſt there, but he muſt proſecute his advantage, and improve it to the very utmoſt with vigour and ſtrength, that he may reap thoſe fruits which uſually attend ſuch actions. If the Chriſtians had done ſo, after the Battel of *Lepanto*, they had in reaſon reduced the Turk to ſtrange extremities, but their defect in that particular, gave him leiſure to recruit his forces, and to make himſelf preſently as ſtrong as ever.

## *The Hugonots Man ſeveral Veſſels under the Command of the* Sieur de Soubize, *and ſeize upon the Port of* Blavet.

WHile the Kings Armies were thus buſied in the *Valtoline*, the *Hugonots* who have ever taken the advantage of Forraign Wars, would not loſe this opportunity of doing ſomething conducing to their deſigns; it was with great regret that they beheld the Fort *St. Lewis* built ſome years paſt, before *Rochel*, which ſo checked them, that they were forced to keep within their duties. But their inſolency was great enough to complain by their Deputies, that it had been promiſed to them by the Treaty at *Montpellier*, it ſhould be razed: To which it was anſwered, that the Promiſe was made to them, upon condition that they ſhould eſtabliſh the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion in *Rochel*; that they ſhould reſtore thoſe Goods to the Church, which they had uſurped from it; and that they having been defective in performing what ought of their parts to be done; ſo that they could not pretend his Majeſty ought to demoliſh it, ſeeing they had treated with him upon even terms: This anſwer was full of Juſtice, but it not being correſpondent to their Rebellious Humours, they could not think themſelves contented, ſo that finding his Majeſties Armies buſied abroad, they reſolved to ſeize upon ſome place or other,

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the importance of which ſhould be ſuch, that it ſhould compel his Majeſty to raze the Fort, that he might get the other place out of their hands. In order to which deſign, they armed ſeveral Veſſels of War, under command of the *Sieur de Soubize*, pretending to make ſome long voyage, but reſolving to ſend the Fleet towards *Brittain* to make themſelves Maſters, if it were poſſible of *Blavet*, otherwiſe called Port-*Lewis*. This enterprize was carried with ſuch ſecrecy, that neither the *Rocheloit*, nor the reſt of their Party did know it; to the end that if it did not hit right, they might diſ-own it; but in caſe it ſhould ſucceed well, they were then to riſe in *Languedoc*, *Zantoign*, and *Poictou*, thinking that his Majeſty not being Potent enough to follow the War in the *Valtoline*, and againſt them too, would quickly conſent to the razing of the Fort, to draw them to lay down their Arms. In order to this deſign, as ſoon as ever the *Sieur de Soubize*, heard that the Marqueſſe *de Cœvure* was at it tooth and nayl with the Marqueſs *de Bagny*, he preſently put out to Sea, and diſpatched two ſmall Veſſels before him to *Blavet*, to underſtand the condition of the place, which they would find more liberty to effect, then thoſe who ſhould conduct them by pretending they came from a long voyage. But the night following, he comming thither about nine a clock, and upon the intelligence which they gave him, that it was very ill guarded, he marched into the Port with about a thouſand men, beſides the Seamen upon the Ships. There wanted nothing neceſſary for a ſurpriſe, he ſeized upon ſix ſhips, belonging to the King, and Duke of *Nemours*, and preſently after landed and took the Town, there remained nothing but the Fort which he did not get by a happy default of his Conduct; for had he forthwith aſſaulted it, it was ſo ſlenderly guarded, that he had entred without any reſiſtance, but he having firſt given the Allarum to the Town, he who commanded the Fort had the leiſure to put himſelf into a Poſture of defence, and to ſhut the Gate; but the *Sieur de Soubize* did not long keep the Town in his power; for the Duke of *Vendoſme*, then Governour of *Brittain*, hearing of it, preſently ſent to all the Nobility of the Province, with order to bring all the men they could, every one of which came with great diligence. The Duke of *Vendoſme* comming Poſt, found that the *Sieur de Querrollin* entred into the Fort, with ſtore of Souldiers, Victuals, and Ammunition. The Duke of *Retz* and *Briſſac*, came at the ſame inſtant of time, as alſo thoſe Gentlemen who were in a condition thereabouts, and the chief amongſt them being in Counſel together, it was concluded to build a new Fort juſt over againſt the old one, with intent to batter the Ships of the *Sieur de Soubize*, and to ſink thoſe with more eaſe which he ſhould attempt to carry out of the Port, as alſo to aſſault the Town in ſix ſeveral places. The Fort was finiſhed in a trice, and a Battery preſently Planted, but as ſoon as ever the Town ſhould have been aſſaulted, both he and his Souldiers forſook the place. Withall, to bring the deſign to a good paſſe, they played with their ſhot day and night upon the Ships where he was, and the Cannon did ſuch execution, that he was forced to hoiſe Sail, which he did by the help of a dark night, and a ſtrong wind, which carried him over the Cables, that were overthwart the Port, though the Cannon indeed ſunk the beſt of the Duke of *Nevers* Ships, and forced four of the greateſt on Shore at the mouth of the Port, which were taken; and in fine, he fled towards *Rochel*, who were not behind hand, as alſo the whole body of the *Hugonots*, to diſown it, by their Deputies, and by their Declarations which they ſent the King.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

IT is a dangerous Deficiency in Governours of Provinces, not to keep good watch and ward in times of Peace, upon places of importance, eſpecially on the Sea-Coaſt, and ſuch States as are ſubject to be agitated with Civil Wars. For what neglect is committed in this point, doth much help and aſſiſt thoſe who would imbroyl things, and who may come by Sea upon a ſudden to ſurprize them.

Holy Writ tels us, That they of the Tribe of *Dan*, being informed that the Inhabitants of *Laiſh*, were ſecure and ſuſpected nothing, went, aſſaulted them, took

their Town without reſiſtance, put them all to the Sword, and burned their City. Did not *Francis* the firſt, upon his expedition into *Italy*, and by the ſurprize of *Villa Franca*, teach all Governours of all Places, that there is no conſideration whatever can exempt them from alwaies being upon their Guards, and that it is without reaſon, that they think themſelves ſecure, either by the ſtrength of their Fortifications, or by the far diſtance of their enemies. For *Proſpero Collonna*, who commanded that Town, and making merry without the leaſt ſuſpicion, upon confidence that the King was far enough off from him, was ſurpriſed by the *Sieur de Paliſſe*, which he heard not of before he ſaw him in his Quarters. It is true, he himſelf might be excuſed, in regard his Sentinels were taken, and that ſome of the Inhabitants held Intelligence with the *Sieur de la Paliſſe*, but however the whole misfortune was laid in his diſh: though he was a brave Commander, yet he was much blamed, it being not permitted to a man of that condition to ſay, I did not think I was in any danger. For this very reaſon it was, that *Iphicrates*, one of the Athenians moſt renowned Captains, would have his Army alwaies upon their guard, or in a poſture to fight, during times of Peace; in the ſame manner, as if in the heat of War; and he anſwered ſome who miſliked his curioſity, that one ought alwaies to ſuſpect who would not be ſurprized. Indeed vigilance is one of the moſt neceſſary qualities for a Governour of a Place, he ought to eſteem that the honour which he hath in commanding, to be but a glorious ſervitude. That in Commanding all, he is bound to watch for all; that he remember Governments are called charges, and that the name of Charge which he hath, ought to teach him, that it is a burthen committed to his Prudence, and that the place which is intruſted with him, is not barely recommended to him, but he to the place, to be guarded and conſerved with his beſt care.

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## *Anno Dom.* 1625.

EVERY one takes delight in the Spring time, to conſider the Face of the World, when as the hand of God guides the Sun a little nearer to us, to behold that fair Star, eſtabliſhing a ſerenity and calmneſſe in the ayr, before troubled with Tempeſts; to ſee the Earth repleniſhed with a thouſand Ornaments of Beauty, before, languiſhing, and quite decayed by the bitterneſſe of Winter, and to view Plenty introduced in the room of Barrenneſſe, which the Hoar Froſts, and Snows had left behind them. But how much more delightfull was it to look upon *France*, preſently after it had pleaſed his Majeſty, to advance the Cardinal to the Government of Affairs, who like a Sun which ſhould be the greateſt inſtrument of his glory, began to re-aſſume his ancient Splendour, and to diſpel by little and little thoſe cauſes of Civil Wars, which did every year renew themſelves in the State, to ſet bounds to the ambition of ſtrangers, and to eſtabliſh ſuch an order under the Kings authority, which is not onely the happieſt but moſt Illuſtrious of all other Kingdomes. The increaſe of glory, which his Majeſty every day gave to this Miniſter, did ſerve to augment his courage, and raiſed new lights in his Soul, ſubtilized his Prudence, and furniſhed him with occaſions, to demonſtrate to the World, that he was amongſt thoſe Miniſters of whom Hiſtory gives us ſuch commendations, to be as the Cedar amongſt the Hyſop. He could not be enough admired, ſeeing his whole life was nothing but a Publick imployment, and who abſolutely renouncing the idle voluptuouſneſſe of ſeveral other Favourites (who ſeem to think on no other thing then to indulge themſelves with thoſe favours which fortune preſents to them) had his mind without any intermiſſion ſtill affixed upon high deſigns tending to the glory and Grandure of his Maſter. He knew that immoderate unſeaſonable delights did rob Miniſters of State, of a thouſand fair opportunities. That it is impoſſible

m poſſible to ſerve the Publick, and injoy the pleaſures of this life, he made open profeſſion he had none but ſuch as were neceſſary for an honeſt diverſion, and certainly if pleaſures could not bewitch him, intereſt nor profit could never Charm him, or get any power over his Will. Honour was the chief aim, which he propoſed in all his actions, which he ſought for in his Maſters glory, and he ſcorned all profit which did keep him off from it: But that, which from the beginning gave the greateſt admiration of all to his conduct was, that imitating that manner of operating uſed by the Divinity, which is inviſible as his Eſſence. There were every day wondrous effects of his Prudence brought to light, before any reſolutions were heard of, or before any Orders taken were perceived; whereas before, there was not any thing concluded on, which did not make more noiſe then the effects. We ſhall proceed to conſider the particular in the Proceſſe of this Hiſtory, and I ſhall ſatisfie my ſelf with laying down this poſitive ground. That the King having given him the Honour of all his Truſt, after he had known the eminency of his *Genius*, the wiſedom of his Counſels, his fidelity not to be ſhaken, the dexterioufneſs of his Conduct, which hath nothing parallel with it, he likewiſe totally gave himſelf up to his Majeſty.

*Politique Obſervation.*

A Miniſter is obliged in the ſame manner, to make his Maſters greatneſſe, and that of the State his principal aim and end; he ought to remember that Kings are the lively Image of the Divinity. That then Miniſters are the Suns, which their Kings glory doth form for the good of their People. As God hath created that Star which over-rules the day, to ſhew us here beneath one Ray of his infinite Splendour, and to be the Authour of all thoſe bleſſings which are communicated to us here below; but ought he not to know before he attain the honour of the imployment whereunto he is arrived, that private Intereſt which doth ſerve to inrich Families, is the greateſt enemy of State in the Soul of a Miniſter, and that the Adminiſtration of a Kingdom ought to be done as the Tutilage of Orphans, which is granted not for the profie of the Guardian, but of thoſe perſons who are intruſted under his Tuition. Glory is the onely thing which is permitted him to aſpire to, and how can he hope to atchieve that, without tranſacting many things which may give a Reputation to his Maſter, and his own Miniſtration. The Cardinal *d' Amboyſe* loſt a great part of his glory in *Italy*, by preferring his own, before his Maſters Intereſts.

The Reputation of a Miniſter cannot be eminent, unleſſe he be intire to the Prince whom he hath the honour to ſerve. He who is truly generous expects no other recompence for his Actions, then the honour and ſatisfaction to have done them. Alſo he cannot be ignorant, that Virtue doth ſcatter ſuch rays, as make her venerable in the ſight of all men, and in this conſiſts in the height of glory.

## *Particular between the King and Cardinal, for the good of the* STATE.

M*Onſieur le Cardinal*, knowing there was nothing more pernicious to Kingdomes then the want of Generoſity in Miniſters, who content themſelves by living in a lazy Peace; in which time, they give leave to ſtrangers, to increaſe their powers, and inſtead of cutting off the Cauſes, do onely skin over diſorders in the State, did not imagine it ſufficient to keep things in their former indifferency, but brought the King to apprehend great deſigns towards the procuring that ancient luſtre once again to *France*, which it had in the beginning of its Empire. It is natural to a man to be more apprehenſive of thoſe dangers, which are neareſt, and as it were at hand upon him, then thoſe which are further off, though they be of a worſe conſequence, and at this paſſe had things been a long while together: Whereas the livelineſſe of

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the Cardinals Soul, which penetrates into the Ages to come, preſently diſcovered to his Majeſty the dangers of this nature, and made him apprehend the other the more eaſily, in regard his Majeſty was not ingaged in them, but onely by the weakneſſe of thoſe who had the management of affairs. He made it quickly apparent to him, that they who ſhew themſelves ſo over-affectionate of Peace, do by little and little weaken and decay the State, without being aware of it, that they do mollifie the Courages of the people by a ſloathfull repoſe, who by ſuch waies are expoſed to the violences of ſtrangers, who have in the mean while exerciſed themſelves in Arms, and acquired force enough to make an attempt upon their neighbours. His Prudence imitated that of a diſcreet Phyſitian, who that he may perſwade his Patient to take ſuch things as may be convenient for his ſickneſſe, diſcourſeth to him the cauſes of his indiſpoſition, and then leaveth it to himſelf to judge if they be not proper for him.

Sir, ſaid he one day to his Majeſty in a particular Counſel, though a King who looks after nothing more then quiet, hath reaſon to beſtir himſelf when he finds his Miniſters, have brought his State into diſorder, becauſe there do every day ariſe to him new cauſes of diſcontent; yet he who ſeeks Glory ought not to be much troubled at it, for that ſuch diſorders are the Ground-works upon which he may raiſe Trophies as marks of his Prudence and Generoſity; ſo your Majeſty need not be at all troubled for thoſe defects which have happened to your Eſtate, by the faults of thoſe whom your Majeſty hath imployed, who though they have been very affectionate to your ſervice, have not however had Souls high enough to ſecond the Generoſity of your intentions. You may eaſily remedy all this, according as you have deſigned, there need only wel to know the Cauſes, and to apply ſuch remedies as may be agreeable, and the State will ſoon be in ſafety. Your Majeſty may command me any thing, for that I dedicate all my cares and all my indeavours to you, and I cannot have any greater pleaſure, then to ſacrifice my life to your glory. And ſeeing you do me the honour to hear me diſcourſe, what I think to be moſt conſiderable in the State of Affairs. I ſhall not imagine my ſelf deceived if I ſhall tell you, that I have obſerved four things, which are the principal Cauſes of the weakneſſe and diſability of this State. The firſt is Forraign, and is nothing but the unbridled Ambition of the Spaniard, which makes him aſpire to the Monarchy of *Europe*, and carries him on to attempts upon your neighbouring States, which are as the out-skirts of the Kingdom, of which too he hopes to be one day Maſter, when he ſhall once have fortified himſelf upon the Frontiers, and made it deſtitute of ſuccours from its Allies. The other three are Domeſtick and at home, which ſerve for ſupports to all Rebellions and Revolts, which are like a Lyon bred up in the Kingdom, from whence notning but miſ-fortunes can ariſe. The ſecond is, the exceſſive licenciouſneſſe of the Grandees, who do ſo much detract from your greatneſſe, by ſo much as they aſſume to themſelves more then they ought. The third is, the want of diſciplin'd Troops who ſhould ever be on foot to oppoſe any enterprizes, which may be made againſt your Majeſty or your Allies. The fourth is, the want of conſiderable Foundations in the Treaſury, to commence War upon occaſions, and to ſupply them as long as need ſhall require, I ſuppoſe that theſe are the original Sources, from whence do flow thoſe moſt dangerous miſ-fortunes which threaten *France*, and I imagine, if your Majeſty can but drayn them up, there is nothing more to fear: But on the contrary, all ſort of Proſperity and Glory to your Majeſties Crown much to be hoped for. The Attempt which the *Sieur de Soubize* made upon *Blavet*, whileſt you were ſuccouring the Griſons, teſtified ſufficiently to your Majeſty that thoſe of their Party, would take all advantages, whenſoever your Forces ſhould be entertained in Forrrign parts. Thoſe Civil Wars, which the Princes do yearly renew, are thoſe which reduce your Majeſty to that weakneſſe, that you cannot enterpriſe any thing abroad, nouriſhing the people in diſobedience, and giving means to the Grandees to partake of that honour with your Majeſty, which is onely due to your Majeſties Scepter. In the ſame manner, the Uſurpations which the Houſe of *Auſtria* makes upon all the neighbours of *France*, will in fine give them means

means to usurp that too; at least strenuously to attempt it, if your Majesty maketh not timely opposition. In fine, the small number of exercised Companies which are ordinarily on foot, and the small Revenues in the Treasury, do reduce your Majesty to that impotency of resisting strangers abroad, or revolts at home. Therefore my chief advice is, that your Majesty would give orders accordingly, and doe perswade my self you will soon see *France* change its countenance, and become as terrible to strangers, as they have boldly offended it. This Counsel was a rare and strange effect of his Prudence, which had discovered the true causes of *France* misfortune. The King whose Soul is truly Royal, understood the sageness of it, and having discoursed with him more at large, he resolved to do accordingly, as we shall in the prosecution of this year.

*Politick Observation.*

THere is no one sign more certain of a decaying State, then to see a Minister take no other care, then to make it subsist in a lazy Peace; for as States ruine themselves by Wars rashly undertaken, so they weaken themselves by idleness. The greatest Monarchs which are governed, without some high designs of inlarging themselves, have never continued any long time without mis-fortune, and that fair weather in which one strives to keep them, is a Presage of a dangerous turn. They who think on nothing but Peace, do by little and little unawares weaken them, and reduce them to impotencie, then soften and alter the temper of the couragious youth, by idleness and want of Imployment, and by this means leave them for a Prey to Forrainers, who make themselves strong in Arms. Have not heretofore the Romans entertained Wars with their Enemies, knowing it to be needfull, to keep their Souldiers in breath, and to prevent growing sloth which commonly breeds greater inconveniences with it, as also to vent the violent heats of the youth, who wanting imployments fly out into Rebellions and Civil Wars? It is said to bee for this reason, that *Edward* the third, concluding the Treaty at *Bretigni*, would by no means comprehend the Treaty of *Britain*: And that *Philip the Fair*, made his Son *John* passe the Sea, that he might exercise his Arms. And who knoweth not, that if *Henry* the 2*d*. after the Peace *Anno* 1509. had imployed the French Arms abroad with strangers, and opposed the Ambition of the House of *Austria*, by carrying his Armies out of *France*, the State had not been so afflicted with Civil Wars, which were upon the point of destroying it. It is not the Property of humane Affairs to subsist long in the same degree, and who attempts so to conserve it, designs an impossibility. States like those who float upon the Waters, are in continual motion, and that Minister who hath not courage enough to raise a State to a higher Pitch of Glory, shall soon see it unravelled to nothing, when he would stop there, he will find it sliding back. How can a Kingdom be kept in the same Condition, when all its neighbours have their Arms in their hands to go still onwards; and seeing whoever is content to see Forrainers increase their Power, shal soon see himself exposed as a Prey to their Ambition. That Minister commits a great fault, who doth not consider what is within the compasse of a State, seeing the Grandure of a Soveraign doth not onely consist in his own Forces, but in the ruine of his enemies, and that his greatest Power is in their greatest weakness. He ought not to be lesse circumspect in opposing any Forraign Usurpation, then in eying his Masters own subjects, and to keep them in obedience; who neglects one or t'other, shall soon see his master exposed to dangerous storms, his authority despised, his power weakned by the strength of strangers, and his Kingdom assaulted by his enemies.

*New Orders sent to the Marquess* de Coevures, *to prosecute his Conquests in the* Valtoline.

WE have seen about the end of the last year, the resolution which his Majesty took to assist the Grisons, oppressed by the House of *Austria*, and to send

send the Marquis of *Cœuvres* to them with an Army, to recover the *Valtoline*. I shall now proceed to add, that looking upon those just considerations, (which I shall now tell you) proposed by the Cardinal to his Majesty, necessitated the dispatching several commands to the Marquis de *Cœuvres*, to advance and prosecute the conquest, so happily begun. The Marquis not to lose any oportunity, took time by the forelock, and making advantages as the conjuncture of affaires did offer, and according to his Majesties orders and instructions, he reduced in the three first moneths of this yeare, all the places, were they never so little considerable, which had been seized upon in the *Valtoline*; as also in the Avenues, the Fort of *Rive* only excepted, bearing a great respect to the Popes Ensignes, which were never so much as touch'd. He began this conquest about December in the last yeare, by the taking in of *Planta*, *Mala* and *Tyran*; and in the beginning of this he prosecuted it, with so good succes, that every place was under his Majesties obedience. After the reducing of *Tiran*, the Army drew towards *Fondrio*, which Town surrendred at first summons; but the Castle was fain to be battered with the Cannon, and a breach being made, they were obliged to force it, and carry it by assault, which they did with such advantage, that there were only six of the Kings souldiers killed in it.

This strook such a terror into the Towns of *Morbeigne*, *Travona* and *Orbino*, that they sent their Deputies, to render themselves. But he following his course towards *Bormio* a Frontier of *Tyrol*, he assaulted it, and found more resistance then in any other place, whether it were because the place was well fortified, or because they within, had resolved to defend it: he took the paines to plant some Cannons upon a Battery, and to make a breach for an assault; but they seeing themselves a small number, and that they wanted several necessaries for a long siege, rendered themselves upon composition. The Sieur *d'Harcourt* Marshall of the Camp, was sent by the Marquis to make himselfe master of *Chiavenne*, whilest himself was at *Travone*, which he forced after a long siege; so that there only remained the Fort of *Rive*, toward which he advanced the Armie, but it was expedient first to passe by *Campo*, where the Spaniards had taken up their Quarters, and to force them out of it: The resolution was taken to fight them, and orders given accordingly, which the Spaniards perceiving, they clapt some Regiments into *Campo*, to fortifie it, and seeing our men come on, they sallyed out about 200. paces from their workes, and received them with all the markes of a resolute courage, but without any advantage, for that ours assaulted them so strongly and courageously, that without longer holding the businesse in suspence, they forced them to retire in disorder; and being desirous to prosecute the point of their victory, they would still have gone on, but were met with by fresh Spaniards, who beate them back to the foot of the mountaine, but with little succesſe too; for ours being presently seconded, killed many of them, put the rest to flight, and followed them 500. paces on the other side of *Campo*: The *Marquisse* who knew his men were used to pillage, and that victories ought not to keep an Army in negligence and security, presently sent *de vaux Ayde de Camp* to rally the French together, who were dispersed up and down; but this could not be done so soon, but that the Spaniards being ashamed of their flight, return'd and fell upon them, killed some and put the rest into disorder: However it is true, this advantage lasted not long, for our men fought so stoutly, that the Spaniards lost more men then wee, and resolved to quit *Campo* the day following, and to retire themselves to *Rive*. Their successes were very happy, and they who would know the true cause of them, must understand, that though a very great share may be attributed to the good conduct of the *Marquis*, and to the valour of his souldiers, yet the Cardinal deserved the greatest prayse, who advised to this enterprise, who contrived the meanes, and removed all obstacles, and began it in such a time, when all the *Emperors* and King of *Spaines* forces were before *Breda*, and who were perswaded wee would not have attempted any thing upon these Forts, they being in the Popes hands, with whom the Spaniard had so wrought, that he should not part with them, either by terri-

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tying him, that they would relaps into the power of the *Grisons*, who were Hereticks, or by giving hopes, that in the conclusion there would be some means of accommodation found out, but all was to keep them in their own power.

*Politique observation.*

HE who guides and directs great enterprises by his Councils, hath more share in the glory of them, then they who execute and act them. It is Prudence which prevents an enemy, and taketh him at unawares, which diverts his Forces, and which knoweth how to fight and with such advantage, that he is easily overcome. Hereupon *Guicciardin* saith in his History, that the Prudence of one great Personage in a State, doeth more then all the Arms of the world; and Philosophie teacheth us, that counsel is the most heavenly thing in all the world, that is it which renders men most like the Deity, whose property it is, as the Apostle saith, to do all things by the Counsel of his will. *T. Livy* being much of the same mind, saith, he hath often heard it reported among Souldiers, that who so knoweth best to command, deserveth the first place, and who so to obey, the second place: It cannot be denied, but that there is as much need of executing, as giving good advices, because if there were no one to put them into action, good Counsels would be to no purpose; but withal it must be concluded: That Counsel is so much the more excellent, in that it is the Child of the first and chiefest vertue, which is Prudence, whereas action the effect of it, is the Child only of force, which is much beneath it. The Sea-men indeed are in continual motion in their Ships to given order for several things, somtimes labouring to turn about their Sayles and Cords, and anon mounting up into the Bound-house to discrie the enemy, by and by to stop some leak in the Ship, where the water breaks in; and thus they have much more labour then the Pilot, whose mind though is in more agitation then their bodies, he working in his thoughts and judgment to keep all safe from the storms and Rocks, to guide her home without being wraked, by those operations of his, which are so much the more noble then theirs, by how much the acts of the Soul, surpasse those of the Body. Who can without injustice, ascribe more honour to those who execute an enterprise, then to him who by the fulness of his Soul, first contrived it, digested it by his Prudence, found out means by the power of his judgment to set it on working, removed by his ingenuity all such obstacles as might oppose it, foresaw all difficulties in it, and gave necessary orders for the carrying of it on, to a happy successe? To speak truly it cannot be, without robbing him of that which justly belongs unto him. But who can doubt of this truth after he, who amongst Kings was accompted the wisest, and whose Pen was guided by the Holy Ghost, the Author of Truth, hath said it? Wisdome is more to be esteemed then force, and a wise man deserves more honour, then he who is esteemed valiant.

*The Pope seemes to the Cardinal* de la Valette *& the* Sieur de Bethune, *to be very angry that the King should attempt upon the Forts in the* Valtoline, *which were in his keeping.*

THE Pope was very much troubled at the first news which he heard of those succours, given to the *Grisons* by his Majesties Armes, leagued with those of *Venice* and *Savoy*, for recovery of the *Valtoline*. The Sunday following he was seen in his Chappel to be very mellancholy and cloudy, he made heavy complaints to the Cardinal *de la Valette*, that those Forts in his Custody should be assaulted, being garded by his Ensigns, testifying to him a great desire he had to see the *Sieur de Bethune*, that he might tell him how much he relented it.

The *Sieur de Bethune* hearing of it, sent to demand audience, not so much to give any satisfaction to his grievances, as to discover his disposition, which anger would lay open sooner then any thing, and to fortifie him against such discourses,

wherewith the Partakers of Spain, would endeavour to exasperate him.

As soon as the Pope saw him, he told him, he could never have imagined, that the Arms of France would have fallen upon those of the Church: but his Holiness was not long unanswered, the *Sieur de Bethune* telling him; That the King his Master was far from doing any such thing whereof his Holiness complained; that he was so backward from making war either upon the Church or his Holiness in particuler, (whom he honoured with extraordinary respects) that on the contrary, he would employ his Arms and his utmost power to encrease their Glory and Authority: That his Holiness had no just cause to complain of a surprise, in regard he had been often times told, that in case the Spaniard would not yeeld to reason, the King his Master could not suffer the *Grisons* to be any longer deprived of their Forts, which lawfully belonged to them, that they could not be looked upon as any longer in his Holiness power, seeing the depositt was ended by those several instances and reasons, which were remonstrated to him; as by urging him that they might be re-delivered to the *Valtolins*, of the Justice of which his Holiness himself was satisfied: and that afterwards the depositt could not be any longer continued or prolonged in his Holiness hands, by reason of that great difficulty, which the Spaniards made to assent to it; and seeing it was pretended, and that upon good reasons, to re-take them from the Spaniards themselves, who had found a trick to keep them by his Holiness name, though he was engaged to dispossesse them of them, which being so, he ought to be so much the less scrupleat the King his Masters proceedings, in regard he being only as an Umpire, who created between them in the quality of a Common Father, he could not with Justice keep them after the depositt was expired, or give opportunity to the Spaniard to make advantages to the detriment and dishonour of *France*.

These reasons were so considerable, that the Pope could not but have rest contented, had he not been pre-possessed by the Spaniards; but however he made great complaints from time to time of the Kings proceedings. And the *Sieur de Bethune* returning not long after for a new Audience, did not find his Holiness so moderate or civil to him as he had formerly used to be; but on the contrary, his Holiness told him that the Cardinal *Borgia* had been with him, and touching upon the point of that little respect which had been shewed to his Army, hoped he might have induced to proceed against his Majesty by way of censures, if he should not with-draw his Army, and told him in a Spanish *Rodomontado*, that seeing he had permitted the French to take them upon one accompt, the Spaniards should make them pay for it again, and should do that which their Interests led them too, without being with-held by any consideration; and in fine, protested to him, what ever instances were made to him that he would still continue Neuter. But however as he was alwaies guided by the opinions of the Roman Doctors, who cannot indure there should be any State affair, and not subject to his Will, he could not away with the taking of the Forts out of his hands by force. The *Sieur de Bethune* indeavoured by his Prudence to allay by little and little his heat, in evincing to him the Justice of his Majesties reasons; sometimes by offering to him his Masters Arms and Authority to invest him in the Dutchee of *Urbin*; and other times by assuring himself of the Affections of the Cardinals *Barbarini* and *Magalotti*, who had some influence over his Inclinations, by the Protestations which he made to them, that the King his Master had an earnest desire to oblige them upon occasions; and by divers Presents which he gave them in behalf of his Master; which however were refused by them, that they might not appear to be partial; as also by offering *Mademoiselle de Rieux*, who was one of the richest Matches of *France*, to his Nephew *Don Thadee*, who did not a little like of it, though he accepted not of it, he then having a design upon the heir of *Stilane*.

*Politique Observation.*

IT hath been a common Custome amongst Princes in War, who should not agree upon certain places, to put them in deposit in a third persons hands, and he who is the Depositary, ought to know that he hath no further Authority then to keep them, so long and upon conditions as are agreed upon between the Parties. Antiquity looked upon Deposits as sacred, and hath condemned those who would usurp them of Sacriledge, and one of the Depositary Laws, is declared to be, that who so refuseth to render them, renders himself culpable of a great Injustice, because he would usurp against natural Reason, that which doth not at all belong to him. Amongst the Grecians by the Laws of the Pisseans, he, who denied the Deposit was condemned to death; and *Herodotus* saith, that one *Glaucus* of *Sparta* having refused to restore a certain great sum of money, which he had received of a *Milesian*, consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, to know what he should do in the businesse; who was thus answered, That neither he nor his family, could any long time live upon the face of the earth, and that in effect they were already rooted out. Whence he concludeth, that it were best for him who hath a Deposit, to design nothing but the making of restitution to him who ought to have it. And how well hath *Aristotle* deciphered the enormity of this Crime, when he saith, that that man who becomes guilty of it, is much more unjust, then he who refuseth to repay what was lent to him; because he not onely violateth the Laws of Equity, as he doth who denieth what was lent to him; but also those of friendship and fidelity; in consideration of which the Deposit was entrusted with him. I shall onely adde this, that the *Depositarium* ought as well to be kept against those who have intrusted it, he having no right to become their Arbitrator, unlesse they agree among themselves; as to be really and without delay restored to them, when they shall have agreed upon condition between them. It is however, dangerous to chuse a Person for a Depository, who pretends a Superiority, or such a one to whom one owes an extraordinary respect; because as it is natural to a person of eminent dignity, to desire that his advice might passe for a Law amongst others, so it is hazardous, least he pretend at last to become an Arbitrator. Whence it happens that if one of that Quality be chosen Depositary, it ought to be included in the Instrument, that he shall not become Arbitrator upon any difficulties that may arise. Above all this, one thing ought to be observed when as the Pope is Depositary, as was practised when the Hostages in the Peace of *Quieracco* were intrusted with him; for that he in some sort pretending a Power over Kings, he puts himself out as a common Father to judge of their differences, and withall may become Partial. Which being so, such Princes who have chosen him for Depositary find themselves impeded, by reason of the difficulties of getting reason from him by force without raising great broyls. There are but a few Princes of such Fidelity, as that of the late King *Henry* the Great, who having leave to passe with thirty five thousand men into *Geneva*, when he besieged Fort *St. Katharine*, was solicited by some of his Captains to seize upon it, which they assured him was easily to be effected: He answered them, that it would be a most unjust action, to repay with Infidelity and Treachery, that Confidence and Trust which they of the City had reposed in him.

*The Pope sends towards the King, the* Sieur Bernardino Nary, *to testifie to his Majesty the discontent he took at the Proceedings of the Marquess* de Cœvures *in the* Valtoline.

WHilest they were hard at it in the *Valtoline*, Cardinal *Spada* the Popes ordinary *Nuntio* in *France*, made great complaints to the King of the Marshal *de Cœvures* proceedings, and the Pope likewise dispatched the *Sieur Bernardino Nary* to his Majesty, to testifie to him his great discontent at it. But they were re-

plyed to, with ſuch force and ſtrength of reaſon to vindicate all the paſſages of the buſineſs, that their complaints ſerved only to evince the clearneſs and equity of the whole proceedings. They were very briskly told that his Majeſty had not permitted the riſing of the *Griſons*, to ayd their Auxiliaries, but only at the very laſt extremity, and after he had ſeen ſeveral faire propoſals neglected, which he had offered with intent to end the buſineſs in a fair way; That as for the Mareſhal *de Cœuvres* proceedings, they had been ſuch, as had deſerved if rightly underſtood, more to be commended then condemned; That he had began his enterpriſe by uniting the three *Griſons* into their ancient aſſociation, to obtain of them a pardon for the *Valtolines*; That he had ſetled the Roman Catholique Apoſtolique Religion in and amongſt the *Griſons*, in all places where formerly it had been baniſhed, and as for that particular place of the *Valtoline*, he had permitted the exerciſe of none, but that of the Catholique Religion; That if he came with men armed againſt his Holineſs his People, he was provoked to it, by thoſe attempts and incurſion which they had firſt made upon his Majeſties Allyes, and againſt his own forces to, wherby they openly made it apparent, that they moved by no other wheels then thoſe of the Spaniards: yet withal that theſe actions of theirs, had not diverted the Marquis of *Cœuvres* from treating the Marquis *de Bagny*, and all others who were under him in the Vallee, not only with civility, but with as much reverence, as if the Pope himſelf had been there in the perſons of thoſe, who were ſent in his behalf. That after all, the depoſit of thoſe Forts having only been for ſome time in the Pope hands; that whileſt there were means of accomodation, his Holineſs had no reaſon to complain, that he had been any way neglected, until the time which had been concluded on, had been expired, and that there were no hopes of an agreement. All thoſe which were propoſed being hitherto refuſed, or retarded, which gave advantage to the Spaniard.

Theſe reaſons did evidence the integrity of the Kings actions, but however as his Majeſty had ever ſhewed an extraordinary reſpect to the Holy Seat, and had then particular occaſion to make uſe of his Holineſs, for the obtaining of the diſpenſe for the match with *England*; he hearkened to the propoſals of the Cardinal *Spada*, and the Sieur *Nary*. The principal one, and upon which they moſt inſiſted, was an Article for ſuſpenſion of all acts of Hoſtility for two months, in the County of *Chiavenne*, in which time the Pope hoped that all things ſhould be accommodated, which being thought reaſonable, his Majeſty aſſented to it, and a Poſt was prelently ſent to the Marquis *de Cœuvres*, to ſtop his farther proceedings. It is true the Poſt came not, til after *Chiavenne* was taken, ſo that the Ceſſation was void in that particular, but it was afterwards executed in reſpect of *Rives*, during the whole terme of the ſaid two months, to give his Holineſs all poſſible ſatisfaction.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THat King, who undertakes any affair of weight, which may provoke his neighbour Princes, ought to fix himſelfe in a ſteddy reſolution, not to be ſhaken by any Propoſitions or complaints, which ſhall be made to him. He muſt take it for certain, that all who are any way concern'd, will ſend their Ambaſſadors to him, as ſoon as ever he ſhall have declared his intentions, to repreſent their intereſts to him, and to preſſe him to be mindful of them; but on ſuch an occaſion he ought to be like a good ſwimmer, who being once in, and to paſſe over ſome Arm of the Sea, lets the Tempeſt whurle, and the waves ſwell up as they pleaſe, he not thinketh on any thing, but how to get on ſhoar; The ſame reaſons, which were the grounds of his reſolution, ought to be the rules of his anſwers, which he ſhall make to ſuch Ambaſſadors; and if it bee but well conſidered, all their urgencies and inſtances, ought to bee the more ſuſpected by him, that they were only made to amuſe him, if poſſible and that they themſelves are many times deceived, by the Princes who ſend them. The *Lacedemonians* were much troubled that they had given audience to *Themiſtocles*, who was ſent to them from the *Athenians* upon

an Embaſſaſſie, to make delayes, and that in the means time they might fortifie themſelves. *Themiſtocles* accordingly entertained them with diſcourſes a long while, making him believe he only expected ſome other Ambaſſadors, whom the *Athenians* had commanded to be joyned with him, but in concluſion they ſmelt it to be only a fetch to get time for to fortifie the Citty of *Athens*.

The Order which a King ſhould take in ſuch a buſineſſe, is above all things to diſcover if Ambaſſadors are ſent as Spies, to diſcover his intentions. If they are only to ſpie, as it many times happens in war, under pretences of making propoſals of Peace, my adviſe is to return them back again, as quickly as the Romans did thoſe of *Perſeus*; withal to cauſe them to be watched, and to have an eye upon all their actions. Thus the *Athenians* were very circumſpect that thoſe Ambaſſadors, who were ſent from *Xerxes*, to hinder their aſſociating themſelves, with all the other Towns of *Greece*, ſhould not ſpeak with any particular man, during their ſhort ſtay in the Citty. I think in caſe it be certain they only come to ſtop the courſe of his proceedings, he ought to receive them with honor, to treat them magnifiently, and to give them a favorable audience, that they may not complain, there was any deficiency, of paying them all the duties of hoſpitallity: But as to the ſubject of their negociation, he ought to oppoſe his reaſons to theirs, with as much courage as prudence, to fortifie his Soul with ſuch motives, as ingaged him in his enterpriſe, as with ſo many impregnable Baſtions, without letting his firſt reſolutions be wavering by any means or devices whatever, but to proſecute his work, till he bee come to the very end he had propoſed to himſelf, or at leaſt ſo neer as poſſibly he may, withal remembring that he may perchance have formerly heard it ſaid, every one who fights doeth not conquer, and the Conquerors, do not alwayes were the Garland.

### *The King of* Spain *to breake the League between his Majeſty the Duke of* Savoy, *and Common-wealth of* Venice, *negotiates another between himſelf and the Princes of* Italy.

THe King of *Spain* was not a little ſurpriſed to ſee himſelf deſtitute of that Paſſage which is the ſurety of his States in *Italy*, and concluded that in caſe that inlet ſhould be ſtopped up, it would be a great inconveniency to him, ſo that without making himſelf ſure of the Popes Protection, he gave Orders to his Agents to treat a League between himſelf and the Princes of *Italy*, to oppoſe that which had been concluded between the King, Duke of *Savoy*, and State of *Venice*, and at the ſame time, he ſummoned all his Eſtates, and the principal Signeors depending upon his Crown, to contribute their utmoſt towards the charges of the War. Thus they gave an Allarum to *Italy* and made them all beleeve that the King, Duke of *Savoy*, and Venetians would divide it between them; ſo every one of thoſe little Princes, being touched in his own Intereſts, was very glad to enter into the League for his own defence. The Partiſans of *Spain* ſay, that this Alliance between their King, the Duke of *Parma* and *Modena*, the Common-wealths of *Genoa*, and *Lucqua*, had concluded to raiſe an Army by Land of 24000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe, which ſhould be commanded in the Emperours name by the Duke *de Feria*, Governour of *Milan*, and a Navy by Sea of 90 Galleys, who ſhould come to *Genova*, and be there commanded by the Marqueſs *de Sainčte Croix*, who was to be Admiral, they reported too, that all the Kingdomes of *Spain*, and the Grandees of the whole Nation, were taxed with great ſums for the keeping of an Army of above 100000 men. But all theſe black ſtormy Clouds, vaniſhed without any noiſe at the ſplendour of his Majeſties Arms, and he had more victories then Rodomontadoes, as ſhal be made appear in the Proſecution of this year.

*Politiqve*

*Politique Observation.*

THE Affairs of Christendome were brought to that passe, that the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, did partake with the Interests of all other Princes. The one is bound to assist those who are assaulted by t'other, and never did either of them attempt any thing which ought not by reason of State bee opposed by the t'other. If any one ask a reason hereof, it may be ascribed to that emulation which for above a hundred years hath been nourished between them, so that neither can indure to see t'other increase his strength or power; but to speak more rightly, the reason is not one and the same between *France* and *Spain*, for that either of them have their particular motives. The Spaniards, like the Lacedemonians, have fixed the highest part of their Monarchy, not in that which is so much just as profitable for the inlarging of it, and consequentially, they do easily violate all Rights and Justice, not reflecting, that the Common-wealth of the Lacedemonians, stood but a little while, it being setled upon so ruinous a Foundation, which was the destruction of their Power: Now with *France* it is quite otherwise, whose State being grounded upon Justice, doth not hurry them on to snatch up their Arms, but onely when their own defence or that of their Allies calls them to it. *France* hath no design but to preserve it self, *Spain* to increase it self; *France* knoweth that safety consists in an equal ballancing of the Powers and strengths of one another; and therefore it is, that *France* thinks her self concern'd to obstruct *Spains* growing too Potent, that he might not pretend to have any advantage over her, or her Allies. *Spain* on the other side, which hath long since formed and contrived a design of making it self master of all *Europe*, conceiveth that there is wrong done him, if at any time *France* doth uphold her Allies in their just Possessions of their Estates, or take up Arms for their defence. Now to cement them in this dispute, either of the two Crowns have their Allies, which are tied to them by several Bonds, that is, by different considerations. *France* hath such for her Allies, who suspect the Power of *Spain*, and fear they shall be set upon by it: *Spain* hath others, who take part with the Interests of the House of *Austria*, as issued from thence by some relation or other, and who are so far from *France*, that being not easily relieved, they are forced to keep all fair with them, and serve them in their designs, under the hopes, that by this means they may at least procure *that favour*, which the *Cyclop* promised *Ulysses*. In this last form I range the Italians, who having experimentally found how little favourable the Protection of *France* hath been, hath been to them, by reason of their distance from one another, and the difficulties of passing Forces into their Country, do tie themselves so much the stricter to the Spaniard, it being easie for him to seize upon their States, *Milan* and *Naples* lying so neer upon them. Experience hath made it evident, that they were never faithfull to the French. They have sometimes ingaged our Kings in enterprizes, by allying themselves with them, but after they had occasioned great expences, and all to no purpose, they fell off from their words, as *Lewis* the Moor, Duke of *Milan*, and then he of *Milan* who presently turned tayl to the Interests of *Henry* the 2d. though he had secured him from the violences of the Emperour. The onely means to unite them really with *France*, and to draw them off from the Interests of *Spain*, whom they have no great inclination to, were to have a free open Passage for the Souldiers which might be quickly dispatched from *Languedoc* and *Provence*, which happiness *France* now hath by the Prudence of the Cardinal, in the possession of *Pignerol*.

## *The Spaniard spreads abroad defaming Libels against the League of* France, Venice, *and* Savoy.

AS Defamatory Libels are the most subtle Artifices, which are used to surprize the minds of People, and the Fire-brand which have been alwaies thought most

most proper to inflame their Courages to War: So the Spaniards were not backward to countenance their designs, by dispersing several of them abroad against the League between *France*, *Savoy*, and *Venice*; and withall that Justice might appear to be with them, to make use of Religion and Piety, as a Cloak to their knavery. They cannot but well remember that the same pretext served their King to invade the *Indians*; That it was very advantagious to *Philip* the 2*d*. to make himself Master of *France*, and that very lately it gave them an In-let to the Palatinate, and that they now hope by the same means to recover the *Valtoline*. It gave their Libellers opportunity to say, that the King of *Great Britain*, and the Swiss Protestants were ingaged in the same League, though in truth, there was onely the King, Duke of *Savoy*, and State of *Venice* comprised in it. They called it by the name of the Protestant League, but with so little truth, that there was no appearance of it; and lesse reason had they to call theirs the Catholick League, seeing they had on their party the Elector, the Princes of Upper *Saxony*, the Dukes of *Lunenburg*, the Landgrave *Lewis de Hesse de Armstadt*, and the most part of the Lutherans of *Germany*, so that all that did not favour their Party must needs passe for Hereticks.

By which one might beleeve, they would place even God himself amongst this number, because he appears sometimes contrary to their designs. They declared every where, that their onely intention for their parts, was to settle the Catholick Religion in the *Valtoline*, and to root out Heresie, though that Combination and Cabal which they kept up fomented, and which gave them most advantage, was headed by *Rodolph*, *Planta*, and several other principal Hereticks of that Country. Neither did they stick to say, that the Catholicks were oppressed in the *Valtoline* by the Grisons. But they went not away without a reply made to them, which was this, that the Catholicks both Spiritual and Temporal were never ill intreated, but when they contrived Combinations against the State, and when at any time there were any Protestants discovered to have a hand in any such Cabals, they were equally punished with the rest, without any respect had to their Religion. To be short, they indeavoured to beget in the souls of all People, Compassion and Pitty in behalf of the *Valtolines*, though for the most part, those Officers which they entertained of the Grisons, were Hereticks; desiring to make People beleeve, that in truth they were troubled at the exercise of the Catholick Religion. But besides, that this Proposition was quite contrary to the truth, any one might easily know, that all Magistrates were indifferently chosen, either Catholicks or Hereticks, and that the exercise of Religion was absolutely free; so that it was easie to answer them, that look upon those Magistrates who were established by Soveraigns (before any consideration could be had of what Religion they were) as Gods Lievtenants, and as the Apostles have taught us in their Holy Writ, and by their deeds, no one had any cause to complain of them at all; and thus all their Reasons tended onely to surprize peoples understandings, who were weak, but were discovered by all who had never so little understanding, to be contrivances forged in the fire of their Ambition; and indeed they themselves discovered the Fraud, when as his Majesty had proposed to them a most certain way for the assurance of Religion, and the Liberty of Catholicks, which they refused to accept of as to the *Valtolines*, or to lay down their Arms. And thus did they use their utmost indeavours to impede the late King *Henry* the Great, from obtaining his Absolution from *Rome*, after his Conversion; though they every where Proclaimed, that the design of their Army in *France*, was onely to oblige him to become a Catholick.

*Politique Observation.*

IT hath been a usual trick amongst Ambitious men, to cover their designs with a cloak of Religion. So in the Heathens time, the Governours of the City of *Rome*, after they had, to no purpose, used their utmost indeavours, to hinder the People from being elected into Offices, had at last their recourse to Religion, and made them beleeve, that they having consulted the Gods on that affair, were assured by them

them, that to communicate the Honours of the Republick to the Commonalty, were to prophane them; which being ſo, ſaith *T. Livy*, they forthwith deſired them, to recede from their pretentions, they feigning that they did it more in order to the Wil of the Gods, then of their own particular Intereſt. They well knew that the people were much addicted to Religion, and that it were ſo much the more eaſie to ſurpriſe them upon that accompt, they having but a little knowledge of the Intereſt of Princes, the genuine reaſons of State, or of Religion it ſelf. Thus *Otho* deſiring to get the Empire, was not contented by his pretending a great Treaſon, to ſpeak aloud his Affection to the Emperour *Galba*; but moreover told the Souldiers, the more to inflame them, that the Gods had declared to him by a remarkable Tempeſt, that his Adoption of *Piſo* was agreeable to them. After all, theſe fetches can onely ſurprize ſilly people, they who are raiſed never ſo little above the ordinary ſort, are not ignorant that in point of State-diſſimulation, they ought more to regard their actions then their words. They learn by experience that ſuch kind of People, cannot be better compared then to Coyners of falſe money, who daub over their baſe allay, with Leaf Gold to hide the falſeneſſe of it. But Princes are now ſo accuſtomed to ſee through their diſguiſes, that they are no more to be over-reached by them, and that without being ſtopped by the murmures of the people, they ſurceaſe not to take up Arms for the defence of their Allies.

### *Intreagues of the Spaniards with the Hugenots.*

THere need no more to proove, that Religion ſerved only as a mask to the Spaniards, to hide the injuſtice of their deſignes, then the bare intelligence which they had with the Heretiques of this Kingdom of *France*, which when undivided, hath been alwayes ſo potent, that it hath impeded the cours of their proceedings; and therfore it was, that they endeavoured to make parties amongſt them, as ſoon as ever they were drawn off towards the *Valtoline*. Thoſe great loſſes, which the Heretiques continually had had, for ſome preceding years in *Bearn* and *Languedoc*, alwayes kept them waking, eſpecially after the Peace of *Montpellier*, they well perceiving that thoſe ſmall Routs, which they had ſuffered, did threaten their party, with an utter deſtruction.

The Spaniards finding this diſpoſition amongſt them, were not backward to foment it, and laboured very much, to get the Sieurs de *Soubize* and *Rohan*, who were the only eminent perſons, to command their arms. Their deſigne took effect: Theſe two Brothers, being met at Caſtres, to conſider on ſuch Propoſitions, which were made to them on their behalf about Autumn in the foregoing year, reſolved to rayſe thoſe of their Party, the one by Sea at *Guienne*, and the other in *Languedoc*. The attempt upon the Fort of *Blavet* otherwiſe *Port St. Lewis*) of which wee have already ſpoken, about the end of the laſt year was an effect of that reſolution, as alſo the endeavours of the Duke and Dutcheſſe of *Rohan* began about the ſame time in *Languedoc* to draw in more Towns into their party. This Dutcheſſe, that ſhe might uſe her utmoſt dilligence, went moſt commenly by torchlight in the night time in her Coach, which being in mourning, and withall furniſhed with eight black Horſes, ſerved rather to ſtrike a terror into the Country people, (who were not uſed to ſee ſuch ſpectacles) then to gain any the chief men of their towns. But the Cardinals vigilance, was the principal obſtacle, which rendered all their Combinations void. He induced the King to ſend with all haſt, about the beginning of the yeer the *Marquis de Ragny* into *Languedoc*, with certain Regiments, to oppoſe the firſt commotions, and to employ many perſons of diſcretion, to aſſure himſelf of the Counſels of the Chief towns, and by this meanes moſt of them kept within their duties. The Sieur de *Soubize* publiſhed a Manifeſt, which ſounded an Allarm to all the Hugonots party, and made them believe, that their utter ruine was concluded on in the Kings Counſel; That the loſſe of their Religion was inevitable, if they did not defend themſelves by Armes, and that the raiſing of Fort *St. Lewis* built by *Rochel*, was an aſſured ſigne of it, as alſo thoſe other advantages

Vantages which he had taken againſt them. He prevented them in believing his Majeſties Edicts and Proclamations, by that ſuppoſition which he inſtilled into them, that the Catholiques were of opinion in moſt of their books; That they were not obliged to keep Faith with Heretiques. It's true theſe reaſons were deduced with ſuch palliations, that moſt were taken with them, particularly becauſe the Duke of *Rohan* clapt into ſome Towns, certaine Gentlemen and Captains of his own Religion, to encourage them, and to ſtir up the Popular Miniſters, who after this looked for nothing but when to riſe, not conſidering that the inſurrections which they were carried to, were contrived by the Spaniards, who make open profeſſion of being their ennemies, and who pretended not, to make uſe of them, but only to divert and draw off the Kings Arms from Italy.

*Politique Obſervations.*

NO one but a King ought to take up Arms: As formerly among the Romans, it only belonged to the Conſuls, who had the ſuperintendency of State, to open the two gates barred with Iron, and faſtned with a hundred hinges, which were opened in token of war: ſo when *Ceſar* began the war againſt the *Gaules*, it was *Cato's* advice to recal the Army into Italy, and to leave that great Captaine to his enemies, becauſe he had attempted it, without the command of the People and Senate. Seeing Kings are conſtituted by the hand of God, no one may riſe againſt them upon any cauſe whatever, without rendring themſelves guilty of Rebellion. True Religion it ſelf is not a ſufficient reaſon to raiſe a War, how much leſſe then may Hereſie make uſe of it as a Pretext? And thoſe Hereticks who make profeſſion of following the Doctrines of the Holy Writ, have ill ſtudied it, if they have not obſerved this truth in it, that one is no leſſe obliged to obey Princes though Infidels then others. God ſaith in *Eſay*, ſpeaking of *Cyrus* Monarch of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, who had no knowledge of his holy name, I have called thee though thou haſt not known me, I have named thee by thy name, and have raiſed thee up to honour and power, though thou haſt had no knowledge of me; and I will, that both they of the Eaſt and Weſt ſhall know, that it is I who have eſtabliſhed thee, and that there is not any Governour upon the Earth, that hath not received his Power from me and my hand; and afterwards he addeth, that he hath anointed him and placed him on his right hand, that he might bring the Nations into Subjection, whoſe preſence abateth the hearts of other Kings, who breaketh the Gate of Braſs, and burſteth the Bars of Iron, to whom all things are manifeſt, and nothing is concealed from him. Thus though *Nebuchadonozer* was a moſt deteſtable Tyrant, and the greateſt Infidel of all Princes that ever were. Though he had deſtroyed the Land which God had choſen, beſieged, taken and pillaged the City of *Jeruſalem*, razed the Walls, demoliſhed the Houſes, burned the Temple, prophaned the Sanctuary, took and carried away the Veſſels which were conſecrated to Gods ſervice, killed the Kings Children, with the greateſt part of the Prieſts of the Temple, and carried the reſt Captive into *Babylon*: Though hee had likewiſe cauſed his own Image to be ſet up and worſhipped by all people as a God; yet here behold the words of the Prophet *Jeremy* and *Baruch*, ſaying, to the intent to make known the honour which he had by being choſen by God to command his People; God who hath created men, and the beaſts of the Field by his great power, and ſtretched out Arm, hath given it to whom he pleaſed, and hath placed it in the hands of his ſervant *Nebuchadonozer*. He would that all Nations ſhould honour him and his Son; ſubmit your necks therefore to the King of *Babylon's* yoke, and ſerve him; and whoſoever ſhall not ſubmit himſelf to his Yoke, God wil viſit him with the Famine, the Sword, and the Peſtilence: Pray to God for the life of *Nebuchadonozer* and *Balthaſar* his ſon, to the end they may live as long upon the Earth, as the Heavens ſhall indure. Which being ſo, can it be lawfull or in the power of men, for any reaſon whatever to riſe againſt their Kings? Shall Subjects aſſume upon themſelves Authority, to give them a Law contrary to Gods command? In *St. Pauls* time, and the

reſt of the Apoſtles, there was not any one King who had imbraced the true Faith, yet they commanded that they ſhould be prayed for, and that they ſhould give them all manner of Honour, Subjection, and Obedience, and to bear themſelves humbly before them, for the love of God and a good Conſcience: Whence it is, That the wiſeſt Politicians have accompted it intollerable, that Subjects ſhould attempt to ſhake off the yoak of a Prince, under whom God hath ſubjected them, or to aſſume to themſelves any power over him, to whom they ought to give an accompt of their Actions. Subjects have not by the Law of God, any other defence then flight. That is it which the Apoſtles have permitted to Chriſtians, and if this flight be ſhamefull in the Wars between Prince and Prince, or Commonwealth and Commonwealth, yet it is not ſo in regard of ſubjects to their Soveraign.

## *The King for many conſiderable Reaſons cauſeth the City of* Genoa *to be aſſaulted.*

THat fomentation which the Spaniards gave to the Hugonots, whereby to force the King to draw off his Army from the *Valtoline*, obliged his Majeſty to do the like by him, in aſſaulting the Common-wealth of *Genoa*. It is true, that was not the onely conſideration which induced the King to commence the War, but the weakneſſe of thoſe Forts in the *Valtoline* was the firſt; a weakneſſe worth the obſervation, in regard there was not one Fort there, excepting that of *Rive*, which could indure any long Siege: So that it is to ſmall purpoſe to ſeize upon them, unleſſe their Arms who would re-take them, be ſo ſtrongly diverted, that they may be hindred from comming to them: Beſides the Spaniards uſurping of thoſe Forts before they were depoſited in the Popes hands, was a ſufficient token of his deſign, long ſince concluded on in his Counſels, of making himſelf abſolute Maſter of *Italy*; it being moſt probable, that who ſo once ſeizeth on the dore, would likewiſe enter upon the whole houſe. It being thus manifeſtly neceſſary to oppoſe the progreſs of this ambitious deſign, it could not be better effected then by the aſſaulting of *Genoa*, which is the onely Port of entrance on this ſide of the Alps, which being ſhut up, and preventing his ingreſs on that ſide, he could hardly bring in any Troops at all, eſpecially if the Forts of the *Valtoline* were no longer in his poſſeſſion. Withall, the State of *Genoa* did not onely ſerve the Spaniards as an Inlet into *Italy*, but alſo to convey ſouldiers into *Germany* and the Low Countries, and for a Mine from whence they extracted good ſtore of mony, ſo that the depriving them of it would be no ſmall weakning to him: Theſe were the true reaſons which invited the King to this attempt which were ſo juſt, that it appeared lawfull, that State being the onely Flower, which the negligence of ſome of our Kings have ſuffered to be pulled out of this Crown, and the Spaniard could have no more reaſon to complain of his Majeſties entring upon *Genoa*, which was under their Kings Protection, then the King of *France* had, to lament his ſeizure of the *Valtoline*, of which his Majeſty of *France* had had the Protection for many years together. The King was neceſſitated to make uſe of the Duke of *Savoy* in this affair, both that he might have free paſſage thither, and alſo furniſh himſelf by that means, of Cannon and proviſions for the Army. The Cardinal perſwaded the King to make him chief of the expedition, whereby the more to ingage him. All this was diſpatched in a conference had with him at *Suze*, by the Conſtable of *Lesdiguieres*. The Marſhal *de Crequis* returned to the Court after *October* in the laſt year, to give an accompt to his Majeſty of what might be expected from him, and the *Sieur de St. Gerry*, was ſent back to the Duke and Conſtable, with thoſe reſolutions which had been concluded on, in relation to their Propoſals, and with order to the Conſtable to raiſe forces neceſſary for the deſign. The Duke was the more inclined to it, ſeeing the injuries which the Genoeſes had done him but lately, were a juſt cauſe to begin a War. He declared in his Manifeſt, that they had deſtroyed the limits, which parted the Lands of *Genoa* and *Piedmont*, and had incroached upon his Territories, that they had violently taken

ken away the Fee of *Zuccarel*, and withall offered indignities to his Effigies, as a mark of the hatred which they did bear him: Theſe juſt offences did oblige him to reſent them; but he being too weak to carry on a War againſt them, where he ſhould quickly find the Spaniard in the head of them, was very glad of the Kings aſſiſtance and willingly accepted of the honour of commanding in chief all ſuch Forces as ſhould be ſent, which being thus contrived, they could onely paſſe under the notion of Auxiliaries: And if it were honourable for the Duke to be the head of ſuch an enterpriſe, it was not leſſe advantagious for the King to raiſe by this means a diverſion, able to find work for all the Powers of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, without making an abſolute breach with them. The Ceſſation preſerved at that time the Forts in the *Valtoline*, and ingaged the Duke by ſo many Intereſts and concerns in the War, that it was impoſſible for him to fall off or be unfaithfull, and not find his own ruine in it. And the Cardinals counſel in this particular, paſſed for an effect of his incomparable Prudence.

Theſe things being thus concluded on, and orders given out accordingly, the King commanded the Marſhal *de Crequis* to return back to the Conſtable of *Lesdiguierres*, with further confirmation of what ever had formerly been ſent to him by the *Sieur de St. Gerry* in order to his Propoſals. It would not have been amiſs to have ingaged the Venetians in this deſign which was attempted, but Common-wealths are ſo long, and ſo hardly induced to reſolve upon any great affair, that it was done without them. The Conſtable paſſed over the hills, about the beginning of the year, with ten thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, and there met with the Marſhal: On the ſecond of *February*, the whole body of the Army conſiſted of five and twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, every one ready to march about the end of *February*, which ſtrook ſuch a terrour into *Rome*, that the Pope and the moſt part of them, knew not what to think of it, but apprehending that they ſhould ſhortly ſee all *Italy* in a flame of War, and fearing leſt the ſparkles of them might fall on them, and conſume that ſweet repoſe which they then injoyed.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

IT is great Prudence in a King who would enterprize a forraign War, to make himſelf ſure of that Prince which is neareſt the Country he would aſſault; it was for this reaſon that *Scipio* deſigning to carry the War in *Affrica*, againſt the Carthaginians, procured a League to be made between the Romans and *Cyphax*, but as it is a thing very difficult to keep Princes Confederates in a War any long time together, in which they have little intereſt: So it is a great peece of Wiſdome to make him chief of it, when a deſign cannot be executed without him, by reaſon he is maſter of the paſſages, and it is from him onely that recruits can be had, as alſo Ammunitions of War for the ſubſiſtance of the Army. To avoid the ordinary miſ-fortunes of Leagues, it were neceſſary that thoſe Princes with whom one doth ingage, were obliged by other tyes then thoſe of Fidelity which is due to their words; and if it be ſo important for all Allies, it is much more neceſſary for him. Had *Lewis* the Moor, Duke of *Milan* been touched with this fear, and beleeved he could not have broke off the Alliance with *France* without loſing his Eſtate, he had never been worſe then his word, with thoſe of our Kings, who had not carried their Arms into *Italy*, but upon the aſſurance he had given him of his Fidelity. And who ſeeth not that the King that doth thus, hath an advantage of aſſaulting his enemy, without making an abſolute breach with him. He hath an advantage very conſiderable ſeeing it ſerves him to put his own Eſtates in ſafety, and that he doth ingage that Prince ſo much the more ſtrictly, whom he makes chief of his deſign, to keep his word with him; becauſe if he once break off he may freely abandon him, and ſuffer him to periſh under his enemies Arms, without putting himſelf to the trouble of making a Treaty of Peace, or breaking the Laws of Alliance, which do not oblige to any further aſſiſting of him, who hath once broke his word.

*The* Pope *ſends the Cardinal* Barberine *in the quality of a Legate into* France, *to negotiate the Peace between his Majeſty and the King of Spaine.*

THE *Pope*, who is equally qualified with the Title of Common Father to Chriſtian Princes, as well as that of Soveraign Biſhop, was much diſpleaſed to ſee the war was upon the point of flaming, out both in *Fraude* and *Italy*. The condition of *France* mooved him with pitey; it being both againſt the Church, as well as againſt the Kings authority; but beſides that this piety did not make him leſs ſenſible of the War in *Italy*. He had ſome apprehenſions to for his own States, doubting leſt they after thoſe of *Genoua* might become the Scene of this Tragedy, this was it which obliged him to ſend a Legate into *France* and *Spaine*, or into ſome other neuter place, where the two Kings Deputies might be found, to negotiate a Peace; as the Cardinal of *Florence* was heretofore ſent to treate a peace at *Vervins*, and *Aldobrandine*, for the Peace of Savoy; His Holineſs ſpoke of it to the *Sieur de Bethune*, as a thing which he had reſolved on, and told him, that he deſired to make uſe of one of his own houſe for this employment, and that he would willingly prefer his deſires, and that the affections which he had for peace more then any other. He preſently propoſed to him his Brother the Cardinal de Saint *Onufre*, to which the *Sieur de Bethune* only anſwered, that he was very capeable of the Legation. But that they that have been ſo long in a Cloyſter, living in ſuch an extraordinary Piety as he did, would commonly judge by the rules of devotion, which being ſo, it might happen that he would not conſider at all the affair of the *Valtoline*, more then by the ſpecious pretext, which the Spaniards had given out for their invaſion, and thus conſidering all in a ſpiritual way, without regarding thoſe intereſts of ſtate, which would happen, there could hardly be found all the neceſſary qualifications, to make the peace between the people, who ſhould be intereſſed it it. It was ſaid in few words, and no reply on the one ſide or the other. The Pope then having changed his diſcours ſoon after alter'd his deſign, and propoſed to ſend the Cardinal *Barberin* his Nephew, who earneſtly deſired to be imployd in this negotiation, and to make the voyage between *France* and *Spain*.

Although the *Sieur de Bethune* honoured him as one of the moſt virtuous Cardinals of the Conſiſtory, yet he knew that he wanted experience in affairs to negotiate this buſineſs. Beſides finding the Spaniards indiſpoſed to renounce the paſſages of the *Valtoline*, he eaſily concluded that the voyage would be to no purpoſe, but however looking upon the inclination of him to this voyadge, he would not teſtify to his Holineſs, that he miſſ ked his choyſe, only upon the firſt motion of it, he expoſtulated it with his Holineſs, and repreſented how much it troubled him that his Holineſs ſhould give this commiſſion to a Perſon, who being ſo neerly related to him, could not but be very dear to him; thinking that the conſideration of that one thing would work more with him, then all others; and then he added to the intent his journey might be the ſhorter, that it would be proper to draw up and agree upon thoſe points with the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, in which the greateſt difficulties were contained, without which finding the buſineſs all confuſed and undigeſted either in *France* or *Spaine*, it would of neceſſity follow, that he muſt be a long whiles abſent from the Court: But the Pope who had been propoſſeſſed by the Cardinal his Nephew, who took a ſinguler delight to pleaſe him, took no notice of it, and a few dayes after conveened an Extraordinary Conſiſtory to deliver him a Legats Croſſe, and cauſed him to be conducted in Pontificalibus by all the Cardinals, out of the gates of *Rome*, according to the uſual cuſtome. They who had been upon the ſame employments before him, return'd back to *Rome* for a few dayes, that he might take orders for their occaſions, but did not appear on any publique employments. The great affection which the new Legat had to the journey, made him prolong it no more then one day, ſo that he ſet out immediately punctually obſerving

obſerving his Holineſs command, of uſing an extraordinary induſtry, to prevent the progreſſe of the war in *Italy*, to adminiſter on his part the offices of a Common Father, by procuring a Peace between the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*.

*Politick Obſervation.*

IT is no leſſe Glorious, then profitable to the Pope to mediate Peace between Princes; one of the beſt and nobleſt properties of the Sun, is to eſtabliſh ſuch a Temperature, and moderation amongſt the divers and ſundry Elements, that they may all ſubſiſt together, and contribute to the preſervation of the univerſe; for without this as the Naturaliſts have obſerved, the Elementary World would revers to it's firſt nothing, by reaſon of the diſharmony which would remain between them: Juſt ſo the moderation which the Popes (who are in the Church, as the Sun in Heaven) ſhall uſe amidſt the broyls and wars, which ſhall at any time ariſe amongſt Chriſtian Princes, is a work which contributeth to their great glory and ſplendor. If it be honourable to them, it cannot be leſſe advantageous to, ſeeing their authority, is never ſo conſiderable as in times of Peace, and that their Oracles are no more heard or regarded in war then a civil Magiſtrats command amidſt a mutiny or inſurrection. Certainly nothing can ſo well befit them as this, they having the honour to be Chriſts vicars here on earth, who took the fleſh upon him, that he might bring peace to all the world, which alſo he recommended to his Apoſtles, as the thing he would have moſt cheriſhed: Thus to do, is to follow the glorious footſteps of their Maſter: this is to follow his intentions, and to proſecute the ways which he hath preſcribed; but that they may effectually inſtil this moderation into the minds of Princes, they muſt needs diſ-roab their own ſelves of all ſort of intereſt: For as the Sun if he were clothed about with any of the Elementary qualities, would not be able to reduce them to a moderate temper: ſo the Popes ceaſe to be any longer entruſted by Princes, when once they take part with any particular intereſt: for who ſo once appears partial, is no longer fit to be credited, or to make any propoſal which will not be ſuſpected.

## *Father* Berule *arriveth at* Rome, *to obtain the diſpence for the Lady* Henrietta Maria *of* France, *to be married with the Prince of* Wales.

LET us give leave to Cardinal *Barbarin*, to make his journy into *France*, we ſhall anon overtake him at the Court, and take notice of what paſſed in his negociation. Let us now ſpeak of another important Affair, which was treated on in the Court of *Room* for Madam the Kings Siſter: we have already told you about the end of the forgoing yeer, that the match with the Prince of *Wals* being concluded, Father *Berule* was ſent to *Room*, to procure a diſperſe for it, where being arrived and preſented to his Holineſs by the Sieur de *Bethune*, he ſupplicated his Holineſs, on his Maſter behalf, that he would bee pleaſed to grant him the diſpenſation for it.

The Pope receiv'd him, with ſuch honour, as is due to thoſe who are ſent from the firſt of Chriſtian Princes; and as to that which concern'd the diſpenſe, his Holineſs told him, that he having already accorded one of the like to the Spaniards, when as the Match with the ſame Prince was upon the point of concluſion with the *Infant* of *Spaine*, he had done it with the advice of the Cardinals then, and could not now conclude it, without acquainting them with it; but however promiſed him, that they who were ſuſpected to be againſt the French intereſt, ſhould not be called to the conſultation, but that others which favoured it ſhould be put in their places: but withal to teſtifie his good will to the King, he would do one thing which he had not accorded to the Spaniards, that is, he would convocate the Conſiſtory of Cardinals in his own preſence, that he might give the quicker diſpatch to it. With-

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in a few dayes after, he named the Cardinals, but he was not ſo good as his word in convocating them before himſelf, whether it were that ſo extraordinary a grace might have exaſperated the Spaniards, with whom he had no great mind to embroyl himſelf, or becauſe he imagined the Cardinals would not meet with any ſo great difficulties, as might require his preſence for the granting of the diſpenſe: and this was as much as paſſed upon the firſt motion, though afterwards many diſputes did ariſe, either becauſe it is ordinary with thoſe who judge of affaires in the Court of *Room*, to ſeek all advantages for Religion, and to raiſe queſtions where there are none, that their final reſults may be the more vallid; or elſe becauſe Father *Berule* treating with the Cardinals in private had perſwaded them to ad ſome other things in the diſpenſe, then had been concluded in the Articles. Theſe difficulties thus riſen, ingaged the *Sieur de Bethune*, who underſtood not whence they came, to joyn himſelf to the Father *Berule*, and that he might overcome them he often repreſented to his Holineſs, that the great zeal his Maſter had for the Church, had induced him to take a great deal of paines, for the obtaining the moſt advantageous conditions in the Articles, that could be hoped for by the Engliſh Catholiques. That the Spaniards having conſented that ſuch children as ſhould be born of this Marriage, ſhould be brought up by the Queen, only until their age of twelve yeers, but the King not contented with that, had obtained it until the thirteenth yeer, which was no inconſiderable buſineſſe, becauſe in that age it is that children take ſuch impreſſions of Religion, as will not eaſily be rooted out in future. He was not deficient in repreſenting to him, both the hapineſs and glory, that it would for ever be to his Popedom, if the eldſt ſon who ſhould be born, ſhould religiouſly preſerve thoſe inſtructions in his riper age, which the Queen ſhould give him, and at laſt eſtabliſh the Church of *England* in it's liberty and ſplendour. That the fruits of this Alliance were to be conſidered by the advantage, which might happen by it hereafter, eſpecially ſeeing in the laſt Article, the King of *Great Brittany* promiſed to treat with more ſweetneſs, and allow more liberty and freedom to the Catholiques, in behalf of the alliance with France, then otherwiſe he would have done, for that of *Spain*; that he was bound by oath to perform it; that it was true, the Spaniards had demanded more, that is, a publique Church in England, but withal they could not procure it to be granted, and that indeed there was not any thing more to be expected, then what had been alreaded concluded; that all which is to be wiſhed, is not alwayes poſſible; and after all, that the three principal things which ought to be conſidered had been agree to, which was the aſſurance of the Princeſs her conſcience, the education of ſuch children as God ſhould bleſſe her with, and the liberty of Catholique: he alſo went and related the ſame to the Deputies. At laſt after three ſeveral meetings upon the buſineſs, they thought (ſo much had Father *Berule* poſſeſſed them with hopes, when he diſcourſed with them in private) that neither they nor the Pope himſelf could ſafely grant the diſpenſe, according to thoſe Articles which had been concluded between the two Crowns: but they would needs have this added, that thoſe ſervants, who were to wayt upon ſuch children as God ſhould give to the Princeſs, ſhould be Catholiques and choſen by her, during the age that they were to be under her goverment. That the Engliſh ſhould not by any means endeavour, to draw off the Princeſſes ſervants from the Catholique Religion, nor thoſe of the Meſſieurs her Children, whilſt they ſhould remain with her. Laſtly that the King of *England* ſhould ſwear not to fail in either of thoſe two things, and that the King of *France*, ſhould promiſe his Holineſs to cauſe thoſe Articles to be obſerved, to which the King of *England* ſhould oblige himſelf. The *Sieur de Bethune* did much wonder, that they ſhould ſo earneſtly ad thoſe Conditions to the Articles, which were not only capable of retarding, but alſo of quite breaking of the match, and conſequently bring the Engliſh Catholiques into a greater perſecution then ever. But all was an effect of Father *Berules* zeal, which was a little too hot, and which prepoſſeſſed both the Pope and Cardinals, with ſuch ſtrong impreſſions, that they were irreſiſtably bent upon it, this good man making it appear by his tranſaction, that the moſt ſpiritual men,

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are not alwaies the moſt proper perſons to be imployed in negotiation of State; by reaſon of the ſubtlety of the ſpirits, which do refine things a little too much, and their perverſeneſs in opinion which is common to them with all others, and which doth often keep them off from complying with the Lawes even of a neceſſity it ſelf.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is a great Imprudence in an Embaſſadour, to move contrary to his Inſtruction, and to raiſe difficulties in a buſineſs which is committed to him by following his own ſenſe: Orders are to Embaſſadours as Compaſſes to Pylots, and as a Pylot expoſeth himſelf to the danger of Shipwrack, when as he will take no other guide in his voyage but his own *Caprichio*, ſo an Embaſſadour endangereth the ſucceſs of his negotiation, if he doth neglect to follow thoſe Orders which are given to him: he ought to conſider, that the perſon who imploys him, hath more knowledge of the Affair then himſelf. That he not having given him a full Liberty to do whatſoever he ſhould think fit, thoſe are the onely means which he is commanded to follow, that muſt guide him to the end of his Affair, and that if he doth not adhere to them he doth not onely run the hazard of loſing himſelf, but alſo of bringing his Maſter into ſuch trouble, as he will have ſomewhat to do ere he get clear of them. The Athenians did heretofore, think this to be a buſineſs of ſo great importance, that they condemned their Embaſſadours to die, whom they had ſent into *Arcadia*, for onely returning home by another Coaſt, then that which they were commanded, though they had well diſpatched the Affair they were imployed on, as it is reported by *Elian*. It is true, the face of things may alter after an Embaſſadours departure, and if ſo, he muſt have his eyes in his head, it being permitted him to vary the means which are preſcribed to him, for the eaſier obtaining the end of his Affair: But in caſe Affairs be not altered, he is bound to ſtick cloſe to his Inſtructions, under penalty of being very faulty; *Manlius* did not ſpare his own ſon, for fighting with the Enemy contrary to his order, though he got the better of them; for a Captain never ought to aſſault an Enemy contrary to his Generals command, though he be aſſured to overcome him: And that Embaſſador deſerveth ſeverely to be chaſtiſed, who ſhall propoſe things contrary to thoſe which are commanded him; for the management of a Treaty is ſometimes not a jot leſs conſiderable to the good of a State, then the Conduct of a War. Thoſe ſpirits which are moſt acute and ſubtle, are moſt ſubject to ſlip into this defect, becauſe they are more wedded to their own opinions, and will ever be refining of things more then need requires, eſteeming more their own thoughts, then all the orders which ſhall be given to them; and this is it which made *Thucydides* ſay, Thoſe Souls which are a little more ſteady, are propperer for negotiations, then thoſe which are ſo full of mettle and ſprightfulneſs.

## *The difficulties which did ariſe in purſuance of the diſpence for the Match with* England.

THE Diſpenſation was ſent to the Nuntio, with expreſſe order not to deliver it, untill the King of *England* ſhould ingage himſelf by Oath, to obſerve thoſe Conditions which his Holineſs had inſerted, and untill the King of *France* had given it under his hand, that he would undertake and promiſe to ſee all the Articles, to which the King of *England* ſhould ingage, to be fully accompliſhed. The *Nuntio* gave notice of this order which the Pope had ſent him to the King, and his Majeſty was not a little ſurprized at it, to find himſelf reduced to the making of new conditions with the King of *England*, and to ſeek for a new diſpence from *Rome*, when ſome moneths had been paſſed over in the ſoliciting for the former. Indeed it was ſo much the more troubleſome, in reſpect, that theſe obſtructions might totally break it off, which might not onely breed quarrels between the two Crowns

but

but divers miſ-fortunes upon the Catholicks in *England*. A Conference was at laſt had with the *Nuntio*, and it was there repreſented to him, of how little importance theſe new Articles were, in compariſon of the danger of a total breach to which it did expoſe things, eſpecially ſeeing that the Children were to be brought up by the Princeſs, that is, by her Domeſtiques and ſervants, and by thoſe of the Princeſs were to be Catholicks, which did tacitely imply; that the Children ſhould be brought up by Catholicks. This was eaſie to be demonſtrated, but the *Nuntio* being of an impertinent nature in affairs, as alſo obliged to follow his Holineſſes Intereſts, beſeeched the Miniſters to find out ſome expedient to ſatisfie his Holineſs, without imbroyling the buſineſs with the King of *England*; promiſing that he would write to him very effectually about the neceſſity that did appear, for the taking away all obſtructions and difficulties, which might bring any delay to the marriage. In proſecution whereof, the Earls of *Carliſle* and *Holland* were conſulted with, and the King writ to his Majeſty of *England*, to deſire him to condiſcend to thoſe alterations which the Pope had made, letting him ſee how frivolous they were.

The King of *England* did not receive the news without much wonder; but however ſeeing it had been agreed, that the children who ſhould be born of this match, were to be educated by the Princeſſe, untill their reſpective ages of thirteen years, and that her ſervants were to be Catholicks, and to have all freedome for the exerciſe of their Religion, hee conſented to all that was deſired; as that the Officers of thoſe Children ſhould be Catholick, and ſhould have no trouble in their Religion; accordingly hee ſent all manner of aſſurances to the King, but not a word of ſwearing to it, which was enough without urging him to take his oath for performance. The King gave all thoſe aſſurances in writing which his Holineſs expected; the Princeſs alſo writ a Letter to the Pope, wherein ſhe promiſed upon her Parol, not to chuſe any Officers for thoſe Children which God ſhould heſtow upon her, but ſuch as ſhould be Catholicks. All Conditions being thus reſolved on, it was verily beleeved, there could be no further difficulties raiſed at *Rome*. There were two extraordinary Courtiers diſpatched one by Sea, the other by Land, to the *Sieur de Bethune*, with Orders to procure the diſpenſe to bee amended withall expedition, and to beſeech the Pope in his Majeſties name, to diſpatch it according to the Articles, which had been newly agreed on, without exacting a new Oath. The *Sieur de Bethune* having received one of theſe Diſpatches acquitted himſelf of his duty with all kind of Prudence, and did not forget to uſe his very utmoſt diligence to procure that ſatisfaction for his Majeſty; he ſpake to the People with a great deal of affection, by re-preſenting to him thoſe great bleſſings which heaven had beſtowed on the Church ſince his Majeſty came to the Crown, and with what zeal his Majeſty had imployed his Arms againſt the Hereticks; all which ought to make him be much eſteemed by the holy Chair, in regard his demands could not be refuſed without ſome kind of injuſtice, both in relation to the acknowledgements which are due to him; as alſo, becauſe his Actions gave great aſſurance, that he would never omit any occaſion, which might tend to the advantage of the Church. He forgot not to repreſent to him, the dangers that would enſue from a total breach, by the longer retardment of concluding the marriage, and the ſevere uſage that the Catholiques in *England* would conſequentially lie under. That what his Holineſs had thought fit to adde to the Articles already concluded on, was in a manner included in them already, and that the chief executing of them would reſt upon the diſcretion of thoſe, who ſhould have the honour to be neer the Princeſs; however, that his Maſter the King, that he might teſtifie the reſpect which he bore his Holineſs, had written to the King of *Great Britain* who had conſented to it, excepting onely in the point of taking a new Oath, which he would no more preſs him upon, in regard of that Oath which he had already made in reſpect of Religion, the Princeſs and her ſervants, and the Liberties of the Engliſh Catholiques; and ſeeing that this new Oath was compriſed too in ſome ſort in the firſt Oath. That there was ſufficient proviſion made, both in relation to Religion and Liberty of Conſcience, for her Domeſtiques and Children, ſeeing they were to remain

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leave him, for the re-eſtabliſhing of them, in their Fathers Dominions; and then finding himſelf declining into his Agony, he gave him his bleſſing, wiſhing him a happy proſperous and ſucceſsful enjoyment of thoſe Kingdoms, which he ſhould ſhortly leave to him. About the end of March he died, at which inſtant the Heralds (according to the cuſtom of *England*) proclaymd the Prince of *Wals* King of *Great Britain*, who preſently took the ordering of all affairs upon him.

He having a great deſire to be married, the firſt thing he did was to diſpatch full power to the Duke *de Chevreuſe*, to betroth and eſpouſe the Princeſs in his name. The King too deſired to ſee an end of the buſineſſe, ſo that upon the firſt arrival of that power, the execution of it was no longer deferred. The Betrothments were made in the Lovre on the eight of May, in the preſence of the King the Queens, all the Princes and great Lords of the Court, by the Cardinal *de la Rochfaucaud*, who likewiſe celebrated the Marriage Ceremonies, on the Sunday following, being the eleventh of May, in the Church of *Noſtre Dame*, in the quality of Great Almoner. I ſhall not need to relate with what magnificence theſe things were done, only I ſhall ſay nothing was omitted. The Eſpouſals were made upon a Theater, raiſed for the purpoſe over the great door of the Church. Then the Maſſe was ſaid with great Ceremony, where the King and three Queens were aſſiſtants. Though the Duke of *Chevreuſe* and the Extraordinary Ambaſſadors of *England* were not there, who after they had wayted on his Majeſty to the door of the Quier, retyred to the Arch-Biſhops Pallace during the Maſſe, as repreſenting the King of *Englands* Perſon, who was of a different Religion; but they went again to receive his Majeſty at the ſame door, as ſoon as Maſſe was ended, and to wayt on him to the Arch-Biſhops hall, where the King dined with the Queens, his Mother, his Wife, and his Siſter, the Duke of *Chevreuſe*, the Earles of *Carliſle* and *Holland*, the Ladies Dutcheſſes of *Guiſe*, *Elbœuf*, and of *Chevreuſe*, with the moſt magnificencies, that the beſt verſed in Royal Ceremonies, could invent. There were Bonfiers made all the while throughout Paris, and the Cannons made ſuch a noyſe, as if Heaven and Earth would have come together.

## *The Duke of* Buckingham *is commanded by the King of* Great Brittain, *to go over into* France, *and to conduct the Queen his Wife over to him.*

THeſe things thus paſt, the Duke of *Buckingham* (the King of *Great Brittains* favorite) was commanded to go into *France*, to deſire the King, that the Queen his Wife might ſet out from the Court aſſoon as might be, to come to him. He arrived at *Paris* about the end of May, and during that little ſtay which he made, he was entertained with all imaginable Magnificency. The King granted him his demands, and the Queen of *Great Brittain* departed about the beginning of June. She was accompanied on the way by the Queen Mother, the Queen Regent, *Monſieur* the Kings Brother, and almoſt all, who were conſiderable in the Court: going thorough *Amiens*, ſhe was received there with the ſame honour, as is do to the King himſelf, he having ſo commanded it. In this place, ſhee took her Leave of the Queen Mother, but the Queen Regent accompanied her two leagues farther on, and *Monſieur* the Kings Brother attended by moſt part of the Court, conducted her to *Boulongne*, where ſhe was imbarked, in the greatſt Ship of the Ocean, which was richly prepared for her. The Windes were ſo favourable, that the whole Fleet came ſafe to *Dover* without any let, where the Cannons Drums and Trumpets, endeavoured in emulation of one another, to teſtifie their noyſe, which ſhould moſt welcome her, with there greateſt mirth at her firſt entrance. The King had cauſed a houſe to be built of Timber work upon the Rivers ſide, where the Perfums and pleaſant ſmels, might make her an exchange of thoſe ill ſents of the Sea, into an ayr of Amber, Orange and Jeſſamy Flowers. The King of *Great Brittain*, whom ſhe had ſent to entreat, he would be pleaſed to ſtay until the morrow

row before he ſaw her, by reaſon of the diſorder ſhe had been in upon the Sea, came accordingly the day after to meet her, with all that was Illuſtrious in his Court; and ſhewed, That Love and Gallantry did equally poſſeſs his Soul, by thoſe reſpects and extraordinary inventions, to render her firſt entrance pleaſing to her. They dined together, and that night lay at *Canturbury*, where the Mariage was conſummated to the equal contentment, of the two Crowns of *France* and *England*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

MAgnificence is one of the greateſt virtues, which gives moſt luſter to Kings, who are no otherwiſe eſteemed great, but by their abilities to do greater things then others. That is it, which makes their names glorious amongſt Strangers, and likewiſe procures them more reſpect from their own ſubjects. Philoſophers ſay, actions ought to be proportionate to the quality of the ſubject, which produceth them; whence it comes to paſſe, that that of Kings being the moſt eminent of al others, they ſhould not do any but magnificent things: and thus the Emperor *Dioclesian* ſaid publiquely. If this virtue be wel beſeeming them they are not at any time more obliged to exerciſe it, then at their own, or thoſe of their Families mariage, for at ſuch times moſt eſpecially it is, that ſtrangers and their own ſubjects too, do reſort in greateſt abundance to their Courts; which at other times they themſelves are but ſeldome ſeen; ſo that it cannot but be a thing of great concern, then to give them impreſſions of an extraordinary reſpect, to the doing of which, no doubt but the luſtre of noble and magnificent Actions, doth very much contribute: Withall, if expences ought to be regulated by the occaſions upon which they are made, what more honourable and worthy ſubject can they be beſtowed on, then either their own, or the marriages of thoſe of their Blood? Beſides, ſeeing Wealth is not given them by Heaven, but onely to be honourably imployed, how much would any niggardlineſs be exploded and found fault with, on ſuch occaſions as thoſe are? would it not paſſe for an extream meanneſs of ſpirit? The goods of private men are their own, and for their own uſes, inſomuch that they have full power to diſpoſe of them as they pleaſe; but it is not ſo with Kings, they are obliged to imploy that which is lent them, towards the acquiring a reſpect neceſſary for the impreſſing of that Reverence and Honour into the Minds of the People, which is due unto them. Thoſe great Coſts and Charges, which are layed out on frivolous matters, are as ſoon forgotten as the whiſtling of the Wind, neither do they carry with them the reputation of being magnificent; but it is not ſo when well uſed, and when they are expended upon urgent occaſions and great affairs. It is to imitate God (if done in order) who hath not onely the power of working outward Miracles, but alſo of doing them with weight, number, and meaſure.

It is moſt certain, Kings cannot in any thing more imitate the Divine Majeſty then in rendring themſelves admired amongſt men, by their magnificent Actions, to which purpoſe a noble expence, doth extraordinarily much conduce.

## *Intreagues of the Engliſh Embaſſadour with ſome Ladies of the Court, diſcovered by the Cardinal.*

THe great Delays which were uſed in the Court of *Rome*, in the procuring of the diſpenſe for the Marriage, forced the Engliſh Embaſſadour to a long ſtay in *France*. Now whether it were for diverſion, or to make any advantage by their ſtay, they ſtrook into acquaintance with certain Ladies, under pretence of Gallantry; but indeed that they might dive into the particular Affairs of *France*, and to get into the Power of ſuch who were able to make Intreagues, that they might do ſomething as occaſion ſhould ſerve for their Maſters advantage. Their meetings were ſo frequent, that it gave a cauſe of ſuſpicion; eſpecially to thoſe who were not ignorant, that Women do neither want Craft or Malice in their Souls, to raiſe

Factions and foment them. There were many entertainments made at the Court, to ſerve for a pretext to their interviews. It was well known, that there had been divers Eſſays made, to gain ſuch perſons as were near to thoſe Ladies, and had ſome ſhare in their beleef, and withall, ſome ſmall beginnings of diſcontent; inſomuch, that the King was acquainted with it, and concern'd to redreſs it by removing ſome of thoſe Ladies further of, amongſt others, the Dame *de Vervet* was one, and to fore-ſee that, the exceſſe of their conſervation might not produce other effects, then thoſe of Gallantries. But as they verily beleeved the Cardinal, to have been the Promoter of his Majeſties reſolution in that thing, ſo they conceived ſo great a hatred againſt him, that they had much ado, to be induced to pardon him, though hee did not for his part much trouble himſelf at it, for that he onely acted for the ſervice of his King, and the good of the State.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THough Women are evidently known by Wiſe men to be incapable of conducting any great Affairs, yet they are ſufficiently able to breed diviſions, and broyls, as alſo to diſcloſe any ſecrets. Their Souls are naturally repleniſhed all over with deceit to inſnare, and that Love in which they are dexterioufly skilfull to ingage men, gives them ſo abſolute an Empire over them, that there is hardly any thing which they cannot diſcover, or perſwade them to do, if once they make it their buſineſs. That weakneſs of theirs which layes them open to be Preyed upon, is the thing which gives them moſt Power over mens Souls; were they but a little ſtronger to defend themſelves from the contrivances of thoſe who have deſigns upon them; they would not have ſo great an influence in perſwading moſt men to what ever they deſire. I could ſay it was for this reaſon that the enemy of our Salvation, deſigning to involve us in ſin, made his firſt addreſſes to *Eve*, rather then upon the man, knowing ſhee would eaſilieſt contribute to the effecting of his intended end, if hee could but once make himſelf Maſter of her Will. But without being beholding to examples of inviſible Spirits; who knoweth not that the Emperour *Auguſtus*, affected to make himſelf be beloved by ſeveral of his enemies Wives, not that hee might indulge his Senſes, or delight himſelf in Voluptuous Pleaſures; but that hee might fiſh out of them, any Reſolutions which were taken to his diſ-advantage or Ruine? and *Tacitus* is the man from whom wee learn this excellent device.

## *Open War in the State of* Genoa.

WHileſt Love was filling *England* with Mirth, *Mars* was kindling a Fire of War in *Italy*. The Duke of *Savoys* Army aſſiſted by the French, being all well provided, the General would no longer defer the advancing of his Troops into the State of *Genoa*, the rather becauſe the Spaniards were imployed in other places, and the Genoveſes had but a few Forces to defend themſelves. The Prince of *Piedmont* was with the Duke his Father, and the Marſhal *de Crequy*, with the Conſtable his Father-in-law. The King, in Conſideration of the Alliance between *Savoy* and *France*, conſented that the Duke ſhould give the word, and that the Marſhal ſhould likewiſe pay the ſame reſpect to the Prince of *Piedmont*. The Order which they obſerved was thus, That the Conſtable ſhould march with the Avant guard, towards the Coaſt of *Loppiata*, and his Highneſs with the body of the Army towards *Cremolin*. The Conſtable comming before *Loppiata*, the Inhabitants made ſome ſmall reſiſtance, but they were ſoon forced, and their Town Pillaged, to ſtrike a terrour into others: this induced thoſe of *Gua*, a City belonging to the Territories of *Genoa*, to ſend their Keys to the Duke, who when he ſent the Marqueſs of *St. Reyran* with his Regiment, to Quarter there, found ſome reſiſtance, for that *Nicholas Doria* in the mean time, had put in ſome Forces there, to defend it; ſo the Duke commanded the Count of *Veriie*, to march thither with certain Companies

nies, which ſtrook ſuch a fright into *Doria* and his Forces, that they preſently left the place, and Captain *Martin Corſeque*, delivered it at the firſt ſummons. The City of *Nevy* which is very large, ſent at the ſame time, to the Conſtable to aſſure him they would open their Gates; and accordingly he ſeized on it, and then turning towards *Gavy*, he defeated in his march five Companies of Neopolitans, whom the Spaniards had ſent to ſecure the place, and ſhortly after the Duke of *Savoy* joyned with him to incounter with ſix thouſand men, part being of Collonel *Gaſees*, ſome *Modenois*, and other ſome Parmeſans, who pretended to defend the Town. But they ſoon cut one party of them in peeces near *Ottage*, in a fight which laſted neer two hours, and then falling upon four Squadrons of Horſe, not far off the ſame place, they routed them with ſuch good ſucceſs, that they took the Town and Caſtle of *Ottage* with three and twenty Colours, killed above two hundred Neapolitans and Genoveſes upon the place, took above a thouſand Priſoners, and amongſt them the chief Commanders. Upon this defeat, they concluded to make themſelves Maſter of *Gavy*, which was abſolutely neceſſary for their marching up to *Genoa*. The Caſtle is built on a Rock, and the Town well fortified; inſomuch that many were of opinion, it would be a hard task to take it, ſeeing too that *Barbaroſſa* in the expedition which he made in the time of *Francis* the firſt, into the River of *Genoa*, could not take it in. But the Conſtables courage, which was not uſed to ſtoop under any Fear, did not forbear to make his approaches upon the Town. He who commanded it, made a Sally, with about three hundred men, of which two hundred were ſlain in the place, which ſo terrified thoſe of the Town, that they ſent an aſſurance that they would open their Gates; provided they might be protected from being Plundered and maintained in their ancient Priviledges, which was granted to them; and the Conſtable being got into the Town, began to beſiege the Caſtle. At the firſt, the Governour pretended a Reſolution to defend it, diſcharging ſeveral ſhot into the Town, beleeving that the Caſtle could not be battered, and ſuppoſing there were not any points of Rocks, upon which any Cannon could be mounted to command it; but the Conſtable ſoon let him ſee that there was not any thing impoſſible to the courage of the French, for in a few days he had raiſed a Battery upon certain Rocks, which did ſo awe him, that he was forced to ſurrender upon Compoſition on the laſt of *April*. Some Spaniſh Relations ſay, that the Governour was rather frighted with Piſtol ſhot, then forced by the Cannon to ſurrender; but their anger was at the Conſtable, who had made himſelf Maſter of the place. After theſe happy exploits, the Prince of *Piedmont* took ten thouſand men of the Army, to go force the Paſſages of the Mountain *Griego*, where the Genoveſes were intrenched, and to make way for the Siege of *Savonne*. He preſently forced their Trenches, ſo that he had full Liberty to march as far as *Pleve* a Town ſcituated in the Mountains, defended with a good Caſtle, and ſeveral ſmall Forts, his courage made him reſolve to carry it by aſſault, after he had taken in thoſe little Forts, though it ſeemed capable of holding out a longer Siege, which was executed with ſo much reſolution and good ſucceſſe, that the place was won in an inſtant, the beſieged yeelding themſelves (as ſoon as they found the Gates and Walls were already ſecured) upon condition of ſaving the lives of all ſuch as ſhould be found without Arms. All which was done with no ſmall reſiſtance, for there were at leaſt two hundred killed and taken, together with ſeven Colours, which were ſent by the Prince, to the Princeſs of *Piedmont*, and afterwards to the King, together with thoſe three and twenty others, which were taken at the defeat of *Ottage*, and the Staffs of two Maſters of the Camp, *Caracciolo* and *Caranda*, ſent by the Duke of *Savoy*, as the the fruits of thoſe Victories, which his Majeſties Armies had obtained, with a Letter in anſwer to that which was brought him, by the Marqueſs *de Saluce*. The Prince of *Piedmont* having ſuffered his Army to Pillage for about ſix and thirty hours in *Pleve*, he deſtroyed the Country towards *Albengua*, the Magiſtrate of which place, ſent to offer to him the obedience of the Inhabitants; accordingly, he entred into the Town with ſome few Troops, and from thence went towards *Orvietta*, which the Genoveſes had newly ſurpriſed, but he forced it in a few dayes time. After this

once

done, he ſummoned the City of *Ventimelia*, the inhabitants made ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, but the Prince being come within a League of it, they ſoon ſent their deſires to be admitted to Compoſition. The Caſtle made ſome difficulty of ſurrendring, but when the Governour had once ſeen a Battery raiſed on the points of the Rocks, where five hundred Niſſars had drawn the Cannon by the ſtrength of their Arms, he reſolved to do as the Town had. Thus in the moneths of *March*, *April*, and *May*, did the Armies of *Savoy*, over-run in the State of *Genoa*, all that did reſiſt them, and made themſelves Maſters, not onely of the places by us named, but of divers others, to the number of one hundred ſeventy four, ſtrong and weak, ſo favourable is Fortune to thoſe who undertake any thing with extraordinary boldneſſe and courage.

*Politique Obſervation.*

FOrtune, or to ſpeak more properly, Divine Providence doth commonly favour thoſe, who being truly generous do attempt any great enterpriſe. Not that God worketh miracles, for the crowning them with ſucceſſe; but indeed, becauſe couragiouſneſs giveth them great advantages; eſpecially, when it is accompanied with Prudence, and that the Divine Providence co-operating with ſecond Cauſes, doth aſſiſt their indeavours, Courage begetteth a certain hope which like a Spur ſtirreth up to great attempts, from which Fear had formerly diverted them; courage alone is ſufficient to ſtrike terrour into an enemy, who fighting more by conſtraint then good will, do uſually give ground, when once they find themſelves vigorouſly aſſaulted. Who knoweth not that it is courage which perſwadeth to invade and ſubject other Countries. Experience hath often evinced, that an invading Prince hath a great advantage over him, who is onely intent how to defend himſelf; eſpecially if he be Prudent in falling on him, in a favourable conjuncture of time, as when his forces are diverted into other imployments, or worn out or unarmed. They who have moſt judiciouſly weighed the Victories of *Ceſar*, do much aſcribe them to his native Generouſneſs, which carried him on to attempt any thing, without the leaſt fear; inſomuch that he deſpiſed the un-relenting fury both of the Sea and Winds, which ſpare no man, and commanded the Pylot who conducted him, not to fear, ſince he carried *Ceſars* Fortune in his Boat. Never did his Souldiers ſhew their backs, no danger could affright him, well he knew death to be the end of life, but not that it was a miſ-fortune. He built his Glory upon Conqueſts, and the difficulty of his enterprizes re-doubled the Force of his Courage. Fortune was alwaies his friend, and he made it apparent, that nothing was impoſſible to a man of Reſolution.

*The Proſecution of War in* Italy.

FOrtune indeed did much adde to the Courage of the Arms of *France* and *Savoy*, for the obtaining ſuch great Conqueſts in ſo little time, but much of the honour muſt be aſcribed unto the Cardinal, who firſt adviſed the expedition, who iſſued out all Orders under the Kings Authority, who executed them in ſo happy a conjuncture of time, that neither the Spaniards or Genoeſes, could poſſibly defend thoſe places which were aſſaulted, by reaſon of their want of Forces: And laſtly, who had ſo good intelligence in the States of *Genoa*, that he did not a little contribute to the good ſucceſs of this deſign. Yet however Fortune, or rather Divine Providence, which over-ruleth Armies, doth but laugh at mans Wiſdome, and ſeemeth to delight in diſtributing both good and bad ſucceſs to their deſigns: Thus was it, with the French and Savoyards, for the Scales ſeemed to turn againſt them, and their Conqueſts came to a Period. The Fame of theſe great Victories did ſo trouble the houſe of *Auſtria*, that extraordinary preparations were made in *Germany*, for the ſending of a Potent Army, under the command of *Feria*, Governour of *Milan*, for the aſſiſting of the Genoeſes. The Marqueſs *de St. Croix*, was likewiſe commanded

manded to put to Sea, a Fleet deſigned for that purpoſe, who had imbarked neer four thouſand Souldiers, in twenty five Gallies, and five Gallions of *Sicilia*. Theſe Forces of the Enemy came with a great advantage, the Plague having conſumed at leaſt two thirds of the French ſince their arrival in *Italy*. The Marſhal *de Crequy* fell ſick of it, and not long after the Conſtable. Beſides, divers Cities of *Genoa*, ſeemed to ſhake off the yoke of their Obedience, with joy and delight, they turned about, and before the end of *June*, riſe againſt their new Governours and Gariſons with great violence, as if Fortune had purpoſely done it, to ſhew that misfortunes ſeldome come ſingle. And laſtly, the ill-management of the Artillery, and want of Waggons for the Carriage of Proviſions for the Army (of all which the Duke of *Savoy* was in fault) occaſioned more diſaſters then all the reſt; beſides the jealouſies which grew between him and the Conſtable, did not a little add to compleat them. Things being in this poſture, did much incourage the Spaniards, and the Duke *de Feria*, that he might not loſe the advantage of it, entred into *Montferrat*, about the beginning of *July*, where he took *Spione* by force, and not long after *Acqui*, which the Conſtable had made his Magazine of Arms, and had therin placed 3. Regiments to guard the munitions which he had there ſtowed up. The taking of this place neceſſitated the Prince of *Piedmont*, and the Conſtable to recall the Forces then marching towards *Savonne*, that they might joyntly fall on upon the Duke of *Feria*; but they found him incamp'd ſo advantagiouſly at *Ferzo* between *Biſtague* and *Acqui*, that they could not poſſibly come neer him, the Paſſages being ſo narrow, that onely two men could march a Breaſt.

At the ſame time, the inhabitants of *Albengua*, *Novy*, and *Acquy*, revolted againſt the French Gariſons; and ſhortly after, divers other leſſe places, and ſix thouſand Genoeſes comming before *Gavio*, the Governour and his ſon, cowardly ſurrendred the place, upon condition to be carried ſafely into *France*. The Genoeſes received them upon this Compoſition, and conducted them accordingly; but being there arrived, their Treachery was not long unpuniſhed by the Parliament of *Provence*; *Gouvernon* the ſon being hanged, the Fathers body taken up, burned, and his Aſhes thrown into the Ayr (death having prevented the execution of judgment upon him.) True it is, Courage doth oftentimes compell Fortune to be favourable, and the French Army, though thus perſecuted, did yet make head, againſt the Duke *de Feria*, and prevented his further progreſs, ſo that he was forced to make ſome other diverſion, by entring upon *Piedmont*, and lying down before *Aſt*, with deſign to beſiege it. The Conſtable was yet there, very weak, it being thought he would have died, ſo that he went off, and the Marſhal *de Crequy*, upon the thirtieth of *Auguſt*, came into his place with four thouſand French.

The ſame day he made a Sally, with the Prince of *Carignan*, forced the enemy from a Bridge, which they had kept ſix dayes, and made them run away with ſhame, though they had eighteen thouſand foot, and ſeven hundred horſe. Was not this a generous exploit of the French, and did it not ſufficiently teſtifie, that had they been near enough to have had recruits and ammunitions from *France*, or had the Duke of *Savoy* cauſed thoſe refreſhments tu have been brought for the Army which by the Articles of the Treaty he was obliged, they had not ſo eaſily loſt, what they had ſo happily obtained. But they were induced to under-goe thoſe diſaſters which are incident to all men, who invade a Forraign Country upon the hopes of a League.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

ALthough thoſe Wars, which are begun by Princes leagued together, have oftentimes happy beginnings; yet it ſeldome comes to paſſe, that they do end in a good ſucceſs. There need no other proof then that of the Wars, which our Kings have made in *Italy*, for ſix ſcore years laſt paſt. But that we may not dwell upon examples, is not that Prince who truſteth in the promiſe of his Confederates, like the man who expoſeth all his Goods upon the Sea in a leaky Veſſel? Experience

ence hath ſhewed us in a thouſand incounters, that Princes have ſo many overtures made, by which one may win upon them, and with-draw them from Leagues, that it is almoſt impoſſible to have any abſolute aſſurance of them. One of the chiefeſt ties which holdeth them faſt, is to have in poſſeſſion ſome ſtrong place, for a gage of their Fidelity; but there are few who will thus diſpoſſeſs themſelves; doubting leaſt he, into whoſe hands it be intruſted, will retain it for good and all, by ſaying or perſwading them that they have been defective in their word, in ſome one thing or other; as *Charls* the eighth did, after he had received the Florentine Towns in depoſit. It is likewiſe dubious, leſt the ſeveral Troops or divers Princes in an Army together, ſhould grow jealous of one another, and then the leaſt diſtruſt or broyls which might ariſe between them, were enough to withdraw him, who imagineth himſelf offended; and if there were nothing elſe, there need no more but this to draw off Confederates from a League, barely to ſatisfie them in their particular Intereſts; for ſeeing that is it, which is the onely end and aim of all Princes, they will no longer hold together, then it may bee for their advantage. There do oftentimes too happen very great inconveniences; eſpecially, when their united Forces are to march into far diſtant places, they who border upon thoſe Countries which are to be aſſaulted, take no care to refreſh themſelves, either by new troops or neceſſary proviſions for the War, for that thoſe who inhabit further off, not being eaſily able to provide for this defect, fall into ruine of themſelves, or elſe their enemies quickly put them to flight. Many united Princes are never comparable to one alone, nor ever capable of encompaſſing ſuch great enterpriſes, as a ſingle Prince with his own Subjects, though much inferiour to them in point of numbers.

### *The Hugonots by the Spaniards Inſtigation, Arm themſelves very potently againſt the King.*

WHileſt *Italy* ſerved as a Theater for the acting of ſeveral Warlike exployts, the Hugonots inſpired not onely with that mutinous humour, which is common to them, but alſo incited by the contrivances of *Spain*, uſed their utmoſt indeavours to divert the Kings Army, as alſo to fortifie and ſtrengthen themſelves both in *Languedoc*, and *Poictou*. The Duke of *Rohan*, and the *Sieur de Soubize*, were the chief of the Revolt, the former took the Command upon himſelf of thoſe Forces in *Languedoc*, the latter thoſe in *Poictou*. Now though the *Sieur de Soubize*, had been repulſed from before the Port of *Blavet*, yet he got no ſmall advantage by it; for by that means he made himſelf Maſter of ſix great Ships which were the Kings, and the Duke of *Nemoure*, which gave him opportunity of doing very conſiderable damages. He had formerly got together, about eleven Ships of War, all very good, and a greater number of Shallops, and ſmall Boats which being aſſiſted with theſe, he had the ambition to hope he might become Maſter of the Ocean: In concluſion, he roved up and down upon the Coaſts of *Poictou* and *Guien*, and committed ſuch ſavage Cruelties, that more the Turks could not poſſibly have done, and to ſecure himſelf of a near and ſafe retreat, he ſeized on the Iſlands of *Ree* and *Oleron*, where he haſtned on with the Forts which thoſe of his party had began to build: Withall, finding the Duke of *Eſpernon*, drawn off towards *Montauban*, whither he was gone to ranſack as ſhall be anon declared; he aſſembled together a Fleet of about ſeventy four Sails, of all Sizes, and entring into the *Girond* towards *Bourdeaux*, they landed about mid *June*, three thouſand men in *Medoc*, and ſeized on the Caſtle, a ſmall place ſcituated on the Rivers ſide, where he intrenched himſelf; and ſo over-running the Plains, where the *Burdelois* have ſeveral houſes of Pleaſure, he Pillaged them, and committed all other imaginable outrages. But he ſoon found the *Sieur de Thoyras* in Front of him, to whom the Cardinal had given Orders from the King to fall upon them, in caſe they ſhould make any incurſions thereabouts, who preſently went to find them out with his Troop of light-horſe, and

thirteen

thirteen others of the Regiment of *Campagne*, one Company of the Garriſon of *Bergerac*, commanded by the *Sieur de Pleſſis*, ſent by the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and ſome few others, who had been raiſed thereabouts for the ſame purpoſe. Now the *Sieur de Thoyras* finding himſelf backed with theſe Troops, fell upon him ſo reſolutely, that he forced him to give ground, and to weigh their Anchors, and flie towards *Rochel*, leaving good ſtore of Arms, Cannon, Ammunition, and their Baggage in their Trenches behind them. This Rebuke was ſo ſenſible to him, that he was poſſeſſed with an extream deſire to be revenged for it; ſo that ſeeing the *Sieur de Thoyras* retire, he let go ſome of his Ships, and ſent them under the Conduct of *Verger Malagnet*, to make a ſecond attempt on *Medoc*; who accordingly landed about the Point of *Ambes*, and committed great Devaſtations about the plain Country. But the Cardinal had cauſed Order to be given to the Country people, to bee alwaies in a readineſſe, againſt any who ſhould attempt upon their goods, who compelled them preſently to re-imbark, and joyn with the others under the *Sieur de Sobize*; by both which it was apparent, that there was no accident, which the Cardinal did not foreſee, and apply a remedy to, before they did appear.

*Politique obſervation.*

A Grand Miniſter is obliged, inceſſantly to watch after the neceſſities of the State, for prevention of any enterprizes which may be made, it will eſcape him very narrowly, if (taking an eſpecial care to be informed of all Paſſages in the Provinces) he be not acquainted withall the Combinations and Contrivances which are on foot, as alſo the preparations which are in agitation for a Revolt, it being impoſſible that thoſe ſeveral Artifices, which are uſed for the gaining in of divers and many men, and the moſt ſecret preparations of War ſhould be concealed from him; which once comming to his knowledge, he ought in a trice to diſpatch forces to that very place, where the Inſurrection is deſigned to be. The onely ſight of them may perhaps break the neck of the whole deſign; and if not ſo, yet they will at leaſt prevent the enemies Troops to joyn together, and will cut them in pieces one by one, before they will be in a capacity of attempting any thing whatever. Without this diligence he will ſoon find the State, and his own reputation expoſed as a Prey. An Eye watching over a Scepter, and the Lyon King of Beaſts, who ſleepeth not but with oyen eyes. were the *Hieroglyphicks*, which the Egyptians made uſe of, to expreſſe fore-ſight, and to teach Grandees that it ought to be inſeparable from their Authority, if they would not have their people expoſed to great miſ-fortunes both by Domeſtick and Forraign Wars. The Sun which governs the Elementary World in the higheſt Heavens, goes every day from one end of them to another, that hee may make all here below, ſenſible of the Effects of his Influences; and that Miniſter who hath a State in charge, ought to imploy all his cares, all his mind upon every City, upon every Province, and indeed upon the ſingular houſes of every great man, that he may know what is done there, and apply a remedy to their contrivances. Me thinks they of *Syracuſe*, gave a notable example of this kind of Conduct, when they had received intelligence, that the Athenians would war upon them, and that they already were upon the Sea with a Puiſſant Fleet, making towards the Coaſt of *Sicily*. *Hermocrates* a great States-man, was not backward in exhorting them, to give neceſſary Orders for their defence, and to preſſe the Senate accordingly: Whereas *Athenagoras* on the other ſide, deſcried it as much, and ſhewed them ſundry reaſons, why the Athenians could not arrive to the end of their deſign and demonſtrated to them that it was impoſſible, indeavouring to diſſwade them from making any preparation of War. But the Senators, ſomewhat wiſer then himſelf followed *Hermocrates* his advice and reſolved to give neceſſary Orders for defence, that they might not afterwards be forced to do it in a huddle, or to continue in the danger. They began to diſcuſſe the buſineſs, that in caſe the news of the Athenians Fleet were true, it would then be needfull to make ſome preparations; if it were falſe, thoſe preprrations would no whit diſ-advantage the

City: And that laſt of all, it is better to ſuſpect then to ſlight dangers, but not to ſhew the leaſt Fear, by doing any Action unbecomming a Generous Courage.

## *The Duke of* Rohans *Attempts in* Languedoc, *with the Proceſs in the Parliament of* Tholouſe, *againſt him, and all his Adherents.*

ABout the ſame time in the end of *April*, the Duke of *Rohan*, having contrived ſeveral Cabals in the Hugonot Towns of *Languedoc*, began the Warre, and got together about two thouſand men, near *Caſtres* the chief place of his Retreat, and where he had a full Power, by means of thoſe Conſuls whom he had procured to be elected. He gave out, that the *Rocheloiis* had taken Arms, and ſworn a League with the Churches of his party, that he might by this pretence get a like Intereſt in ſome other Towns, which he had an eye upon; and accordingly, he went to *Puilaurens*, *Ruel*, *Soreze*, *St. Pauls Leviate*, *& Briteſte*, and made the Conſuls ſwear to the Confederacy, afterwards came before the Gates of *Lavaur* to ſurpriſe it, but his deſign took no effect.

The Cardinal having ſent out Orders from the King, to the Governours of the Provinces, to fall upon him, as ſoon as ever he ſhould appear in the Field. The Count of *Carmain* Governour of *Foix*, was preſently upon his skirts, and impeded not onely the Progreſs of his Rebellion; but alſo, getting into *Ruelle* and *Soreze*, after the other had forſaken them, he ſo dealt with the Conſuls, that they confeſſed their fault, and proteſted not to take part with him any more. And as the Authority of Parliaments on ſuch occaſions, ought to uphold the Courages and Fidelities of thoſe who Conduct the Kings Armies; ſo that of *Tholouſe*, was not wanting to command the Souldiers who were aſſembled with the Duke of *Rohan* to ſeparate themſelves, and to give Orders to the Nobility and Commonalty to fall upon them, to forbear all ſort of Commerce with thoſe of *Caſtres*, and to tranſlate the Royal and Eccleſiaſtique juriſdictions, and the Receipt of the Kings Monies unto the Town of *Lautrec*, with command to all the Judges and Officers to come thither, as well to prevent the Kings monies from falling into their hands, as alſo to preſerve Juſtice in its Integrity, and to diminiſh the Force and Power of that Rebellious City. The ſame Parliament too, granted an Arreſt for the ſeizure of all the Goods, any waies belonging to thoſe who were revolted, both to puniſh them, and deter others who were ready to follow them. The Half divided Chamber of *Beziers*, half Hugonots, and half Papiſts, did as much, and declared (according to the Kings Edict, of the 25*th.* of *January* the ſame year) the ſaid Duke to bee guilty of *Læſa Majeſtatis*, to be a troubler of the Publick Peace, as alſo all his Abbettors and Adherents, and Prohibited both Cities and particular perſons, to hold any communication with him, and injoyning all his Majeſties Subjects, to fall upon any Troops that ſhould injure them, to cut them in peeces, and to pull down the Houſes and Caſtles of ſuch Noble men, as were of that Faction.

But the Order which the Cardinal perſwaded his Majeſty to ſend was more powerfull then all thoſe others; for the preventing the further progreſs of this Rebellion ſeeing it was accompanied with an extraordinary diligence. The King ſent a Commiſſion to the Marſhal *de Themines*, whom his Majeſty ſent to thoſe places, to obſerve what paſſed, to raiſe ſuch Troops as were already in the Province, and to advance ſuch others as might form the Body of an Army, which might cut off the growth of this Rebellion in its Cradle. The Marſhal had the Marqueſs *de Ragny*, and the Count *de Carmain* for Marſhals of the Field, and that no longer time might be loſt, he ſoon after came to the place, where he had deſigned the Rendezvouz for the whole Army, and upon his way forced the Caſtles of *Blanc* and *Dovac*, which ſerved for Retreits to thoſe who were revolted. After the Companies were aſſembled together, and a review taken of the whole Army, he made his Forces before *Caſtres* to Plunder the Country. The *Sieur de Ferrieres* who commanded the

Rebels

Rebels horſe, made a Salley upon the Marſhal, as ſoon as he came within view of the Town, but they were forced to turn back again with more haſt then he came out, and not onely ſo, but himſelf and three or four more of his own party, were left wounded upon the place. The Pioneers and Plunderers played their parts under the Protection of the Army, which countenanced them in it; and notwithſtanding the many ſhot and skirmiſhes, in which many were hurt and ſlain, both of one ſide and t'other, they did their work ſo exactly, that there was not a Tree, Vine, or Stalk of Corn ſtanding any where neer the City. In this *interim*, the Duke of *Rohan* attempted to become Maſter of *Sommieres*, and led up his Army to it, and comming thither juſt upon day breaking, hee approached it by one of the Gates, which being ſoon thrown down, made way for his entrance; but thinking to ſurprize the Caſtle too, *Maſſillac* the Governour of it, repelled all his Attempts with ſuch Courage, that having received the ſuccours of ten thouſand foot, which the *Sieur de Valenſay* had ſent to him from *Montpellier*, the Duke was forced to retire to *Anduze*, where he was not well received. After this, the Marſhal *de Themines* went without more adoe to beſiege *St. Paul* and *Miatte*, which lie upon the River *Langonſt* between *Caſtres* and *Lavaur*; when he had Quartered his Army before *St. Paul*, he forced it in few dayes, and rifled divers of the Inhabitants that were got into *Miatte*; but they had ſmall hopes of any comfort, ſo they ſent to the Marſhal to deſire Articles, which being granted, he entred and took poſſeſſion of the Town.

But all this was nothing worth, if he did not attempt to fight the Duke of *Rohan*, and cut off his Forces, ſo he reſolved to follow him, and over-taking him at *Vianes* in *Albigeois*, he ſet the Army into Battalia to fight him. The Duke was Quartrred in *Vianes*, and about two thouſand of his Foot were at *Peyreſequade*, which is at the Foot of the Mountains whereon *Vianes* is ſcituated. The Count *de Carmain* went to view them, and having reported to the Marſhal the Condition in which he found them, it was reſolved to fight them. The Marſhal with his Sword in his hand marched in the Head of the Army. The Marqueſs *de Cragny* and the Count of *Carmain*, took their Stations one upon his right, t'other upon his left hand, and at the ſame inſtant, the whole Army couragiouſly advanced towards the Enemy, with ſo much Reſolution, that nothing more could have been wiſhed, but onely that they had made a little more reſiſtance, for that there was not one ſingle man of them ſaved; for whileſt thoſe who made the firſt encounter were at it, the reſt got into *Vianes*, who were however ſo cloſely purſued by the Marſhals forces, that the Regiment of *Normandy* was hard at their heels, entring into the Town with them. Thus he remained Maſter of *Peyreſequade*, where there were about one hundred and fifty of the Rebels Souldiers killed and hurt, all which the Duke of *Rohan* beheld from a Fort in *Vianes* where he then was, from which time forwards he began to deſpair of doing any great matters for the future, eſpecially ſince he ſaw himſelf ſo cloſely followed, and that the Cardinal had taken ſuch a courſe in *Languedoc*, that the King could have raiſed more men in twenty four hours, then the Duke in a whole moneth.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

HE who revolteth againſt a great King, ſeeketh his own ruine. He cannot hope for Glory from his enterpriſe, ſeeing hee is neither accompanied with Prudence nor Juſtice, and he cannot expect any profit by it; for beſides that, the weakneſſe or indeed impoſſibility, unto which he is reduced by the quality of a ſubject, he forceth as it were his Soveraign to puniſh his Rebellion, by making him loſe both his Life and Eſtate. *Mahomet* Prince of the Turks, had all Rebels in ſuch deteſtation, that he cut off two *Falcon's* heads for having ſtooped at an Eagle, the King of Birds, that he might by this teach his Subjects, who durſt have the raſhneſſe, to follow that example, that they muſt expect the like puniſhment; for both Prudence and Juſtice oblige a Prince to chaſtiſe thoſe, who ſhall take up Arms againſt his authority.

thority. Some Grandees puffe up themſelves, with the Greatneſſe of *Alexander*, who with a few Forces which he drew out of *Macedon*, overthrew the Power of *Perſia*; as alſo with that of the Romans, who from being at firſt Maſters but of one City, became Lords of the whole World: But they ought to know, that neither the one or t'other of them, were preſently ſet upon by any great Prince, but extended their Power by little and little, ever proportionating their Attempss to their Forces. It is true, Fortune and their own Courages did not a little contribute to their ſucceſſes; but ſeeing Chriſtianity teacheth us, that this ſame Fortune is not any thing elſe but divine Providence, with what reaſon can he who revolts againſt his own King, hope for favour from heaven, whileſt he doth act againſt the Laws, and indeavoureth to ſubvert that order which this Divine Providence hath eſtabliſhed in all Kingdomes.

## *The Spoil made about* Mountauban *by the Duke* d'Eſpernon.

THE Duke of *Eſpernon* was neither wanting in the Teſtimonies of a good Conduct or ſucceſſe in the Pillaging of *Mountauban*. According to the Orders which he had received, he made his Approaches near it about the beginning of *June* though there were good ſtore of Souldiers clapped into the Town, for defence of it, this being next to *Rochel* the greateſt prop of the Revolted Party. His deſign could not be brought to any good effect untill after ſeveral skirmiſhes, and ſuſtaining divers Sallies out of the Town. That of the fifteenth of *June* gave them ſome advantage over him, for they then killed ten of his, and carried with them as many Priſoners, amongſt whom were the *Sieurs* of *Miraude*, *& de St. Omer*; but they were ſoundly payed with Intereſt too in thoſe following conflicts; eſpecially in that of the twenty ſeventh of the ſame moneth, when they left about two hundred dead, beſides wounded on the place, and about forty priſoners; ſhortly after the Duke cauſed a fair Meadow to be mowed about a quarter of a League from the Town, to draw out the Rebels, but they had not the Courage to make any more Sallies as as yet. But underſtanding that the Duke had layed up good ſtore of Corn about a League off, they contrived to ſurprize it, by the help of a dark night, hoping that it would fall out for their advantage. Now ſome Scouts of the Dukes about the Town, having perceived what paſſed, gave intelligence of their being gone out, ſo they were quickly ſnapt: The Fight indeed was hot, but at laſt *la Roche* who commanded them, being hurt with three Carabine ſhot, and taken Priſoner too, they preſently fled, and left about one hundred dead and wounded on the place. Inſomuch that not being able to Reap any Wheat or Hay thereabouts (ſo exactly had every thing been Pillaged) that, at laſt they began to bee in very great neceſſities.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

AMongſt the ſeveral wayes to reduce a Rebellious Town under Obedience, the devaſtation of al fruits which are upon the earth neer thereabouts, is one of the beſt and moſt abſolute. The Loſſes which the Rich receive by it, will ingage them to maſter the Commonalty, and to repel Mutineers by force, and to bring them under the obedience which they owe to their Soveraign. There are but a few who can reſolve to loſe their Goods, to ſatisfie the rage of an unbridled People. Commonly none but they who are like to get by it, do follow any Revolter. Man is naturally ſo carefull of his own Eſtate and Goods, that there is hardly any thing which he will prefer before them. But if Devaſtation bee not able to reduce Revolted Towns into their Obedience, without uſing other force of Arms, who knoweth not that by a cloſe beſieging of them too, they will come to find themſelves ſo deſtitute of Victuals, that it will be impoſſible for them any long time to hold out? And thus one need not doubt, but that it will in fine bring them down unto their Obedience, either by Force or for their own Intereſt. As for Rules to be obſerved in

Forraging

Forraging there are not any; onely to deſtroy all the Fruits thereabouts, to Reap if poſſible all the Wheat, elſe to burn it; to make the Grapes into Wine, or elſe to cut up the Stocks, as alſo all other Trees that bear Fruit, or from which they may make any advantage. It ſhould be done as near the Walls as poſſible might bee, to take away all conveniences from them; and whileſt that the Pioneers are at Work, the Army ought to bee at hand to defend and ſhelter them, but in ſuch places where the Cannon ſhot may not reach them.

## *A Victory Obtained by the Duke of* Montmorency *againſt the Hugonots.*

THeſe Victories which the King got againſt the Revolted, were not inconſiderable, but that which the Duke of *Montmorency* got, aſſiſted by the *Sieurs de St. Luc, de la Roche-Foucaud, & de Thoyras*, was much beyond them all. The Marſhal *de Preſlin*, had been the moſt part of the year in the Country of *Aunis*, and the *Sieur de Thoyras* had been in Fort *Lewis* before the Gates of *Rochel*, both to pillage round about that Rebellious Town, whereby to reduce them to ſuch want, that they might not long hold out, as alſo to prevent their making of any attempts thereabout.

The *Sieur de Soubize* finding little aſſurance on the main land, had fortified himſelf in the Iſles of *Ree* and *Oleron*, it was the more important to remove him thence; becauſe elſe it would be impoſſible to reduce *Rochel* into its obedience, ſo eaſily and abundantly might he recruit them with neceſſaries from thoſe fertile Iſlands. But to give a good ſucceſs to the buſineſs, there was need of a Fleet: To which end his Majeſty got together good ſtore of ſhips, of which one twenty were ſent him by the Hollanders, according to the Treaty which had been concluded with them the fore-going year. His Majeſty committed the Government of it to the Duke of *Montmerency* Admiral of *France*, with order to fight the *Sieur de Soubize*, and to cauſe the *Sieurs de St. Luc, de la Roche-Foucaud, & de Thoyras*, to paſſe over with ſome part of their Forces, into the Iſle of *Ree*, to drive out thoſe Rebels, who were in Gariſon in the Forts there, and to fortifie themſelves. The *Sieur de Soubize* who had then great and ſmall onely thirty nine Veſſels, would not expect the comming of the Admiral *Montmorency* to the Kings Ships, though he had procured a promiſe from the *Sieur Hautyn* the Hollanders Admiral, under favour of the conformity of their Religion, and had likewiſe paſſed his own Parole, that neither part ſhould attempt any thing untill the Treaty of Peace, which was agitating at Court, were either abſolutely concluded or broken off; which he did not faithfully perform on his part; for taking advantage of his promiſe given, hee took occaſion to come upon him unprovided, and on the nineteenth of *July* he put forth to Sea, and having the Wind and Sea favourable, in half an hour he came up to the Hollanders Ships, and ſent two Fire-boats chained together full of Artificial Fire-works, to fall on the Admiral, whom they burned quite down in a very little while, not giving liberty for to ſave any but ſuch as could ſwim, ſo that above a hundred were drowned in it.

This Action full both of Inſolency and breach of Faith, ingaged the Kings Navy to purſue them four hours together. The Ayr did ring again with the Cannon ſhot, which ſunk ſome of their Veſſels, and killed divers of their men: But the ſeaſon was ſo favourable to him, that he got into *St. Martin de Ree*, and to *Chef de Bay*. The Duke of *Montmorancy* after the firſt news of the Encounter, was ordered to ſpeed away, and to give them Battel. He was received with a great deal of joy by the whole Fleet, who were very impatient to be revenged on *Soubize*, for the affront he had put upon them. The Duke put forth to Sea, the *Sieurs de Saint Luc, de Roche-Foucaud*, and *de Thoyras* made themſelves ready to go on ſhore, under the favour of the Admirals Arrival. And on Sunday the fourteenth of *September* about eleven at night, the Duke having given the ſign for falling on, they went to Attaque

taque *Soubize's* Fleet, which lay at Anchor in *Loys* Channel, under the Iſland of *Re*. Upon the firſt approach near the enemies Veſſels, there were ſo many Cannon ſhot diſcharged on them, that they were forced to retire to the further end of the Channel, and the Sea falling off, they all ſtuck on the Shelf. The Duke finding them in this Condition, made his Ships advance to ſhelter the landing of the *Sieurs de St. Luc*, *de la Roche-Foucaude*, *& de Thoyras*, amid'ſt the ſmoke of the Powder, which hindered the Rebels from diſcovering it. There were alſo ten other Ships ſent out, who were to go to the Road of *Chef de Bay*, to take order, that the *Rochelois* might ſend no new Troops to the Iſle of *Re*, who forced back into the Port the Count *de Laval*, who was going out upon that deſign. The Kings Army being landed, the Enemy quickly perceived it, and as ſoon came to receive them, and uſed their utmoſt to repel them. The Combate laſted three days out-right, with a great deal of obſtinacy on both parts, the Rebels defending themſelves in every place, that was never ſo little tenable, but it ended to the great advantage of the Kings Army, which muſt be aſcribed to the Valour and Conduct of thoſe who commanded it; for that they preſently made themſelves Maſters of the Iſle of *Re*, cutting ſome part of the Enemy in peeces, taking other ſome Priſoners, and letting the reſt eſcape into their Ships. The *Sieur de Soubize* was one of thoſe, who eſcaped into *Oleron*, ſuch care he had, that he might not be taken, that he never came into the Fight at all. They who had got clear into their Ships, would have tried one bout more to have had their revenge, the wind being fair for them: But the Duke kept the Army in a readineſs to fight, gave the ſignal and fell upon them; the Seamen were ſo dexterous, that they got the wind of them in leſſe then two hours, there were above two thouſand ſhot made; and though the night came on, yet the Fight ended not; for the Duke perceiving nine of the greateſt Ships retiring towards *Rochel*, purſued them with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that hee came up with them about day break, and two others of their biggeſt Ships, were not able to get off, for want of water, and ſo ſtuck on ground, but long they did not ſo continue before they were taken. It is true, thoſe of the Army who were got upon the Orelop, and having killed all they met with, the Souldiers who were in the Hold, ſet fire to the Powder, and blew up all above with ſuch force, that the Splinters of it were carried a quarter of a League off, three of the Kings Ships were burned with it, and above three hundred men loſt, amongſt which were the Count of *Vauvert*, the *Sieur de Ville Neufeu*, and *Veilon* a Captain of *Holland*. This accident did much take off from the content of the Victory, yet it cannot be denied but that it was glorious enough for the happineſſe of *France*, in reducing the Rebels to that paſſe, that they could not any more make any attempts by Sea. Thus the reſt of their Veſſels which were of no great conſequence retired, ſome to *Rochel*, and ſome into other places, according as the Wind did drive them, but never durſt afterwards appear any more. Theſe things thus ended, the Duke of *Montmorancy*, landed at *Oleron*, where he met with no reſiſtance, the *Sieur de Soubize* having withdrawn himſelf into *England*, ſo that the whole Province was ſetled in quiet both by Sea and Land, of all which his Majeſty was very certainly informed, who received the newes with much joy.

### *Politick Obſervation.*

WHatever joys or delights Fortune inſinuateth into thoſe who revolt, yet it is uſually ſeen, that all their deſigns end in ill ſucceſs. Experience hath made it often manifeſt, that ſuch Crimes ſeldome go unpuniſhed, and that Heaven hath uſed to ſacrifice them to example. They cannot more properly bee likened to any thing, then to thoſe high Mountains, the points of whoſe Rocks ſeem to hreaten Heaven, and which ſending forth ſtore of Clouds out of their Boſomes, ſeem to obſcure the light of the Sun, though at laſt they are all diſſipated by that fair Planet of the day, who making thoſe very ſame Clouds into Thunder-bolts, cauſeth them to fall down upon them for to chaſtiſe their Inſolency: And is it not the

the ſame thing with Grandees who revolt and Rebell? After they have made ſome attempts upon the Authority of their Soveraign, are they not in fine ruined and brought into extremities by the Power of his Armes, who takes occaſion to cruſh them to peeces with that Power, which they would have uſurped themſelves, and did not of right belong unto them? Hiſtory abounds with exemplary Proofs of this Truth, the many that are, would ſpoil the deſign of quoting two or three onely. But for the greater illuſtration of it, I ſhall ſay thus much, the injuſtice of a Cauſe, is almoſt an infallible ſign of an ill ſucceſſe, ſeeing Heaven doth commonly confound what Man hath wickedly built: If at any time they ſhall become ſo powerfull, as to ſecure themſelves from the hazards of Battels, yet they can never obtain a remiſſion from Heaven. They who attempt to grow great by unjuſt means, will in fine meet their utter ruine. God doth peradventure ſuffer them for the puniſhment of States, to obtain advantages for ſome time; but at laſt, the violences which they Act fall upon themſelves, and they become a juſt ſubject for their Soveraigns Revenge.

### *The Arrival of Cardinal* Barbirini *in* France, *as Legate from the Holy Chaire, for the Affaires of the* Valtoline.

WHileſt the Fire of this Civil War was burning up of *Languedoc.* The Cardinal *Barbarini* Legate from the Pope, arrived in *France* and came to *Marſeille*, where he was received with great honour, as alſo at *Lyon*, according to the Orders ſent by the King. He came to *Paris* the one and twentieth of *May*, and his Majeſty cauſed his entrance to be made with the moſt Pomp that hath been ſeen for a perſon of his condition. I ſhall not need inſiſt on the relating that he is bound by the Laws of the Kingdome, before he Officiate the Function of a Legate to preſent the Brief, which the Pope hath given him for the imployment to the Parliament of *Paris*, which is a Cuſtome ſo ancient, that I ſhall omit ſpeaking any more of it; but I ſhall obſerve that the Pope having ommitted in the Brief, to give the King the Title of King of *Navar*, which could not be denied to him without Injuſtice, the Parliament refuſed to acknowledge it, and obliged him not to make any further procedure in the buſineſſe untill it were amended. The Legate comming to *Paris*, alighted at *St. James de Haut-pas*, where the Clergy of the City, the concourſe of the Court, and other Officers to the number of twelve thouſand went to ſalute him and receive his Benediction. After this, the Prelates of *Paris* came to do their reſpects to him; there was a little diſpute in what habit they ſhould appear before him, the Legate deſiring they ſhould be in their Rockets and Camail covered over with a Mantlet, as a mark that they had no power in his preſence; but the Prelates not being able to ſtoop to this Order, by reaſon it was contrary to the Rules of the French Church, it was concluded in the middle way between both, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Legate, that they ſhould go ſo habited to ſalute him, and that they ſhould accordingly accompany him in the Cavalcade to *Noſtre-Dame*, where being come, they were to take off their Mantlets, but all was done under a *Proviſo* of ſaving their ancient right. The King ſent the Duke of *Nemours*, the *Sieur de Bonnevil*, the Introductor of Embaſſadours, and ſeveral other Lords of great quality, to receive him at his firſt arrival.

At night *Monſieur* the Kings Brother, waited on him with a great number of Lords, and ſaluted him with extraordinary reſpects, and one his entrance accompanying him, gave him the right hand. The ſame day he had Audience from the King, where nothing paſſed onely Complements; but the next day he propoſed what the Pope had given him in charge, hee exhorted the King in general terms to Peace, he urged his Majeſty to reſtore things in the *Valtoline* to their former State, as they were before the Army of the confederated Princes entred into it, and beſeeched him to grant a Ceſſation of Arms in *Italy*. His Majeſty anſwered to theſe

three

three Propoſitions, that he was ever inclined to Peace, and that he would ſtill be induced to it; provided it were for the Publick ſafety, and honourable for him and his Allies. That as to what concerned the *Valtoline*, the Treaty of *Madrid* made but a few years before, had made proviſi n for all thoſe difficulties, which have riſen ever ſince, and that he deſired the execution of it, as to the Ceſſation of Arms, that he could by no means hearken to it, by reaſon of the prejudice it would bee to himſelf and his Allies and the great advantage thoſe of the adverſe Party might make out of it. This was the ſum of what paſſed on both ſides. The King adding in concluſion, that he would ſend ſome one of his Councel, to wait on him, and try if there might be found out any way of accommodation.

Within a few dayes the Cardinal, the Marſhal *de Schomberg*, the Sieur *de Herbaut*, Secretary of State, went to wait on the Legate from the King. and upon a conference he came to theſe two points: The firſt was, to demand the ceſſation of Arms in *Italy*; and the t'other concern'd the giving his Holyneſs ſatisfaction, preſſing that the places in the *Valtoline* might be delivered into the Popes hands, and that the King ſhould make ſome excuſes to him for the proceedings of the Marquis *de Cœures*.

*Monſieur* the Cardinal anſwered, that the King had declared openly enough in his audience his intenſions concerning the ceſſation of Arms in *Italy*, and that if he ſhould ſubmit to it, it would be a means of giving his enemies time and leiſure to gather their forces together, and to fortifie themſelves againſt his Majeſty and his Allyes: That the Peace would as eaſily be concluded on as the War, if either party would but hearken to Reaſon, ſeeing the principal difficulties of State had been concluded in the Treaty of *Madrid*. That there need nothing but ſome proviſion to be made in point of Religion, to which his Majeſty was much inclined: That as to what he deſired ſatisfaction in to his Holyneſs, his anſwer was, his Majeſty never having conſented to the depoſit in his Holyneſs hands any longer then the time limited, in which he ought to have cauſed the Treaty of *Madrid* to have been executed, his Holyneſs had not any reaſon to complain. and eſpecially too conſidering the ſeveral declarations which had been made by the Sieur *de Berthun* in his Majeſties name, That the King could not any longer ſuffer the *Griſons* to be diſpoſſeſſed of thoſe Forts which did belong unto them; Declarations which his Holyneſs himſelf thought to be reaſonable, for that he had upon them ſent for the Spaniards to chide them for it: Beſides the reſpect which the Marquis *de Cœures* ſhewed to his Holyneſſe's Arms and Enſigns in the eye of the whole world, did defend him from any blame which might be layd to his charge, for having been defective in giving due honour to the holy Chair. But that notwithſtanding all theſe things his Majeſty did bear ſo great a reverence to his Holyneſs, that he would cauſe his Ambaſſadour, to ſay all thoſe words of reſpect and civility which ſhould be thought fit; as alſo that after the Peace ſhould be concluded, his Majeſty would conſent to deliver up into his Holyneſs's hands, the Fort of *Chiauennes*, provided that the Spaniards would at the ſame time do the like by that of *Rive*, to the intent both of them might be demoliſhed, which once done, he would deliver all the reſt up, one after another, until they were every one razed, and that this was the moſt could be hoped for.

The Legat had other audiences, and other conferences paſt between him and the Miniſters, where nothing more was propoſed nor anſwered: But the King being at *Fountainbleau*, the Legate made a third propoſition, which concerned the ſecurity of the Catholique Religion in the *Valtoline*, requiring for that purpoſe that the Soveraignty of the *Griſons* over the *Valtolines* ſhould be moderated, without which he ſuppoſed there could be no ſettlement. His Majeſty clearly declared unto him, that the Intereſts of State and Religion were not to be mingled, and that he would never grant any thing that might impair the Soveraignty of the *Griſons*, his Allies, over the *Valtoline*.

A while after he cauſed a conference to be had betwixt him, and the Miniſters upon that ſubject, where having made the ſame propoſition, the Cardinal delated

himſelf

himſelf upon the reaſons of the Kings anſwer, and told the Legat, that his Majeſty having taken the protection of the *Griſons*, he could not conſent to the diminition of their Soveraignty, eſpecially ſince it had been conferred unto them by the Treaty of *Madrid*, ſince which time nothing had been altered in point of Religion: That the Treaty was to be obſerved, and that his Majeſty could not depart from it without ſtaining his Honour and Reputation; offering notwithſtanding his authority to give all ſort of ſecurity and freedom to the Catholique Religion. The Legat then declared the Pope was Head of the Church, and could not ſuffer that the *Valtolines* ſhould be reduced under the dominion of the *Griſons*, and that his Holyneſs having conſulted with ſome of the Clergy at *Rome*, they had told him, that in conſcience he could not conſent thereunto.

The Cardinal was not wanting to tell him, that the divine Laws did oblige the Redelivery of that which did juſtly belong to a Soveraign, of what Religion ſoever he be; ſo there could be no ſcruple of conſcience for the reſtoring of the *Valtolines* to the *Griſons*, their lawful Maſters, and that in effect the Treaty of *Madrid*, by which it was granted to them, had been approved of at *Rome* by the Pope, as alſo the ſayd Treaty had not been reſolved on, but after a conſultation with the Clergy, who found no difficulty in the thing, and that the truth being ſtill the ſame, his Holyneſs had not any reaſon to be ſcrupulous of it at this preſent.

This the Cardinal ſpake ſo ſmartly, that the Legat perceived that there was no more to be expected in that particular; ſo that from that time forward they were finding out new waies for the ſecurity of Religion; yet ſtill declaring, he would not recede from his firſt Propoſals, but under the Pope and holy See's cenſure. He propoſed ſeveral Articles upon that ſcore, to which the King aſſented; That leaving the Soveraignty to the *Griſons* which lawfully belonged to them, there ſhould be ſuch proviſion made for the ſafety of the Catholiques in the *Valtoline*, that the *Griſons* ſhould give them full liberty for the exerciſe of their Religion; that they ſhould not ſend any Governours amongſt them, but ſuch as were Roman Catholiques; that all degrees both Secular and Regular might inhabit there with all kind of Freedom; that no Heretiques, or their Adherents ſhould buy Houſes, nor that thoſe who had then any in poſſeſſion, ſhould any longer live there, or enjoy their goods but onely in the behalf of Catholiques. To be ſhort, that there might be a perpetual eſtabliſhment of the whole buſineſſe, his Majeſty promiſed to become pledge for the *Griſons*, and to perſwade them to conſent to the utter loſs of their Soveraignty in the *Valtoline*, in caſe they ſhould break the conditions, of which the Pope and his Majeſty were to be joynt Judges. Nothing more could be deſired. But however the Legat, whether it were becauſe he was ſomwhat cautious, or reſerved, or becauſe he had not as yet any great experience in buſineſſes of importance, or whether it were by reaſon of his Inſtructions from the Pope, which peradventure might be limited, was very fearfull to engage himſelf to any thing in which he ſuſpected he might be diſclaimed; and more eſpecially ſeeing Count *Gondamor*, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, then at Court, declared openly, that he was prohibited by his Maſter to meddle or make in the Treaty; for that his Catholique Majeſty would never treat at all untill thoſe places were reſtored into his Holyneſs's hands. The King had no great reaſon to be ſatisfied with this manner of the Legat's proceeding, ſeeing he every day created new difficulties. It was well known that the Orders which he received from the Pope, was one cauſe of it. His Holyneſs apprehending that in caſe he ſhould conſent to the delivery of the *Valtoline* to the *Griſons*, the Spaniards would diſable the Counſel, in regard ſeveral of the Roman Clergy were of opinion, that he could not with a ſafe conſcience allow of it, as alſo the continual ſuggeſtions of the Spaniards, did mightily moleſt and trouble him.

## *The unexpected departure of the Cardinal* Barbarini *from the French Court.*

NOtwithſtanding all this the King did him all honour, cauſed him to dine with him, ſent to viſit him in his lodging at *Fountainbleau*, and made his Officers treat him with extraordinary ſplendour: But at laſt they were to ſettle upon ſome reſolution. The King preſſed him, but he inſtead of facilitating the buſineſs, ſtood firm to his firſt demands: to which he was anſwered, that his Majeſty had conceded as much as could be reaſonably expected, ſo that he might not hope for any further condeſcending to them. Whereupon the Legate on a ſudden reſolves to return to *Rome*, and having publick Audience on the two and twentieth of *September*, hee took leave of the King, giving him great aſſurances of his Paſſion for the ſervice of his Crown. His Majeſty likewiſe teſtified to him, that he had a great kindneſs towards his Perſon, a great reſpect for his Holineſs, and an extraordinary devotion for the Holy Chair. And laſtly told him, that the Affairs which he had been treated withall, were ſo important to the publick good, that he would gladly before he had made his Final anſwer, have aſſembled together the chief Officers of his Kingdom, and of his Supream Courts to take their advices, and that he would gladly have ſeen him once more to have acquainted him with their reſolution. It was hoped he would have expected the reſult of them, but he departed before it was ſuſpected, and his Officers who were left behind him, could give no other reaſon for it, but that he did it to avoid the uſual Complements at parting.

### *Politique Obſervations.*

GOD hath eſtabliſhed two ſorts of Powers, for the Government of the Univerſe, and he hath had ſo great a care over mans vanity (as the learned *Hincmar*, writing to *Carloman*, and the Biſhops of *France*, ſaith) that to the intent hee might preſerve them in obedience, hee would totally ſeparate and diſtinguiſh the Functions of their reſpective Authorities. The Perſons who have their powers are ſubject reciprocally each to the other, Kings to Eccleſiaſtiques, and Eccleſiaſtiques to Kings, yet not that their Powers have a reciprocal dependance upon one another. It is true, the Spiritual is ſuperior to the Temporal, according to the order of dignity, but not according to the rule of Subjection and Authority; inſomuch, that who is indued with it, may not deſpoil Soveraigns of their Temporal Power nor moderate it. It is very neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between the Subjection of Perſons, and that of Powers; for though Jeſus Chriſt hath reſolved that all perſons of the World ſhould be ſubjected to his Miniſters, and all his Miniſters to Kings; yet hee hath not ordained that theſe two Powers ſhould be ſubject in the ſame manner; but he hath given to them both an equal Authority to diſcharge their Functions, without beſtowing on either power to deſtroy the other.

Which being ſo, the head of the Church may not aſſume to himſelf any other Quality with Temporal Princes, but of a Mediator to end their differences. He hath Power indeed over their Conſciences, but not over their Eſtates, or that Authority which they have received from God for the government of them. It is to no purpoſe for him to ſnatch away the Scepter out of their hands, and whatever Propoſal he ſhall make to them, can be received but as Councels. It is Glorious for him, as we have ſaid, to accommodate differences, but he may not pretend to do it by his Authority: Out of zeal he is bound to fore-caſt the difficulties which he may meet with, in the perſwading both Parties to agree to his Propoſals; ſeeing thoſe which are commonly made to two Princes at Enmity, are like a Medicine which ought to be adminiſtred to a perſon whoſe Liver is very hot, but his Stomack extreamly cold and weak; for the ordering of which, the Phyſitian findeth himſelf much puzzeled, by reaſon of thoſe remedies which refreſh the one, are commonly ſtark nought for the

the other. And thus it is ſeldome or never ſeen, that thoſe Propoſitions which are made by Arbitrators do pleaſe both parties. The higheſt point of Prudence in this caſe, is to imitate the diſcreet Phyſitian, who cannot bring to paſſe his intent of curing his Patient, but by preſcribing to him ſuch things as may comfort one, and not annoy another part; for thus it is, unleſſe thoſe Propoſitions which a Mediator ſhall lay down, bee weighed with Juſtice, Equality, and Moderation, they will rather provoke, then allay the angers of thoſe Princes who are concerned in them.

*An Aſſembly of the Nobles, by the Kings Order, upon the buſineſſe of the* Cardinal Barbarin's *Legation.*

ALthough it were not very needfull to take any further advice for a reſolution to thoſe Propoſitions made by the Legate, ſo evidently diſ-advantagious were they to *France* and her Allies; yet it was not thought amiſs to call a Chief Aſſembly, where the chief Lords of the Court, and the principal Officers of the Kingdome, might underſtand the true ſtate of the caſe; and to prevent that the keeping of it ſecret, might not give the Spaniard the liberty of reporting over *Europe*, that Cardinal *Barbarine* had made very reaſonable Propoſals of Peace; but that the King had abſolutely refuſed them, by which he did declare his reſolution of continuing the War. Which was not onely clear contrary to the Truth, but againſt the honour was due to the Kings Juſtice, which had ever induced him to ſettle Peace among his neighbours, when he might do it without offence to his Reputation, or the Intereſts of his Allies; as alſo in regard of the great reſpect which he had ſhewed to the holy Sea upon this very occaſion, as alſo in all others which preſented themſelves; ſo that it was not reaſonable to let his glory lie under ſuch a blemiſh. Now the onely way to ſecure it, was declaring the whole Paſſage before a Councel, where ſhould be the major part of all the Nobles; and the Cardinal perſwaded the King, that they ſhould be aſſembled in his Majeſties Preſence. They who received this command, were carefull to be there accordingly: and the Councel being met, the King told them, that he had cauſed them to be called thither, to conſult on the Affairs which might relate to the Publick good, upon ſuch Propoſals as the Chancellour ſhould make unto them, who beginning at the Treaty made with the Griſons, and renewed from time to time, by which they tied themſelves to give a free paſſage thorough their Countries at all times, for his Majeſties Armies to go into *Italy*; as alſo, not to accord the ſame to any other, without his permiſſion, ſhewed at laſt to them, how the Spaniard to the prejudice of theſe Treaties, had ever indeavoured by fair and foul means, to procure the ſame Paſſages might be granted to himſelf, to further his intended Conqueſt of the reſt of *Italy*, as occaſion ſhould invite him to it; to which purpoſe he had uſurped the Forts of the *Valtolines*, and that his Majeſty for the recovery of them, had been conſtrained to ſend the Marqueſs *de Cœuvres* thither with an Army, that before his Majeſty had made uſe of any force, hee had conſented that the places ſhould be depoſited in the Popes hands, for a certain time, and upon certain conditions; which conditions being accompliſhed, and the limited time expired, the Spaniards had however found means to perſwade the Pope to retain them yet longer, though of right he ought not ſo to do, for that they were onely depoſited with him. That his Holineſs had been often urged to return them unto the Spaniard, and that his Holineſs had moved them to receive them, which they had refuſed to do, for that they eſteemed them more ſecure in his Holineſſes, then in their own keeping: After which his Holineſs being unwilling to diſſeiſe himſelf of them, the Marqueſs *de Cœuvres* was forced to enter upon them by ſtrength of Arms: That but very lately the Spaniards had alſo induced his Holineſs to ſend his Legate, to try if he could obtain from his Majeſty, out of the reſpect which he did bear to the Holy Chair, that he would ſurrender up the Forts again to his Holineſs, and ſuffer the Griſons to be deprived of their Soveraignty of the *Valtoline*. That

theſe Propoſitions ſeemed to be ſo much the ſtronger, in regard it implied, that his Majeſty muſt give way to the Griſons (who were his Allies) loſing of that which was their indubitable right; That his Majeſty had ſtill indeavoured to preſerve them by the ſtrength of his Arms, and to ſurrender up into the Popes hands all that did not belong to them. But that to return all, which did belong to the Griſons could not be done, unleſs to the great prejudice of the Griſons, to the advantage of the Spaniards, and to the abſolute loſs of his Majeſties Reputation. That it was upon theſe Propoſals his Majeſty did deſire their advices, to know whether it were fitter to condiſcend to them, or to continue the War; deſiring every one of them to ſpeak freely what he thought proper to be done, that a concluſion might be had and ſent to the Legate, who would not ſtay to take along with him the Reſult of this Councel though he had been importuned to it; but however, he had promiſed to expect it at *Avignon*.

The Marſhal *de Schomberg* took hold of the diſcourſe, and amongſt other things told them, That having ſeveral times been by his Majeſties command to treat with the Legat, he had ſmelt out, that his deſigns were alwaies in the Spaniards behalf, as much as poſſible could be, of which there needed no other proof, then the two Propoſitions which he had made to deprive the *Griſons* of their Soveraignty, and to reſtore the Forts to the Pope, that the Spaniards might gain time to draw their Forces together, and retreat them, and his ſudden departure after he had been refuſed, though it had been as ſhamefull for the King to have granted them, as it had been hurtfull to the Griſons to have indured it. That for his part he was of opinion rather to reſolve on the War, and that for divers reaſons, which he there alledged, which teſtified as much Courage as Prudence, then to make a diſhonourable Peace, by aſſenting to Propoſitions contrary to the Honour and Juſtice of his Maſeſty. The chief Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, ſpeaking in the name of all the Officers of the Soveraign Courts, ſaid onely thus much, that the King had ever made ſuch good choice of able worthy Miniſters, that it would bee a peece of Prudence to follow their opinions, and particularly, that he thought what the Marſhal *de Schamberg* had ſaid, was very juſt and reaſonable.

The Cardinal *de Sourdis* was of a particular opinion by himſelf, and propoſed for the Ceſſation of Arms, alledging the inconveniency of the ſeaſon: But they conſidering it as a thing which was earneſtly deſired by the Spaniards, onely that they might get time, and draw their Forces together both in *Italy* and the *Valtoline*, it was hearkned to but by a very few perſons, nor ſeconded either by the Cardinal *de la Valette*, or the Marſhal of *Baſſompierre*, who were both of them well acquainted with the Spaniards Intereſts and deſigns, the one by his being at *Rome*, and the other in *Spain*; & ſo delivering their opinions againſt him, carried it in concluſion for the war. The Cardinal that he might give them the more liberty to ſpeak freely, with-drew a little aſide, and comming near the King, teſtified to him how much he eſteemed Peace: That it was his opinion alwaies to prefer it before War, if it could be obtained with ſafety to his Majeſties honour and reputation, and without hazarding the good of the Kingdome, which was inſeparably united with that of his Allies: But that he perceiving nothing in the Legates Propoſals, which did not undermine both one and t'other, and which onely deſigned the procuring of Glory and advantages to the Spaniard, and which tended to the ruine both of *France* and his Majeſty, or the detriment of his Allies, he could not ſubmit his thoughts to Peace. That for his own particular, he was more againſt it; for that every one who had never ſo little acquaintance with the affairs of *Spain*, well knew, that their chief drift in forcing the *Valtoline* out of the Griſons Power, was onely that they might bring what Troops they had a mind to into *Italy*, and that by this means they might become Maſters of it: That this their deſign was of no ſmall importance to the Crown of *France*, which would have ſomewhat to do, to defend it ſelf from his Arms, if he could once bring it to paſſe. For a place once taken on the Borders, will ſerve the enemy to fortifie himſelf and ſtrengthen againſt him. After this, he gave his Majeſty to underſtand, that he was not ignorant of the many difficulties which would

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arise for the continuance of the War, and that peradventure the Rebellion of the Hugonots might divert the sending of some part of the Power of *France* into the Alps. But he added, that the Reputation of a King being to be preferred before all things; for that once gone neither his Authority nor his riches, nor his Arms would be regarded: he was of opinion, and it seemed most expedient to him, that the War should be continued for the preserving his Crown in its lustre, rather then conclude a Peace, upon such shamefull Conditions, as those which had been proposed by the Legate. That his Majesty should send such recruits, as should make his Army be feared. That the Super-intendents would assure his Majesty he had Treasure enough for the discharging of four Musters, without touching any thing of the present Incomes. That the Clergy offered six hundred thousand Crowns as a Contribution towards it. That the Hugonots were so abased by those signal Victories which his Majesty had obtained over them that they could never rise again, and that seeing every thing did thus contribute to the carrying on of the War, it was his advice to conclude on it, before any other thing whatever. After he had ended, no one spake any more, judging that there could not bee any other thing worth further Consideration in the businesse, so the King told them he would give notice of their Result to the Legate, and intirely prosecute what had been then and there concluded.

*Politick Observation.*

WHat ever great parts a King or his Ministers may have either by nature or experience; yet he ought not to attempt any important affairs; especially if they carry any danger along with them, without assembling the Grandees of his Kingdome, and consulting with them on it. This I think to be profitable not onely for the good of the State, but also because it cannot be doubted, but that Counsel hath been ever found and adjudged by wise men, to bee the most assured stay, not onely of Kingdomes but of particular families. *Salust* writ to *Cæsar*, that not onely Kingdomes but private Towns too, injoyed prosperity, whilest good Counsels were in force; and that nothing but mis-fortunes had befallen them, after that compliance fear, or pleasure had been introduced amongst them: Not that a Soveraign is bound to resolve with a great number of Councellors, of what he should do, but I say he should deliberate with them, and afterwards resolve with his Ministers, what is fittest to be done. He need not fear, that in so doing he doth discover any weakness, or insufficiency for that he is bound to it, by the very Lawes of Prudence, & it is argument enough of his ability if he ground his resolution upon the advices and consultation of several persons. Though the Sun be cloathed with a wonderfull brightnesse, which ravisheth the eye to behold it; yet God hath not forbidden the Stars from partaking of the government of the Universe; because they have particular Influences, which though inferiour to those of the Sun, yet do they not cease to be usefull for the perfection of the World: Just so too, though Counsellours who are called to deliberate on Affairs, may not be compared for understanding or Soul, with the King or a grand Minister; yet as the Earth brings forth several Plants which are particular and proper to it, so their apprehensions and minds may be replenished with such thoughts, as would not perhaps have fallen under the considerations of others; and yet do not for all this become lesse usefull or unprofitable to the common good. But besides this Consideration is it not evident, that Councel is necessary to be taken by a grand Minister, if only for his discharg? The most part judge of Advices by the Events, though no rule can be more uncertain, whence it happens, that if any one alone shall pretend to advise his Soveraign, and things fall out contrary to expectation, hee will bee infallibly blamed for it: And in case there be no great difficulty in affairs, yet it were not amiss to do so, for the satisfaction of the Grandees of a Kingdome. Grandees for the most part, though very expert both in Politick and Military Affairs, are of such a humour, that nothing will like them, nor no Resolution please them, unlesse they have a hand in it, and

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they will be moſt commonly ſure to work advantages againſt that Miniſter, who ſhall have perſwaded his Soveraign, if the Affairs fall out otherwiſe then was expected. They are of the ſame humour, as *Cornelius Tacitus* ſaith *Cornelius Lacon* was of, who being Captain of the Emperour *Galba's* Guards, was an enemy to all Counſel how good ſoever, if it came not from himſelf. Nothing can be more proper to defend a mans ſelf from this blame which is ſometimes very troubleſome, as alſo important to ones fortune, then ſometimes to aſſemble an extraordinary Councel, when there is any queſtion doth ariſe: As once when the Spartan Embaſſadours came to *Rome*, accompanied with a certain Captain, whom *Porus* had ſent to give a true accompt of the affairs in *Armenia*, though it was not at all needfull to call any extraordinary Councel to reſolve on the War, for that the condition of Affairs did oblige to it; yet *Nero* called the Principal men of the Town together, as *Tacitus* reporteth it, and deliberated with them, whether it were more proper to run the hazard of a doubtfull War, or make a Peace with the Enemy; where it was unanimouſly concluded to carry on the War, and not a man of the contrary opinion.

### *The Deputation of the* Valtolines *towards his Holineſs.*

IF thoſe Propoſals made by the Legate were repugnant to the Glory of *France*, thoſe which the *Valtolines* Deputies made at *Rome*, to his Holineſſe, and the *Sieur de Bethune*, were abſolutely unjuſt. The Spaniards had excited and wrought the Catholiques of thoſe Countries upon the ſcore of Religion, to offer the Soveraignty to his Holineſs, and to declare by their Deputies to the *Sieur de Bethune*, that it was not to be hoped they would ever ſubmit themſelves to the Government of the Griſons, a thing they could not do with their Conſciences. They alſo framed a long diſcourſe, in which they pretended to ſhew by many reaſons, that the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, not being able to agree upon the Intereſt and Right which either pretended in thoſe Countries, there could not be a more proper, more plauſible or juſt expedient found our, then to put themſelves into his Holineſs hands, who treating the two Kings as a common Father, might grant them paſſage, as it ſhould ſeem beſt unto him, and when hee ſhould find it proper for the good of Chriſtendom. This diſcourſe conducing to the Popes Intereſts, did not a little elevate his thoughts, and he had made no great Bones to conſent to it, had not the *Sieur de Bethune* once and again dexteriouſly hinted to him a reaſon which could admit of no reply, which was this, That the *Valtolines* could not with Juſtice aſſume the liberty of putting themſelves under the domination of any one whoever he were, they being born true and natural Subjects to the Griſons, and that the King his Maſter would never give way to it. He well knew, that to put the *Valtoline* into the Popes hands, would be the ſame thing as if they were given up to the Spaniard, for that the Popes are either by affection or fear, more inclined to the Spaniard then to the French. But it was very ridiculous to ſee the Artifices which the Deputies did uſe to perſwade the *Sieur de Bethune*, that the Propoſal they had made was for the Kings advantage. They ſeveral times proteſted to him, that they themſelves and all the reſt of the *Valtoline*, did bear ſo great a ſubmiſſion to his Majeſties judgment, that they would wiſh for nothing elſe, but onely that his Majeſty would paſs his word for the Griſons accommodation, which if he would, they would then do whatever he would command them. But in concluſion, they added that his Majeſty would be pleaſed with their reſolutions of neither ſubmitting themſelves to the Griſons or Spaniards. Becauſe they evidently knew, there would be little ſecurity or advantage to the French, either in one or t'other of theſe expedients; withall, that to oblige them to come under the Griſons, were to force them to flie to the Spaniards, which if his Majeſty ſhould do, they muſt of neceſſity run to them for aſſiſtance; for that they could not truſt themſelves under the Dominion of the Griſons, for that there was not any other Prince neer them, from whom they might receive a more ready or favourable relief. That they would full willingly have deſired his Majeſty to protect them; but that they doubted it would be a means to ingage his

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Majeſty in a perpetual War in their Country againſt the Spaniard, who would never conſent to it; and that all theſe conſidered, there could not any other party be found out more proper or fit then the Pope, and that *France* had ſome reaſon to accord to it, in reſpect that the Pope ſhewed himſelf very favourable to the French Intereſts. The *Sieur de Bethune*, anſwered them with Civilities, nothing inferior to theirs, aſſuring them of the affection, which his Majeſty did bear to their concerns, and obliging them to be confident he would never abandon them, and that his Majeſty would never conſent to any Peace, by which they ſhould not have a full and perfect Freedom for the exerciſe of their Religion: But as to the groundwork of the buſineſs he diſcovered to them, that in caſe they could find a means to be aſſured of this Liberty, that then they had no reaſon to exchange Maſters; and eſpecially, ſeeing they were not in a condition to diſpoſe of themſelves. He openly profeſſed to them, That his Majeſty did not pretend in the leaſt to the Supream Power over them, but that his reſolution was to preſerve them to the Griſons, procuring to them full Liberty for the free exerciſe of their Religion, and that he would never conſent the buſineſs ſhould be ended upon other terms. This anſwer was both reſolute and full of Juſtice; but however, as Paſſion takes away the uſe of Reaſon, ſo they ſeemed not to apprehend the reaſonableneſs of it; as alſo they thought good, That the Spaniards ſhould cauſe a ſecond diſcourſe to be writ, by a Prelate of *Milan*, in which they indeavoured to clear by ſeveral reaſons, which were willingly aſſented to by the Pope. That the King had no right in the *Valtoline* to hinder their giving up themſelves to the holy See, ſo unjuſt and unreaſonable is the inconſiderate zeal, into which men do ſometimes ſuffer themſelves to be carried for Religions ſake.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

ZEal is a Paſſion very commendable, when it is confined within the limits of knowledge and Charity; but without this it paſſeth onely for an unreaſonable fury, not a vertue. The Apoſtle would have it accompanied it with theſe two qualities, and judgeth it to be blame worthy if without them. Indeed it is like Oyl caſt in the Fire, it provoketh and raiſeth up ſuch heat in their Courages, that it hurries them, both beyond Reaſon and Juſtice. That people which knoweth not how the ſon of God hath commanded to honour all Kings of what Religion ſoever they be, as they who are eſtabliſhed by his hand, of which himſelf ſhewed an example, as alſo his Apoſtles do animate themſelves with an indiſcreet zeal, for the Intereſts of Religion; if they follow any wayes contrary to them, they do eaſily ſuffer themſelves to be hurried on to ſhake off the yoke of Obedience to take up Arms to reſiſt them, to conſpire againſt their perſons, to ruine all with Fire and Sword, and to over run the whole land with thoſe miſ-fortunes which ever attend on Civil Wars. This is that which made the learned *Origen* to ſay, the zeal of God is nothing worth, if it be not accompanied with the knowledge of God, introducing the Jews for an example, who by an inconſiderate zeal for Gods glory, made themſelves culpable of the moſt horrible Sacriledge that ever was yet heard of againſt his Son. I ſhall add onely this, that ſuch a zeal is not onely unprofitable for Gods ſervice; but alſo very dangerous and prejudicial to the good of thoſe States and Churches where it is, by that heat of it which hurries on to extremities, and ſerves for a Torch to kindle Civil Wars, which undermines the Foundations of States, and Religion it ſelf, and furniſheth them whom it poſſeſſeth with pretences for the doing of any thing, which Fury it ſelf can be capable of.

*The Hollanders ſend Deputies to his Majeſty to ingage him in a League offenſive and defenſive againſt the Spaniard.*

WHileſt the Legate was at Fountain *Bleau*, the Embaſſadour of *Holland* came thither upon very different thoughts, he onely deſigning to bring things to a peaceable concluſion; but they to ingage the King in an Offenſive and Defenſive War againſt the Spaniards, and deſire him to fall in upon their Countries. There had been a Defenſive League made with them the fore-going year, which was ſufficient to entertain all the Spaniſh Forces in thoſe Countries, and to give advantage to the States to make ſome further progreſs. But as it is troubleſom to continue a War any long time, without obtaining ſome Victories, they having lately loſt the Town of *Breda* for want of good Conduct, made it their earneſt deſire to the King that he would declare a War againſt the Spauiards, that they might be revenged on them, The Embaſſadour repreſented to the King and the Cardinal that the States Signiories and Lordſhips, were not the onely places the Spaniards had deſigned to invade, but that *France* too was compriſed in the ſame deſign; that the attempts which they had made but lately in *Germany*, in the *Valtoline*, and in *Italy*, were onely to make ſure of the out-skirts, that they might afterwards with the more eaſe make themſelves Maſters of *France*: That he would not enter into any further proof of it, ſeeing he was aſſured it could not be unknown either to his Majeſty or his Miniſters; onely he beſeeched his Majeſty to conſider, that it was more proper to go find them out in their own Quarters, then to ſtay untill they entred upon theirs. That that which gave them ſo great advantage in their Conqueſts was becauſe none had attempted any thing on them, every one keeping himſelf upon the defenſive poſture, but that when any thing ſhould be attempted on them, the Palms of their Victory would ſoon be ſnatched out of their hands; that they are not really ſo potent, but onely becauſe they dare aſſault the whole World, and that they have the Courage to fall on others, becauſe none fall on them: Which was too evident to be doubted, That it was impoſſible to let them any longer follow the courſe of their Victories, without being a Trophee for their Arms. He did excite and ſtir up his Majeſty upon the ſcore of Glory, repreſenting to him the lives of *Cyrus*, *Hannibal*, *Alexander*, *Ceſar*, and divers illuſtrious Roman Captains, who had been eternized and made famous by invading of their enemies. That there was onely this wanting to add to his Majeſties glory, whom Heaven had created for the onely good of all *Europe*, and to preſerve the Liberties of his neighbours. Their Artifices were ſo great, that nothing more could be wiſhed for, onely that he would imbrace the deſign. He alledged that *England* would Potently aſſiſt it, That *Flanders* being ſubjected under the Spaniſh Yoak, would gladly be delivered out of it, and would be induced to do any thing which might tend that way; and that for the expence there need no great care be taken for it, ſeeing the French Souldiers were not harder to be pleaſed then thoſe of *Hannibal*, who being asked upon his putting off from *Affrica*, with what he would pay his Army, anſwered with the Army it ſelf; for as ſoon as ever he ſet foot in *Europe*, the Ayr, the Earth, the Fire, and all the Goods of thoſe who inhabited it, ſhould be common to them; and in the progreſs of that affair, he made it evident that he was not miſtaken; for during eighteen years that he maintained War both in *Spain* and *Italy*, he never received any Supplies from *Affrica*. The moſt part of theſe reaſons were ſo true, and the reſt ſo ſpecious, that the King muſt needs have wanted Courage, had he not been perſwaded with them; and eſpecially ſeeing his Majeſty had often ſpoken to the Cardinal upon this very point, and that he was ſufficiently convinced of the neceſſity for the Princes of *Europe* to aſſault the Spaniard, that they might at laſt put ſome limits to his Ambition; as alſo in relation thereunto, that he had aſſaulted him in the *Valtoline*, by ſtopping the progreſs of his proceedings. But on the other ſide, his Majeſty was not ignorant, that thoſe enterprizes which he had already commenced

ced were very great, considering in what condition *France* then was, and that it would be difficult to undertake any more, untill the Hugonots who took advantages of his Wars abroad, and who stayed part of his Forces at home to keep them in obedience were totally ruined. That withall it were absolutely needfull, before any thing could be attempted on *Flanders*, to imploy the Arms of the House of *Austria*, in *Germany*, and to secure the Passages, by which releef might be sent to them, so that it might be impossible for them to hinder the Conquest of it. His Majesty relying on the Advices of the Cardinal kept himself off from ingaging himself in this same offensive League: And the Cardinal took upon himself the trouble of making the States Embassadour understand the reasons of it, who found them so strong that he had not a word to reply against them; but the King desired the State to be assured, that he would never be deficient in sending them men and monies, according as hee had promised by the Treaty of Alliance; as also, that when a fit opportunity of Time should present it self for the taking of any advantage, he would most certainly ingage in it, for that his own glory and their good way interessed in it.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is a small matter though a Soveraign have a generous resolution, which leadeth him to make War, if he have not discretion to chuse a fit opportunity for the taking of advantages upon his enemies. It is not alwaies seasonable to take up Arms, and to make Leagues or to break Peace. Before a design be attempted, it should first be known whether it be sure, profitable, and honourable, and if it may be effected with little or no hazard to the person who adviseth it, and whether he runs any part of the danger, and above all it would be known, and that exactly too of what force the enemy is, what succour he doth expect, the diversions which he hath in other places, the advantages which he may have in Combats, by what wayes those Troops must passe which come to defend him, from whence he may draw Provisions for his Army; and in short, all the particular estate of the enemies Affairs. A War never ought to be begun, but with Prudence, that it may be ended with advantage. A resolution ought not to be taken, but on the present State of Affairs, ballancing Reason with hope, comparing the present with past, and never proposing those things for easie, which are seen but by halves, otherwise the successe will demonstrate, that it was began with too much heat, and too little Prudence. The French never did so ill as when they broke the Peace with *Charles* the Fifth, in the year one thousand five hundred fifty five, in confidence of the Counsels and Promises of Pope *Paul* the Fourth, of the Family of the *Caraffi*; for having done it upon like reason and without consideration of his Power whom they set upon in that conjuncture of time, the successe of it proved more to their losse then advantage. *Hannibal* was much to be commended, as *T. Livy* saith, that in all his Conduct he was acquainted with his enemies intentions, as well as with his own. That Prince who ingageth himself in a War, without such a knowledge seeks after his own ruine; and if there be any affair from which he ought to retain himself, certainly it must be when a Proposal is made to him, grounded on a League; for that offensive Leagues do not alwaies end according to the hopes of them who are Interested in it. If the enterprize will be of long continuance, then onely the different Interests of several United Princes, will force them to break off. Besides Time, alteration of Affairs, and the Artifices of the enemy who is assaulted, do commonly work some change. In short, the difference of things and Nations do breed jealousies, and then every one retires to his own Quarter, so that after a great attempt, there is but small successe.

*The Hugonots finding their weakneſs to their own coſts, have recourſe to the Kings Clemency.*

THe ſignal Victory which his Majeſty had obtained by ſea before *Rochel*, and the Iſle of *Ree*, together with the impoſſibility whereunto the Duke of *Rohan* was reduced, of attempting any thing in *Languedoc*, ſo cloſely was he followed by the Marſhal *de Themines*, forced the Hugonots to have recourſe to his Majeſties Clemency. They begged his Majeſties pardon by their Deputies, whom they ſent to him, to teſtifie the ſenſe they had of their fault, and to aſſure him of their future fidelity and obedience. His Majeſty was well pleaſed with it, and the Deputies comming to him at Fonntain *Bleau*, about the end of *Auguſt*, whileſt the Legate was there, there was no kind of acknowledgements and ſubmiſſions, which they did not make; both in behalf of themſelves, as alſo of the Duke of *Rohan*, and the *Sieur de Soubize* who ſent to ſupplicate him by their particular Deputies, that he would be pleaſed to imploy them in the War of *Italy*, that they might teſtifie by their Paſſion to ſerve him, that there was not any danger in the Sea or Land, to which they would not chearfully expoſe themſelves, to contribute to his Glory. After they had made their ſpeeches, they preſented the Paper of their Complaints, humbly beſeeching his Majeſty to have regard to it; for that they were grounded upon ſeveral Graces, which had been conferred on them by the Edict of *Nants*, and ſeveral other Grants. The King received it, and appointed it to be examined.

Now although the ſweetneſſe of Peace, which charmeth the mind, the Poverty of the people, and thoſe enterprizes which the Spaniard made upon the Allies of *France*, did generally invite all the French; to wiſh, that his Majeſty would accord to them the pardon which they deſired, yet ſome there were, who were divided in opinion, what was moſt fit to be done upon that affair; one part conceiving, that *Rochel* having received ſo great a rebuke, and finding themſelves without Iſland, without Sea, without Souldiers, and without Veſſels, they ought not to let ſlip ſuch an occaſion: The reaſon was, that in ſo doing they ſhould looſe a very advantagious opportunity, to force the City by a Siege which could not hold out above ſix moneths, to demoliſh their Forts, and reduce them under the Kings obedience; which once done, the whole party of the Hugonots would be quite ruined; their other Towns diſabled to make any reſiſtance, and that thus, the Regal Authority would not onely receive a great accruement of Power, but the Church too would receive a very great benefit by it.

Theſe were the opinions of vulgar thoughts, which look on nothing but what is before them, and juſt in their noſes, but want diſcretion to look a little further; they conſidered not that it would alwaies be in his Majeſties Power to take up Arms againſt the Heretiques, ſeeing now they behaved themſelves otherwiſe then they uſed to doe, as hath been often ſeen; and that his Majeſty might eaſily keep thoſe advantages which he had upon *Rochel*, by fortifying the Iſles of *Ree* and *Oleron*, and keeping a ſmall Army in Fort *St. Lewis*, and in the Country about *Rochel*, but that it would not alwaies be ſeaſonable and timely, to oppoſe the Ambitious deſign of the Spaniards upon the Griſons or the *Valtoline*. That the King could not without diſhonour, leave off thoſe glorious enterprizes which he had already began, and that in caſe he ſhould, it would give full Liberty to the Spaniards, to make themſelves Maſters of the *Valtoline*, as well as of the reſt of *Italy*, where they had already ſent their Armes, and had alſo ſtrongly fortified themſelves. That this affair was more important then that of the Hugonots, for that a more favourable opportunity to gain a happy ſucceſſe could not be had when one had a mind to it. Beſides that it was not ſufficient to be hurried on by an inconſiderate zeal, without any regard had to the Intereſts of the Kingdom, ſeeing that their Religion made a part of the Eſtate; and that alſo it very little concerned Religion to defer for ſome time the ruine of the Hugonots, for that War and Violence, did never yet conduce

conduce to their Converſion: Hereſie being like Saffron, which grows the faſter, the more it is trodden under foot, that when Heretiques have been burned, they have lived like Salamanders in the fire, when they have been caſt into the Water, they have increaſed like Fiſhes, and when their heads have been cut off, they have like Trees, put out more new branches then were taken off; ſo that there was no talk of ruining Hereſie, but onely of the Party, which was all free for the King to do, conſidering the frequent grounds they gave for it; for that mutiny was naturalized in them; but that it was far otherwiſe in the affairs of *Italy* and of the *Valtoline*, which might not be abandoned but with extream great ſhame, and without ever hoping for another opportunity to root up the Spaniard, if he ſhould be now let alone to grow up and gather new ſtrength. Theſe were the important reaſons repreſented by the Cardinal to the King, and which induced his Majeſty to grant a Peace to the Hugonots, that he might carry on his deſigns in *Italy* and the *Valtoline*. After the paper of their grievances had been examined, his Majeſty confirmed to them, whatever had been granted by the Edict of *Nantes*, granting them free Liberty for the exerciſe of their Religion, in ſuch Towns where they had Churches and Church-yards, and an Act of Oblivion for any thing done in the War, but he would not conſent to the demoliſhing of Fort *Lewis*, as being too important for the keeping of *Rochel* in aw and obedience.

Theſe favours were accepted by the general Deputies of the Hugonots, in the name of all the Hugonot Towns, excepting thoſe of *Rochel*, *Mountauban*, *Caſtres*, and *Milhaud*, who having been gained by the Duke of *Rohan* and *Sieur de Soubize*, and finding that their Leaders had onely obtained a ſingle pardon, without any other advantage, and without being imployed in *Italy*, according as they deſired, they intreated his Majeſty upon other pretences, that he would be pleaſed to grant ſome time, till their two chief Officers, and thoſe four Cities, were joyned with them. The King granted to them that delay, upon condition it were not over long, who preſently ſent away the Heads of thoſe Reſolutions which had been taken.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THough the weakning of a Party in a Kingdom, which hath been long breeding, ſo that they may make no more Inſurrections, be a thing much to be deſired, yet it will not be peradventure alwaies ſeaſonable to attempt it; it is the duty of a wiſe Miniſter to take all occaſions for the doing of it, according to the ſtate of Affairs of the Kingdom. *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the moſt experimented Captains of his time, made it appear in an excellent diſcourſe, upon the beginning of the Civil War between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, as *Tacitus* reporteth it, that it would be neceſſary for *Vitellius* to be diligent: but that *Otho's* Party would get advantage to execute their deſigne by delaying of it, until they had nothing elſe to do. The Dictator *Cneus Sulpitius*, after a great deal of conſideration, reſolved not to haſten on the War againſt the *Gauls*, upon this reaſon, that he would not hazard any thing upon an enemy, who was every day declining, and out of his Countries too. Indeed he had endangered himſelf, had he fought when they preſſed him to it; whereas ſhortly after he might overcome them with eaſe. He which gives good advice for the State, ought not to be blamed for it; but the diſcreet Miniſter deſerveth more praiſe, who not onely knows that it is not enough to conſider by the reſolutions of State, that which is juſt to be done in the Theory, but alſo that which the time permits, and complies with opportunities and neceſſity.

*The Kings Army in* Italy *is recruited with ſix or ſeven thouſand men, under the Marquis* de Vignolles.

THough the peace with the *Hugonots* was not fully concluded, yet the Cardinal being informed of the neceſſity of recruiting the Army in *Italy*, was not de-

fective to procure his Majeſty to give orders for it. The Marquis *de Vignelles* was diſpatched with ſix or ſeven thouſand men: Who coming into *Piedmont* with his Forces, found the Siedge ſtill before *Veriie*, a ſmall Town upon the *Po*, very ſlenderly inhabited, but defended by a Caſtle built on a Rock, at the end of a little Hill, which was none of the worſt. The Duke of *Ferià*, drawing his Troops out of *Aſt*, had brought them up thither, hoping for a good ſucceſs in it: But the Duke of *Savoy* having intelligence of his reſolution, cauſed the Marquis *de Saint Reyran*, a Gentleman of *Pruſſia*, to march up within view of the Spaniards, with a thouſand Foot, and by the advice of the Marſhal *de Cregny*, he likewiſe cauſed his Army to advance and Incamp at the foot of the Hill, in certain Intrenchments, which were much ſtronger then the place it ſelf.

Above three Moneths were ſpent in continnual Sallies and Aſſaults. The Duke of *Feria* intrenched himſelf to his greateſt advantage: The Cannon thundred on the place with a great deal of fury; and having made at ſeveral times ſix or ſeven great breaches: The Spaniards did as often aſſault them, and were repulſed with a great deal of courage. They opened ſeveral Mines, one of which had ſeven mouthes, which they called the *Hydra*: but every day brought them ſome misfortune, ſo that they loſt more then the beſieged. In ſhort, they got not one foot of land, which was not aſſoon retaken from them. In the mean time, the ill weather began to come in, and the *Po* to ſwell up, which did not a little perplex them, for they were forced to quit one part of their Trenches, by reaſon it was filled with water, which brought their Battery into ſuch diſorder, that moſt of their Cannon ſtuck in the Mud, and much adoe they had to get them clear off again. Theſe diſgraces happening to them, did much add to the *French* courage: So that on the ſeventeenth of *November*, the Conſtable, the Marſhal *de Cregny*, and the Marquis *de Vignolles* who was but lately arrived, having conſidered together what was to be done; caſt their thoughts on thoſe Forts which the Spaniards had in the Plain, and reſolved to aſſault them. The Conſtable gave orders for the attaquing of them; and the Troops being put into Battalia, they began a Combate, which laſted above three hours, with ſuch heat and ſucceſs to the *French*, that they carryed all the Forts in a trice.

In the interim, the Duke of *Savoy* arrived, and the enemy having drawn up three great Squadrons of Foot, and two of Horſe, came Marching up in good order againſt the *French*, to try if they could recover what they had loſt; but they onely retook one ſingle Fort, which was reſolved to be quitted, and the night coming on, ended the Fray; in which they loſt above two thouſand men, and the *French* not above one hundred. After this Diſaſter, they being in great want of victuals, and having ſmall hopes of being Maſters of the place; *Don Gonſales de Cordova*, raiſed the Seige privately in the night, without noiſe of Drum or Trumpet, and without giving the Horſe any other ſigne, but by beating certain flint ſtones one againſt the other. They loſt before this paltry Town an Army of forty thouſand men: Their Commanders loſt their honour, their Armes got no little diſcredit by it; and it ſhould ſeem, God was pleaſed to abaſe the vanity of their glory, which hurried them on with extream ambition to the attempting of unjuſt deſigns.

*Politique Obſervation.*

AMbitious Princes can never raiſe their deſigns ſo high, as that God who humbleth the Proud, and abares their power, ſhould exempt them from divine Juſtice; which is pleaſed to pull down the mighty. His Providence doth always confine their force, by keeping their Intereſts and thoſe of their neighbors, in an equal Ballance, for the tranquillity of the people. He who is born with a fixed and contented mind, and is ſatisfied with thoſe limits which he may juſtly pretend to, and in the protection of his Allies, is not ſubject to theſe misfortunes. Honour and glory never depart from him: whereas he who reſteth not within his own bounds, but attempteth all ways, tryeth all means to extend them, is uſually liable

to

to ruin, for that every one runs upon him, to oppoſe his deſigns, and God too is delighted to abaſe him. The divine wiſdom cannot be enough admired in this particular, which having placed two great Kingdoms near one another, maketh the one ſerve to moderate the ambition of the other, and to break the neck of his deſigns, for the preſervation of his neighbours: It uſually endeth in nothing when one ſhall take from another to enrich himſelf. The divine wiſdom doth bound in the ambition of ſuch, and brings all their deſigns that way tending to confuſion. It is true, God is ſometimes pleaſed to chaſtiſe a Soveraign, and permits another to deſtroy him, but it is but ſeldom, whereas he doth commonly throw down him who raiſeth himſelf upon the ruines of others. *Darius* was ſo inſolent, that he cauſed himſelf to be ſtiled, *the King of Kings*, but what befell him? Did not *Alexander*, whom he had ſcorned and undervalued, take away his Life and Eſtates too? In the ſame manner it was with *Arphaxates*, King of the *Medes*, who after he had brought divers Nations under his Empire, and built the famous City *Ecbatan*, became ſo proud, as to think nothing was able to reſiſt him; but how quickly God did let him ſee the contrary, by ſuffering him to be chaſtiſed and conquered by the King of *Niniveh*? How is he delighted to ſhew by theſe examples unto Soveraignes, that Humility in their conduct, is that which makes their deſigns ſubſiſt, and end in glory; whereas Ambition expoſeth them to misfortunes, loſſes, and utter ruin?

## *Recruits ſent to the Marquis* de Cœuures *in the* Valtoline.

THe Cardinal was no leſs careful to ſend ſupplies to the *Valtoline* then to *Italy*: For beſides thoſe ſeveral French Troops which had orders to march thither, thoſe others which were raiſed by the *Griſons*, and thoſe which after much ado were ſent from *Venice*, he cauſed two Regiments to be advanced in the Cantons of *Ury* and *Undernal*, making it appear that nothing could over-match his Prudence, for that theſe two Cantons are cloſe Leegued with the Spaniards, and that the Marquis *d' Ogliang* the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, as alſo *Scagy* the Popes Nuntio, had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevent it. Theſe Recruits arrived very ſeaſonably; for the Spaniards had but very lately before received a very great ſupply, which gave them the means to execute an enterpriſe, which they made under the Conduct of *Papenheim*, upon the *Terze* of *Sotto* of the *Valtoline*, and to make themſelves Maſters of thoſe Trenches which had been committed to the cuſtody of the *Albanois* and *Capelets*, amongſt whom it ſtruck ſuch a terrour, that there was no poſſible means to make them ſtand to it; and beſides the Army too was at that time very much weakned. The Marquis *de Cœuvres* who could not let them go away with this advantage unreveng'd, reſolved with the Council of War to retake it; and on the ſeventeenth of *October*, having appointed *Pont de Gades* for a Rendezvous, he gave order for the Aſſault. The Fight was ſtoutly begun, and after two houres continuance, the Intrenchments were re-taken, which had been formerly loſt, but with greater advantage then the Enemies had when they firſt took them, and with more honour, for that they were at that time exceedingly ſtrong. After this Expedition was over, the Duke of *Candale* received intelligence, that eight hundred foot, and four hundred of the Spaniſh party, had ſeized upon the Fortreſs of *Chaumont* amongſt the *Griſons*, which being once known by the Marquis *de Cœuvres*, he preſently diſpatched two thouſand to repriſe it. The Duke muſtered his Army, the better to know his own forces, and ſo went to inveſt *Chaumont*, and the Spaniards within it made ſhew of defending themſelves, but the Duke having finiſhed a Battery of ſix peeces of Cannon, ſoon made a Breach fit for an Aſſault, and commanded whole ſhowres of Muſquet ſhot to be poured in upon them, who ſhould appear to defend the Breach, and alſo clapt two Petards againſt one of the Gates, which forced them in peeces, ſo that two companies of *French* entred the Town, and compelled them within to yeeld upon compoſition; which was, that they ſhould march away with their Arms onely, and

leave behind them what Ammunition they had brought into the Town: So accordingly they went out, and left the Town to the Duke of *Candale*. There remained onely *Morbeign* to take in the *Valtoline*, and the Marquis *de Cuvres* had twice called a Council of War to contrive a means for the taking of it, but the major part of them alledged, and that very judiciouſly, that the place was ſtrongly ſcituated, and very hard to be come to for any who would aſſault it, guarded by good ſtore of men, both within, and in the Country thereabouts, that it was impoſſible to ſhut them up, for want of Veſſels upon the Lake of *Come*, which was the way which they had all their proviſions; and withall they concluded, it was not much material whether they had it, or not; ſeeing it did not at all help to ſerve the Spaniards, either to ſhut up, or open the Paſſes. Their advice was followed, and their courages ſubmitted to the Laws of Diſcretion; which made it appear, that it was not wiſdom at all times to attempt great Enterpriſes. Others did wiſh, that the Conqueſt of the *Valtoline* had been begunne in this place (as afterwards it was done) for that it is the moſt important of all the other places, not in relation to the Paſſages, but the ſecuring of the Valley, and to keep all the reſt in their dutyes; for the Allarm being once taken in the Vale, there are immediately ſtore of Forces clapt into it, for the keeping of it, as being the moſt conſiderable of all, and that once done, impoſſible to be taken.

*Politique obſervation.*

THE greateſt Courages are bound to ſubmit to the Laws of Prudence, when there is a queſtion in hand for the attempting of any great Enterpriſe. Their Glory is not conſidered by the ſucceſſes of their Victories, or the taking of Towns, which many times have no dependencie upon them, but by their Reſoluteneſs, and Conſtancy, which they make appear without the leaſt dread, in doing all that can be done to vanquiſh. Impoſſibilities defend them from all blame when as they have done their utmoſt; for no one can be obliged to do that which is above his power.

In the making of War in a Forraign Country, it is needful (if poſſible it may ſo be done) to begin it by aſſaulting of the ſtrongeſt place firſt, eſpecially if it may not otherwiſe be taken, then by a ſurpriſe. The reaſon is clear; for what ever aſſault is made elſwhere, gives an Allarm to the whole Country, ſo that that the Prince who ſtands upon his defence, preſently claps in both Men and Ammunition into the principal place, that afterwards it will become impoſſible to ſurprize it. Let us firſt ſeize on *Rome* (ſaid the Enemies of the Roman Empire, in *Herodatus*) which is the heart and Caſtle of the Empire, and we ſhall quickly have the reſt with eaſe. The like did *Cæſar* ſay that the Romans could never promiſe themſelves any ſecurity in *Gaul*, untill they had become Maſters of *Autbun*, which was the chief City, and on which the Conqueſt of all the reſt depended. And as it's true, that the chief Head of an Enterprize having once made himſelf Maſter of the City Gates, may at his own pleaſure enter upon the whole, ſo it is likewiſe moſt certain, that he who hath once taken the chief Fortreſs, hath a curb on the reſt, ſo that he may do what he will himſelf, eſpecially if he can but ſo order his buſineſs, that he may keep it in his power.

## *The Duke of* Rohan *excuſeth himſelf from accepting of thoſe Articles which were granted to thoſe of his party.*

THeſe were the moſt remarkable paſſages, both in *Italy* and the *Valtoline*, during that year; but let us now return to the Affairs at home. The Duke of *Rohan* could not be drawn to conclude a Peace without making ſome advantage by it, ſo that he deſired to be excuſed from giving his final Anſwer unto thoſe Articles which the King had granted to thoſe of his party, untill he had conferred with an

Aſſembly

Assembly which he pretended to make of the high and low *Languedoc*, insomuch that his particular Interests and private Ambition were the causes which retarded the Peace. In the interim he did his very utmost to surprize some places in *Languedoc*, either that he might get some advantage, whereby to make himself the more considerable, which might induce the King to give him that employment in *Italy* which he desired, or some other favourable conditions. He made an attempt upon *Tillet* in *Albigeois*, sending five hundred men to surprize it by night, but they were stoutly repulsed, and forced to retire. He had sometime before caused the Towns of *Masdazil*, *Pamiers*, and several others of *Foix* to revolt; from which places he sent out his Scouts, who committed great havocks in the plain Country. Now the evil treating of the Country people, forced the Consuls of some Towns thereabouts, to desire the Marshal *de Themines*, to come with his Majesties Army to assist them, and make himself Master of those Towns. Divers were of opinion, that this Proposition ought to be rejected, because admitting it should be followed, it would leave the Duke of *Rohan* at liberty to go whither he list, whom at that time the Army kept in such awe, that he durst not stir a foot, or attempt any new design. But however, the Count *de Carmain*, considering this proffer of the Consuls, and in regard they undertook in behalf of the Towns to contribute to the charge of the War, and to refresh the Army which was much distressed before *Castres*, he let himself be perswaded by their entreaties to go and assist them, and taking some small Forces with him, he went and fell on *Calmont*, a little Town near *Mazeres*, from whence several of the Rebels would make frequent excursions, and pillage the neighbour Country. They endured the siedge onely three daies, and then finding themselves ill handled by the Cannon, they ran away in the night, but the Marquis *d' Ambres*, who was not farre off with his Troop of Light Horse, hearing the noise of their flight, charged them, and cut the most part of them in peeces. Shortly after, they took six or seven other small places, some by storm, and some by composition. They of *Masdazil*, hearing of these successes, began to be afraid, and sent for a Pass to the Army, to make their Accomodation: But the Duke of *Rohan* found a means to conveigh in some Forces to them, which made them resolve to hold out, so that they changed their former resolution, and defended themselves, which drew down the Marshal *de Themines*, and the Count *de Carmaine* to besiege them. On the fifteenth of *September* the Town was encompassed round about, and shortly after the Cannon made a Breach, but whilst the Question was in debate, for the giving an Assault, the Breach was repaired, so that a second was made, and they within grown very resolute, repelled the Kings Army with great loss; and that which was worst of all, was the Rains falling encreased the River, and so filled up the Trenches with water, that Siege was forced to be raised, which much troubled the Marquis; but it was somwhat moderated, by that advantage which the Marquis *d' Ambres* got over the Duke of *Rohan*'s Troop of Light Horse, which he killed, took, and put to flight. The Duke of *Rohan* was much afflicted at the loss of them, and seeing that the holding out of *Masdazil* did not serve his turn, for that it would at another time be taken with ease, and that he could not make any further good progress, he went to the Assembly at *Milhaud*, where he made those of his party send a Courrier to the King, to accept of the Articles of Peace, which his Majesty had granted to them. His Majesty confirmed them, though they had rendred themselves unworthy, by their new acts of Rebellion. But it was necessary so to be, for the better opposing of the enterprises of *Spain*, though *Rochel* was still excepted, by reason of the little inclination they had testified of keeping themselves within their duty.

*Politique*

*Politick Obſervation.*

THE Ambition of Grandees in a State is oftentimes cauſe of many evils, and every one knows that they are the principal motives, either to begin, or continue a War. There is not any exceſs into which Ambition doth not hurry them, to attain thoſe ends which they propoſe to themſelves. It loveth none but it ſelf, and it will eaſily violate all the rights of obedience, for the procuring of a happy iſſue to all their deſigns. It never makes a queſtion of the equity of any cauſe, but looketh on the advantages which will follow it, if it ſucceed well. Whence it cometh, that the firſt thing it doth, is to ſhut cloſe the eyes againſt Juſtice, that it may the more confidently begin, or continue it's deſign. They who are poſſeſſed with this ſame Ambition, never look on any thing but through a falſe glaſs, which doth ſtill repreſent things either more ſpecious, or bigger than really they are: And by this device it ſo charmeth their thoughts, that they begin to preſume, that Fortune which hath beſtowed ſome favours on them, will never forſake them. The raſh and fond confidence of their own abilities, makes them deſpiſe any fair overtures of Peace; but they ought to remember, that Fortune is like a Glaſs, which falls down when a man thinks he hath it faſt enough; and that God too, who delighteth in peace, doth often ſend down upon them, thoſe troubles and calamities which they propoſed amongſt themſelves to meaſure out to others. The Huntſman that he may take the Panther, knowing that he loveth Henbane, hangeth a good quantity of it up in the air, ſomewhat out of her reach, whence it happens, that ſhe having once ſeen it, never leaves off leaping and friſking up and down, untill ſhe become at laſt ſo weary, that ſhe falls down, unable any longer to ſtand, and ſo dyeth on the place. May it not ſafely be ſaid, that Fortune doth the ſelf ſame thing with Grandees? And that ſhe uſeth the very ſame artifices to deſtroy ambitious perſons? She propoſeth advantages to them, Victories and Conqueſts, but which are beyond their reach, and above their power, and knowing this to be the ſureſt way to allure their minds, and that for the obtaining of their extravagant ends, they will uſe any endeavours, or run into any raſh heady attempts, ſhe ſtill draweth them further on, untill in fine they are forced to ſink under the weight of them, and meet with their ſhame and confuſion in thoſe deſigns, where they well hoped for Honour and Glory.

*Proſecution of the Hiſtory.*

IT was matter of aſtoniſhment, to ſee the Hugonots ſo reduced, conſidering the ſtrong reſiſtances which they had made againſt the King but a few years before, and thoſe great Armies which had been kept in *Languedoc*, all little enough to quel them. But they who will but reflect on the ſtrange alteration, which the Cardinal brought with him, will not much wonder at it. I might ſafely ſay, that the Army which he cauſed to be maintained about *Rochel*, was one cauſe of it, ſeeing it did in effect keep under the Country of *Aunis* and *Poictou*, that neither of them durſt to ſtir. I could likewiſe attribute thoſe effects to the ſending of thoſe Companies into *Languedoc*, upon the firſt beginning of the year, who might be in a readineſs to fall on them, in caſe they ſhould appear, inſomuch that they had not the leaſt opportunity to doe any thing; and this is really the moſt certain preventive remedy for all Revolts. But however you may behold another Reaſon of State, which is the more conſiderable, for that it did by little and little, and without being perceived, undermine the greateſt prop and force of them: The little Authority which the Miniſters, who preceded the Cardinal, had cauſed his Majeſty to take upon him, and the Licentiouſneſs which the Grandees were left at, either of running into the Hugonots party, or of abetting them, whenſoever any thing went contrary to their humours was the true cauſe of their greateſt ſtrength. The Princes would openly levy Troops to ayd and aſſiſt the revolted, and either themſelves

ſelves would go in to them, or at leaſt lend them monyes, to make more Levyes. But now the caſe was altered, and things did not run in their former channels. This Grand Miniſter perſwaded his Majeſty to make himſelf Maſter of Affairs. His Majeſty wanted not dayly oportunities to effect it, and at laſt brought it to ſuch a paſs, that the Princes and Grandees lived very quietly, and every one of them was ſo well ſatisfied with thoſe Favours which were beſtowed on them, that not a man of them would nouriſh a thought tending to diſ-union or combinations. Formerly the major part of them carried ſuch a ſway in matters of concern, that unleſs every thing which they deſired were granted to them, they would forthwith retire in diſcontent to their own houſes, as not thinking themſelves obliged to ſerve the King any longer.

But things began now to be carried in another way, and they began to live after another ſort, and to be ſenſible of the obligations which lay upon them to keep themſelves within the limits of Reſpect and Obedience. They now began to perceive it was to no purpoſe, to think to have that by a high hand, which could only be granted to them by way of Gratification. All the Parties and Factions which formerly were ſo rife, began preſently to fall back, there having been certain people removed from the Court, who made it their onely buſineſs to embroyl things, and like Waſps, ſucked up the beſt of the Treaſures, which they employed only in the ſowing of diſcontents amongſt the Grandees, who lived at the Kings coſts and charges, and yet did altogether rayl and quarrel with the Government. The taking away of theſe abuſes was the true cauſe of the Hugonots weakning, who were never ſtrong, but when aſſiſted elſwhere. Thus it was apparently ſeen, that the King having overtopped them by the ſage advice of the Cardinal, they were afterwards compelled to live as true Subjects in the obedience which is due from that qualification.

*Politique Obſervation.*

AUthority is the ſoul of a Kingdom: A State cannot but be happy, when he who governeth it knows how to rule as he ought, be it either in not ordaining thoſe things which are improper, or by bringing his Subjects to be obedient; ſo that as a Phyſitian endeavoureth moſt of all to comfort his Patients heart, a Miniſters ought to ſtudy no one thing more, then how to encreaſe and ſtrengthen his Maſters power and authority. But if he hath once ſuffered himſelf to be diſpoſſed of it, he hath loſt the Rudder by which he ſteered his veſſel, the yoke wherewith he kept the people in obedience, the ſplendour which made him be honoured with reſpect, How will he be afterwards able to retain his ſubjects in their duties, ſeeing they will ſlight his Authority? And how ſhall he be able to receive reſpects from them, when as he is no longer Maſter of that which ſhould preſerve it in their ſouls? Authority is to a Soveraign the ſame thing that Light is to the Sun: And as that fair Star would not be reſpected by man without that ſplendid luſtre which dazeleth our eyes, ſo having once loſt his light, he is no longer admired or reſpected. The Princes of the Blood divide it amongſt them, and make it evident, that the diſ-eſteem and weakneſs, whereunto he is fallen, ſerveth for a footſtool to them to advance their own power. The Governours of Provinces too, they take ſome ſhare, and thus every one acteth as beſt pleaſeth himſelf; every thing is attempted without controul, and they do not fear to endeavour the getting of that by force, which they cannot by juſtice. The Publique Monies are turned aſide, the people oppreſſed, and at laſt all things brought into confuſion. *Theopompus* King of the *Lacedemonians* anſwered a certain man who told him, *Sparta* was governed with a good Diſcipline, becauſe the Kings knew how to command, That it was rather, becauſe the people knew how to obey: But for my part, I imagine that the happineſs of a Kingdom proceedeth from one and t'other; and that both of them are dependent on the Authority which giveth Soveraigns the Liberty of well commanding, and the neceſſary diſpoſition of Subjects to obey them. Which if it

be true of Kingdomes in general, it is moſt aſſuredly ſo of *France* in particular, ſeeing the Government of it hath been ſo abſolutely eſtabliſhed upon a King, ſeeing there is not any thing more proper for the ſetling of any State whatſoever, in its due order, then to reſtore him the ſelf ſame qualities, with which he took his Birth.

*The Cardinal is extraordinary careful to make a good underſtanding between the King, Queen Mother, Monſieur, and the Princes of the Blood, and others.*

AS the Tyes of Birth are but of ſmall force, if not cheriſhed with Affection, ſo the Cardinal could not be ſatisfied with ſetling the King in his Authority over the Princes, but took extraordinary pains, to continue them in a good underſtanding with his Majeſty. The Queen Mother was the chief of all thoſe who had the honour to be of the Royal Houſe, ſo he uſed his utmoſt power to tye her faſt to the Kings will. He did the more readily undertake this trouble, becauſe he had for ſeveral years, received ſundry teſtimonies of her favour, and he would gladly have acknowledged them by his ſervices; and it ſorted ſo happily, that it may ſafely be ſaid he did in it repay all her obligations a hundred times over; but it was no ſmal matter to be brought to paſs; for he was to combat with the Queen Mothers inclinations, & the jealouſies which the King had with ſome reaſon entertained againſt her. From the time that the Queen Mother had govern'd *France* in the quality of Regent, ſhe had not as yet renounced the Conduct of Affairs; though the care which one is bound to take for the Government of a people, be accompanied with a thouſand pricking vexations, yet ſo it is, that the ſplendour wherewith it is attended, hath ſuch powerful charms, that the diſcreeteſt ſouls, and leaſt ambitious, have much ado to defend themſelves againſt them. The knowledge he had of her inclination ſtill to conſerve that power to her ſelf, was a great impediment to his work: And the King, in whoſe hands the onely ſupream power reſides, was ſo much the more jealous of it, for that it is ordinary with Grandees to be ſuſpitious of their powers; and that with ſo much the more reaſon, for that Juſtice doth not permit that one ſhould divide the command with them.

The Cardinal meeting with things in this conjuncture, uſed his utmoſt induſtry to overcome the Queen Mothers inclinations, being aſſured that it would be afterwards eaſie to diſſipate thoſe ſuſpitions of the King. He inſinuated into her ſoul with all ſweetneſs and addreſs, the truth, which ought to be the foundation of their good correſpondence, letting her ſee, that ſhe ought not to think it any ſtrange thing, that the King ſhould deſire to be Maſter, or that all Affairs were revolved by his order, for that by his birth the Laws of the Kingdom did give him that Authority which no one had any right to deprive him of. He uſed indeed his utmoſt addreſs to impreſs this truth in her, letting her ſee, that ſhe ought not to pretend to any part of it; That the King quitting all his ſuſpitions, would give her more then ſhe could wiſh, ſeeing he was ſo naturally inclined to pay her all manner of reſpects. The Queen Mother, who did then much eſteem of his counſels, did beleeve him, and ſhe received ſuch advantages by it, that by letting his Majeſty ſee by her conduct, that ſhe did no longer think of the Government, he reſtored her into ſo abſolute an Authority, that ſhe had all ſort of power in the management of Affairs.

This was a very great advantage, procured to her by this grand Miniſter, and which ſurpaſſed all thoſe favours which he had at any time received from her Majeſty. The State too did not receive leſs profit by it; for that this good correſpondencie which united the Affections of the King, and Queen Mother, did put an end to all thoſe Cabals which had formerly divided the whole Nation, ſo that the Forces of it wonld not now fly out any more into parties, but remain entire, to oppoſe the Ambition of Strangers.

The

The Cardinal, that he might the more confirm this Union, and make it the ſtronger, perſwaded the King to take Father *Suffren* for his Confeſſor, who had been ſo for a long while to the Queen Mother, aſſuring himſelf that this good perſon, whoſe ſoul was ſo affectionately inclined to Peace, repleniſhed with Piety, and voyd of Ambition, being the Depoſitory of the ſecrets of their Conſciences, would not be a little conducing to the diſpelling of thoſe little ſuſpitions which might ariſe between them, and that he would have ſomwhat the more power, in regard women are naturally addicted to be perſwaded by their Confeſſors.

Next to the Queen Mother, Monſieur was the moſt conſiderable perſon in affairs, as alſo the moſt capable to raiſe Diviſions in the Kingdom, as many Princes of his Place and Birth had done, who not being able to ſtay for command untill the time preſcribed by the Laws both of Nature and the Kingdom, run out at the perſwaſion of thoſe who were near them, to ſeiſe on the Government. The Cardinal therefore was no whit leſs induſtrious to tye him too unto the Kings Intereſts. There was no great need of any extraordinary diligence to bring it to paſs, Juſtice having infuſed into him with his birth, all thoſe inclinations and diſpoſitions which were proper for him to have towards his Majeſty. All which the Cardinal very well knew.

Neither was he ignorant, That Princes of his condition are uſually carried away from their duties by thoſe who are attending near upon them; ſo that he likewiſe made himſelf ſure of the Colonel *d'Ornano*, who had the honour to be neareſt to his perſon, and upon whoſe advice Monſieur did more relye then any others. Now knowing that this ſoul naturally ambitious, was not to be captivated by other tyes then thoſe of Greatneſs, he perſwaded the King to beſtow on him a Marſhals Staffe of *France*, conceiving that this Qualification would force him to become his Majeſties very faithful ſervant. Monſieur the Prince, had the honour to be the firſt of thoſe of the Blood Royal, and the Cardinal thought it no leſſe expedient to gain him, and ſatisfie his humour, by giving him a part in Affairs, and the content which he might pretend to in his Intereſts. He had a great conflict with the Queen Mothers ſpirit, but at laſt with a handſom addreſs, he let her ſee, that there could be no certain quiet and repoſe in the State, without a good underſtanding between the King her ſon and him, and that it was to contribute to his own greatneſs, not to leave the Prince in thoſe diſcontents whereunto he had been reduced, and which might in time carry him on to the making of Cabals, and raiſing of new emotions. But whatever reaſons he could then alledge, ſhe would not be induced to aſſent to his coming to the Court; nevertheleſs the Cardinal ſo dealt with the King, that his Majeſty in ſome Letters to him, gave him extraordinary expreſſions and teſtimonies of his Favour, ſometimes by asking his advice, as occaſions ſhould preſent, as alſo by taking a particular care for the expediting of his Affairs, which was accordingly effected; and the King writing to him, aſſured him of his kindneſs towards him, and deſiring his opinion of the Affairs of the *Valtoline*, of the *Hugonots*, and the War of *Italy*. By this he received an entire content and ſatisfaction, ſo that from thence forward he began to order himſelf with more affection to his Majeſties Inclinations, then formerly he had done. This ſtrait union which the Cardinal tyed in the Royal Family, was an aſſured foundation of the Nations Peace, and cut off all hopes that any troubleſome ſpirits might have to embroyl it.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THat Miniſter who would attempt any great deſigns abroad, is bound to ſettle all at home, by a ſtrong uniting of the Royal houſe. The harmony of the prime Qualities is that which preſerves our bodies in a convenient health: If one ſhould aſſault the other, the Natural Juſtice is violated, and the Union diſſolved; which once ſo, the whole frame falls to nothing. Who knoweth not, that the Union of Grandees, eſpecially thoſe of the Royal Family, is the moſt ſure foundation of Peace and Welfare to a State? They may not be disjoyn'd from their King,

neither may any one of them attempt upon his Crown, but Juſtice will be offended, and their Union broken, which once ſo, the State is ſoon expoſed to manifold dangers and misfortunes. This was the opinion of *Miſipſa* in *Saluſt*, and *Cyrus* inſtructing *Cambyſes* his own Son, adviſed him alwaies to be in friendſhip with his kindred, and to give them ſuch advantages as may content them, becauſe it will make him be well beloved by his Subjects, who imagine that a Prince, who doth not affect his own Kindred, deſerveth not the affections of any others; and will alſo give more aſſurance to his Government, by defending him from any inſurrections which might be made by them. And this is the more conſiderable, as *Tacitus* ſaith, for that it is ordinary with the people, to have a particular affection; for the Kindred of a Prince, when they ſhall ſee them hated without any juſt cauſe or reaſon, exemplyfying the Love which the people of *Rome* did bear to *Germanicus*, which increaſed in them by the hatred which was born to him by *Tiberius*; and it cannot be doubted, but that the particular affection with which the people love them, may give them great advantages to embroyl the State, and may ſerve for a ſtrong prop to their revolts. It cannot be avoyded, but that Princes nearly related to a Soveraign, muſt have ſome hand in the Government of Affairs, and muſt partake with him in the Honours of the State; how can it then be done in a good order, unleſs they live in a fair correſpondence with one another? What way can a veſſel goe, when as they who guide it, do ſome row towards the Poop, and others towards the Prow; deſpiſing the Pilots orders, ſo that the veſſel becomes expoſed to be wracked. And what may there be expected from a State, where the Princes of the Blood Royal, who have the Government of the Provinces, fall off from his Majeſties deſigns and intereſts, engaging themſelves in Factions and Parties? Doth it not by this means abſolutely expoſe the State to Civil Wars, which being left at random by this diſunion, becomes a prey to ſtrangers, who will be ſure to take advantage of it?

## *The ſending of the Sieur* de Blainville *into* England *in the quality of Extraordinary Ambaſſadour.*

THough the Allyance which had ſo lately been contracted with *England*, ſeemed to be indiſſolvable by the confirming of it with the Mariage of the Princeſs; yet it was not long before ſome grounds did ariſe to obſtruct their good correſpondency. The great confidence which the Queen of *Englana* had in certain Ladies, who had been a long while near, and about her, as alſo in certain Eccleſiaſtiques, a little too inconſiderate in their zeal, was in part the occaſion of it; for they giving her advices which were not alwaies accompanied with Prudence, did claſh with the King her Husbands humour, and were upon the point of breeding ſome differences between them. The King did not much wonder at it, having of a long time known, how little conſiderable womens counſels ordinarily are, and how they commonly end in ſome broyl, unleſs there be ſome one near them, who may prevent it by the reputation and credit which he hath amongſt them. But however it did not hinder his Majeſty from diſpatching the *Sieur de Blainville*, his Extraordinary Ambaſſador to the King of *England*, that he might take ſome courſe before the inconſiderateneſs of thoſe perſons who were about the Queen, had cauſed any more miſchiefs; which was the eaſilier to be done, in regard the Queen wanted neither Reſpect nor Love for the King her Husband, and was onely to be blamed, for having relyed a little too much upon thoſe who were given to her to be her Counſel. But this was not all, there was another cauſe of difference between the two Crowns, which was this: The *Sieur de Soubize*, having fled into *England*, and there ſaved himſelf, had taken in times of Peace, and againſt the approval too of thoſe of *Rochel*, a ſmall veſſel, called the little Saint *John*, at the Port of *Blavet*, which he afterwards carried to *Plymouth*. And not long after the Engliſh had detained and unladen another Ship at *Dover*, called the Merchant Royal, full laden with

with goods to the value of twelve hundred thousand Liuvers. This kind of acting was as strange as unjust, and a great noise it made. The French Merchants not being able to get a satisfactory answer in it, because the *Sieur de Blainville's* demands were sent to the Council of his Majesty of Great Britain, seised upon some English Ships, which exasperated them afresh, and hindred the resolution of any thing untill the following year.

*Politique Observation.*

ALthough the common end of private Mariages tend to concluding of Peace amongst Families, yet it is not alwayes the same thing with Princes. They do never make up any Matches but on the score of Interests, and if any cause of difference arise amongst them, they do not at all value their Alliances; but it is well known, that those Wars which have been between such Princes, have ever been the most bloody. It was imagined, that those many Contracts which had been made between the Princes of the House of *Orleance*, and those of *Burgogne*, would have extinguished the fire of their Quarrels, but the sequel made it apparent, they all served to no purpose.

*Lewis* the Moor, Duke of *Milan*, was near a kin to the *Arragonois* of *Naples*, yet he undid them by his intreagues: And who knoweth not that *France* never had such great Quarrels either with *Spain* or *England*, as when they were allyed by some Mariage? And indeed it ought not to seem strange, for a Soveraign hath no Kinsman so nearly related to him as his State. A private man may govern himself according to the Rules of Friendship, but it is otherwise with a Soveraign, who is obliged to preserve the Rights of his Crown against every one. His reputation is of so great concern towards the good of his Affairs, that he may not suffer any injury to be offered to it, which he is not bound to repell by any wayes whatsoever.

*The Treasuries are better regulated by the Cardinals care.*

THey who have had particular knowledge of things ever since ten years last past, could not sufficiently wonder at those vast charges which the State had been put to both by maintaining so many Armies together, in *Languedoc*, in *Poitu*, in the *Valtoline*, and *Italy*, as also in the Match with *England*, and defraying of Ambassadors expences, together with Alliances with States, considering that the Cardinal entring upon the Administration, had found the Treasury not onely exhausted, but likewise much indebted, so that they lived upon the next years Revenues. This was an effect of that great Ministers prudence, who knowing how necessary it was for a State to have a good mass of Mony in reserve, had quickly so setled the Treasuries, that there was great plenty succeeded that former want. The Secretaries of State were commanded not to seal any more Orders, but by expres command from the King or his Chief Ministers: The Superintendants were also ordered, not to authorize those which should be presented from the Secretaries of State, but upon good and just consideration. There were divers persons removed from Court, who attended there to no intent or purpose, but only had sometimes the honour to see the King. Rewards were kept for those who deserved them by their services. There were also new orders taken at the same time concerning the Treasuries, which were so exactly observed, that it was impossible any more to abuse the Kings Monies as formerly they had done, so that the Treasury was not only acquitted of those advances which had been made, but was afterwards filled with such great sums, that *France* had never seen the like.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THe King who deſigns great matters, and wants ſtore of monies to execute them, doth onely attempt vain enterprizes. The moſt part of Politicians have alwaies been of opinion, that the Riches of a Prince are the Nerves of War; becauſe as it is impoſſible for a man to go or ſtand without Sinews; ſo it cannot be expected that an Army ſhould ſubſiſt, or that Souldiers ſhould do their duties, if there be not good ſtore of monies to pay them, and to provide all neceſſaries for them. There is not onely *Machiavel*, who denieth this Poſition againſt the Authority of *Dion*, *Quintus Curtius*, *Vegetius*, *Cicero* and *Plutarch*, who is of opinion that money is not a Nerve in War. But beſides that the Judgement of theſe great Sages of Antiquity, is at leaſt as conſiderable as his opinion. So I find not that thoſe reaſons of his are ſolid enough to overthrow ſo commonly received a maxime. I muſt confeſs with him, that War may ſometimes have a good ſucceſſe, though the Souldiers be but ill payed, becauſe the Authority of a grand Commander, and their own Courages may very much animate them; but as that doth but ſeldome happen, ſo there cannot be any certain concluſion deduced from it. There is hereof a notable example in the Battel of *Pavy*, where the Imperialiſts deſpairing to perſwade their Army to fight by reaſon they were ſo ill paid, the Marqueſſe of *Peſcaire* took the reſolution on himſelf to exhort them, and infuſed ſuch mettle into them, that they went on with great Courage, and got a great honour over the French. But that Prince who would deduce an abſolute Rule from this example, or any of the like nature, and ſhall follow them in his Conduct, ſhall onely prepare himſelf for his own Confuſion and Ruine: Experience having made it evident on a thouſand occaſions, that it is unreaſonable to hope for a happy ſucceſs in matters of War, though never ſo inconſiderable, without great practice. I know that it is not money onely, which conduceth to the carrying on of great exploits, but that good Souldiers are alſo neceſſary; an experienced old Commander, courteous, generous, able in Counſels, quick in executions, beloved by the Souldiers, and indued with ſeveral other qualifications neceſſary for command: But beſides all this, though a General and Souldiers ſhould be thus accompliſhed, yet unleſſe there be good ſums of monies, nothing can be really attempted: For how can a Prince without this, ſatisfie ſeveral Souldiers and Commanders? How can he without this make his preparations of Victuals, Proviſions, Ammunitions, Artilleries, and other things which cannot be had without great expences? And in caſe his Forces ſhal be cut off or deſtroyed, how can he make Recruits or new Levies? *Charles* the eighth having great occaſions for Souldiers to raiſe the Siege of *Navar*, ſent the Bayliff of *Dion* to raiſe it, but having no money he could procure no Souldiers. In the mean while, the King accorded with the Florentines for the reſtitution of *Piſa*, and ſeveral other Towns in Hoſtage, by which means he received great ſtore of monies, of which he ſent a ſmall part into *Swizzerland*, and the Bayliff who onely demanded ten thouſand men, brought twenty thouſand with him.

## *The Aſſembly of the Clergy for the Condemnation of certain Libels, ſent abroad by the Spaniſh Ambition.*

ALL the reſt of the year at leaſt after *May*, the Biſhops and Clergy of *France*, were aſſembled at *Paris*. The chief intent of this meeting was for the renuing of that contract which they made every tenth year with the King, for the payment of thoſe Rents which are impoſed upon them. But this was not the onely worthy imployment which entertained them, the affection which they alwaies had for the King, would not let them give way to the permitting thoſe infamous Books, abortives of the Spaniſh Ambition, which had been ſent into *France*. There need no more then onely to read them, and it would ſoon be apparent that they were full of

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seditious Doctrine; That they were published onely with design to diminish the Kings Authority, to detract from his Majesties glory to raise Wars amongst strangers, to stir up the people to sedition, and to kindle a flame of War in *France*: The Contents of them were repleniſhed with a thousand ſpecious pretences of Religion. Theſe generous Prelates ſoon diſcovered their deſigns, and made it apparent that they were like Apothecaries, or Mountebanks Boxes, which are marked on the outſide with the title of ſome healing Medicine, but have within nothing but what is very dangerous and hurtfull: They condemned the Authors of them as enemies to the publick quiet, and ſeducers of the people to ſedition, putting them in mind that God had commanded them to honour Kings as Lieutenants of his power, and required them to be in a ſtraight obedience, by ſhewing honour and reſpect to his deſigns and Juſtice, whom God had placed over them, for the good and happineſs of *France*; and not contented with having thus verbally expreſſed their affections to his Majeſty, they teſtified their zeal and fidelity to him by granting him ſix hundred thouſand Crowns upon the Churches of *France*, as a contribution toward the Wars in which the State was ingaged, as alſo to preſerve Religion in its ſplendour, and to maintain the glory of the Crown. It cannot be denyed but that many poor low ſpirits grumbled at it, who conſidering but one of thoſe ends for which Lands were given to Churches, began to oppoſe it, as if the Church, which is part of the State, were not bound to contribute to the good of thoſe Corporations of which they were members, and as if the publique neceſſities were not more conſiderable than the private profits of ſome particular people who often employ their Revenues to bad uſes.

*Politique Obſervation.*

KIngs may lawfully compel Eccleſiaſtiques upon an important occaſion to contribute to them ſome part of their Revenues for the maintenance of the State, ſeeing the goods of the Church are upon ſuch neceſſities in the ſame condition with thoſe of others. They are not exempted from ordinary contributions either by the Son of God, or his Apoſtles; for when as they lived on the earth, the Church had not any immovable Goods, and it is from the favours of Emperours and Kings, that ſhe hath ſince obtained that priviledge; it was never granted to her, but only that they might be employed on the publique extraordinary neceſſities of the State. They are only tyed by Religion not to exact it, though they may by abſolute authority force it; for if they might not make uſe of the Churches Goods in a caſe of urgency, their Soveraign power would be of little worth: And Soveraigns not compelling them in this harſh manner, doe ſo much the more oblige them to do it; for the entreaty of him who may enforce, is a greater tye then his command: And is it not very reaſonable, that as all the parts of the Body, even the moſt noble, do contribute to its conſervation, ſo all the members of a State ſhould doe their utmoſt to preſerve it, and to eſtabliſh the glory of it. The Emperour *Gratian* ordained, That every one ſhould ſerve on publique occaſions, and firſt of all addreſſed himſelf to execute it, not pretending any exemption to due to the priviledge of his dignity; and *Plato* ſaith, No man but ought to obey neceſſities, ſeeing the Gods themſelves ſubmit to them. And admit that Eccleſiaſtiques ſhould deny, or make any difficulty to aſſiſt the King on ſuch occaſions, might they not with reaſon be reproached, as the Emperour *Dioclesian* once did a Philoſpher, who petitioned him to hold him excuſed from ſome Levy which was layd upon the reſt of the people. Thy requeſt, quoth the Emperour to him, is contrary to thy Profeſſion, for that thou pretending to overcome thy Paſſions, and to tread under thy feet all that which the world delighteth in, doeſt however, ſuffer thy ſelf to be poſſeſt with covetouſneſs. So Eccleſiaſtiques profeſſing to be Imitators and Diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt, who recommendended no one thing more then Poverty, and who prohibited his Diſciples to heap up Gold and Silver, would do an act much contrary to their profeſſion, if they ſhould pretend to be exempted from

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thoſe charges which their Kings are forced to lay on the reſt of their Subjects in any urgent occaſions.

## *Troubles in* Lorrain *happening upon the Will of* Henry *Duke of* Lorrain.

IT remaineth that I ſhould now write of ſome Affairs which paſſed about the end of this year in *Lorrain*, and which have ſuch a dependance on the concerns of *France*, that I may not let them ſlip. *Henry* Duke of *Lorrain*, a little before he dyed, finding himſelf without Sons, did by his Will inveſt his eldeſt Daughter Madam *Nicole*, whom he had married to *Charles de Lorrain*, eldeſt Son to the Count of *Vaudmont*, his younger Brother, giving her to underſtand, that *Lorrain* and all that which belonged unto it, did really appertain to her, and that *Charles* her Husband had no right to it, but onely in conſideration of her. However the Count *de Vaudmont*, deſirous to preſerve it to his Son, in caſe he ſhould outlive his Wife, pretended himſelf to be heir to the Dutchee, by virtue of the Will of *Reynard*, King of *Sicily*, and Duke of *Lorrain*, his Great Grandfather, dated the twenty fifth of *May*, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſix, which untill then he had never heard of; by which the ſaid King foreſeeing the ruins which uſually happeneth to great Houſes, by ſubdividing thoſe poſſeſſions which once belonged to them, had incorporated the Dutchees of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, the Marquiſate of *Ponta-Mouſon*, and the Earldom of *Vaudmont*, and conſtituted his eldeſt Son *Anthony*, late Duke of *Lorrain*, ſole heir of the ſaid Soveraignties and Lordſhips, willing, and ordaining, that his deſcendents ſhould ſucceed him from Male to Male, gradually, and one after another, and that the Daughters ſhould not at all pretend to it. He left in diviſion to *Claudius* his youngeſt Son, the poſſeſſion of *Guiſe*, *Elbauf*, *Aumalle*, *Mayenne*, *Joinville*, and ſeveral others which he had in *France*, ſubſtituting and ordaining his Heirs Males for ever to enjoy them, and excluding all Daughters. The original of the Will was very authentique, and Copies of it in divers places to be had. There was moreover an Inſtrument of Approbation, made by the States of the ſaid Dutchie aſſembled for that purpoſe, after the deceaſe of the ſaid King, upon the thirteenth of *February*, in the year fifteen hundred and eight, before Madam *Philip* of *Gueldres*, Queen of *Sicilie*, Dutcheſs of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, who declared, they were contented to conform themſelves to the ſaid Kings Will.

Now the Count *de Vaudmont* ſuppoſed, that upon conſequence of this ſubſtitution and order thus eſtabliſhed by Will, and confirm'd by the States, himſelf was the onely and true Heir of *Lorrain*, and that his late Brothers Daughters could pretend to it, but that they ought to be married to perſons correſpondent to their Qualities.

At laſt he declared, by a publick Inſtrumeut, that in conſideration of his Sons marriage with Madam *Nicole*, his late Brothers Daughter, he was content to diſpoſſeſs himſelf into the hands of his ſaid Son, and that he did inveſt him with it, requiring that he ſhould be honoured and obeyed in that quality by all his States, which he renounced to him in his behalf; and that after his deceaſe they ſhould deſcend to his next Heirs Males, excluding all Females, and ſtill preferring the eldeſt, who were to give the youngeſt Penſions, and the Daughters Portions according to the Honour of the Houſe.

The King, though ſomwhat concerned in this agreement, did not oppoſe it, but eſteemed it as frivolous, it being free for him not to take any notice of it, becauſe it was not preſented to him for a ratification, though the curious ſpirits of the time, who are pleaſed to diſcuſſe the Intereſts of States, not at all concern'd in them, but onely by the faithfulneſs of their Affection, did talk diverſly of it: Some maintaining that the Will of *Reynard* the ſecond, upon which the Count *de Vaudmont* grounded his pretenſions, was abſolutely voyd, as alſo the Contract

of

of disseisure. They alledged for their chief reason that it was contrary to the Laws and Customes of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, observed in the Successions of those Dutchies and Lordships which ever preferred the daughters before the Males who were far removed; and secondly, that it was contrary to the Laws and Customes of *France* made at *Orleanes*, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty, and at *Moulin* in one thousand five hundred sixty and six, which prohibit such substitutions for ever, but restrain them to the second degree. Besides the institution which was passed, if it should so stand, it would follow of consequence, that the substitution in behalf of the Males for ever, could not be vallid, especially in relation to *Bar*, and that which depends on the Crown of *France*, where his Majesty ought to be considered, not onely as common Soveraign, but as Lord Paramour to whom belonged the cognizance of causes of Appeal, and to whom Faith and Homage ought to be paid, as also service with and against all others, it being not allowed to a Vassal, to alter (without the Kings authority who is chief Lord) the nature of the Fee, against the Order established by Custome. Thirdly, they added for the confirmation of their opinions, an example very considerable which was this. It had been concluded and agreed upon in a Treaty made at *Guerand*, in the year one thousand three hundred sixty and four, between *John* the valiant Count *de Montfort*, afterwards the Fifth of that name Duke of *Brittain*, son of *John* Count of *Montfort*, of the one party, and *Jane* Dutchess of *Brittain*, daughter to *Guy* Count of *Penthieu*, elder brother to the said Count of *Montfort* of the other party. That as long as there should be Males of the said House of *Brittain*, no Female should inherit the said Dutchy: They did not apprehend this Agreement to be firm and good, unlesse *Charles* the Fifth who was Soveraign of the said Dutchy should ratifie and confirm it, for that it was contrary to the Custome; by vertue of which said Custome, the said *Jane* had obtained the said Dutchy by a solemn Judgement, against her said Uuckle the Count of *Montfort* in being preferred before him, as being the neerest, and daughter to the eldest Brother; and that therefore they intreated the Commissaries and Deputies, who were the Arch-Bishop of *Reims*, and the Marshal of *Boucicaut*, to ratifie and confirm their Award, which they did: That upon the score of this Ratification, the Males of the House of *Montfort* had alwaies succeeded in the said Dutchy of *Britain*, by being preferred before the Females. That *Raynard* the second in not having followed this order, for the Dutchy of *Bar*, and those other Lands which depended on *France*, had made his said Will and Substitution absolutely void in it self. Fourthly, the best Historians did moreover alledge, That this same Will of *Raynard* the second, was not deemed to be vallid in the House of *Lorrain*, but had been abrogated from time to time: As for those Lands which related to *France*, they answered, that the said Duke himself had about ten moneths after, dis-owned his said Will by a solemn Act, whereby he beseeched *Lewis* the twelfth to grant his consent, that his Heirs Males and Females, might succeed to inherit those lands in *France*, though the said *Claudius* was born out of the Kingdome, as may appear by the Letters of Naturalizing granted by the said King at *Lyons* in the year one thousand five hundred and seven, in the moneth of *May*, preferring by this Act, the Heirs females of *Claudius*, before *Anthony* his eldest son whom he had created Duke of *Lorrain*, and the sons of the said *Anthony*. That in Prosecution of his said Deed of Abrogation, the said preferrency had been granted to the daughter of *Claudius*, in reference to the Dutchies of *Guise* and *Aumalle*; as also in the Principality of *Joinville*; in which it is declared, that the said Daughters should be admitted to inherit the said Lordships and Lands, excluding the sons of the late Duke, at least from all which related to *France*. Sixthly they added, that as for what hath dependence from the Empire, the Will ought not to be valid, neither for that it is directly contrary to the Custome received and used in all Principallities thereunto belonging, which are upon that side of the *Rhine*, and particularly against the Custome of *Nancy* it self: By vertue of which, the daughters have ever succeeded, excluding the Males when ever they were nearer related, and that it was not in the power of *Raynard* to abolish the said Custome without

the Emperour's consent to that purpose, first had and obtained. On the other side there were some others who were of opinion, that the Will of the said *Raynard* ought to be good and valid; there being no disposing Power which can exceed a Priviledge; that it was true the said substitution was contrary to the Customes, but the Soveraign Liege having power at least with his States to make and to constitute such Ordinances and Laws which might regard the good of his people; provided alwaies that the Supream Authority from whence he depended, were not injured in it, he might abrogate such usances, and that no one could pretend to oppose it, no nor the Lord *Paramount* himself, for that he was not at all concerned in it, admitting his particular Rights were preserved to him, seeing as the Lawyers say, That whatsoever is resolved by the States of a Country, for the reformation of a Custome ought to be deemed and observed as a Custome of it self. Their main reasons were, That it was necessary to distinguish between a Soveraign *Paramount*, and a Liege Lord; that indeed it was granted, a Liege Lord had not power to make any Orders or Laws in prejudice of his Superiour Lord, but that it is not the same thing as to what concerneth the Powers which appertains unto him, and that he may at least dispose of them with his States, not to alienate; but certainly to substitute and appoint them. That it were indifferent to a Lord *Paramount*, whether they were Males or Females who succeeded in the Government, it being not any thing of concern to him, provided his rights were preserved to him, and that his Homage, Service, and Obedience were paid him. That if at any time they should oppose such Orders and Laws as were made by a Soveraign Liege and his States, their opposition however were not of any validity, for that no one hath any right to oppose any thing which doth not clash with his own Interests. That withall, this reason was so much the more considerable, in respect of those States which have dependance on the Empire, because they are held with much lesse Subjection then those of the Crown of *France*, for that the Duke of *Lorrain* is not at all obliged to pay Homage to the Emperour, but onely to serve him, and contribute to the necessities of his State.

They alledged one very considerable reason, as to what concern'd his Majesties interests, in relation to those Signiors which depended on his Crown, making it apparent, that he was so far from being prejudiced by those constitutions made in favour of the heirs Males, that rather on the contrary, his Majesty would receive a notable advantage by it, seeing by this means, the States of *Lorrain*, would alwaies remain in the Possession of some small Prince, whose weakness alone, if he should at any time be minded to fall off from his Fidelity, would force him to continue in his duty; whereas if the daughter were admitted to a succession before any Males further removed, it would of consequence fall out, that those Females might fall into the hands of some Potent Prince, from whom his Majesty might probably receive more dis-service then service, as it happened in the case of Inheritrix of *Lorrain*, who married *Raymond*, it is apparently known to every one, of what great concern it is (without being beholding to examples) for a King to have small Princes to be his neighbours.

As to that which concerneth the Ordinances of *Orleans* and *Moulins*, which restrained all substitutions made to the fourth degree, besides the first institution, that is to say, from the Institutor, and the instituted, who succeedeth the intestate, they pretended it did not exclude *Francis* Count of *Vaudemont* from the substitution, seeing he was the fourth from *Anthony*, who was the first instituted. For this *Anthony* left his State of *Lorrain* to his son *Francis*, which *Francis* left them to his son *Charls*, and *Charls* to the late Duke *Henry* his son, who was father to *Nicole*, which *Henry* having no sons, *Francis* Count of *Vaudemont* his brother ought to be admitted to the succession, he being within the fourth degree of the Ordinances, and that reducing Liege Princes to the condition of ordinary Vassals, that which is permitted to ordinary Vassals, ought at least to be granted and allowed unto them. They likewise answered, in reply to the Treaty at *Guerrande*, that that example could not prejudice the right which *Francis* Count *de Vaudemont* had to the succession,

ſucceſſion, for that a ſingle example createth no Law, as the Lawyers ſay; becauſe particular perſons not well informed may be defective in uſing their own rights in their utmoſt extenſion of Power.

And laſtly they ſaid it was eaſie to anſwer all thoſe Allegations brought to make void the Will, and that *Reynards* own Act could not nullifie it, for that no Teſtator whatever, contradicting any one Article of his Will during his life, doth at all hinder the ſtanding good of all the reſt.

Beſides that, the Ratification made by the States two years after, did ſufficiently evince that he did not at all pretend to abrogate thoſe Lands which he had left to his ſon *Anthony*, and that it might ſafely be ſaid, he had onely deſired Letters of Naturalization from *Lewis* the twelfth, that he might make the daughters of his Son *Claudius*, capable of ſucceeding in thoſe Lands which he had left him, not that he did pretend by it to prefer them before the far remote Males; but becauſe it might happen in time, that they alone might remain to enter upon their Fathers Poſſeſſions, and in that caſe it would be needfull, that their Father were naturalized to bring them into Poſſeſſion. That the ſame thing might be ſaid, in anſwer to the Dutchies of *Guiſe* and *Aumalle*, and the Principallities of *Joinville*; as alſo of the Treaty made between King *Charls* the ninth, and *Charls* the ſecond Duke of *Lorrain*; for that there was no colour of reaſon to beleeve, that the *Meſſieurs de Guiſe*, who drew on the ſaid Treaty, would act againſt that Will which called them into the Succeſſion of *Lorrain*, by excluding of the daughters, ſeeing it had not as yet been contradicted, there not having hitherto been any daughters, who could pretend to the Succeſſion of the Dutchies of *Barr* and *Lorrain*, in excluſion of the Males, but onely Madam *Nicole*, and *Claudius* of *Lorrain*, who were then in competition. That as to the form of renunciation made by *Anne*, daughter to Duke *Anthony*, and *Chriſtian* daughter to Duke *Charls*, they could not null the Will, for that both did proteſt to be maintained in thoſe rights which did really belong to them, which thing did not however give them any right at all. Theſe anſwers ſeemed plauſible enough, whence it followed, that thoſe exceptions made againſt the Will not being conſiderable in their Judgements, they preſently concluded that the Will ought to be in its full force, and put in execution, and theſe were the reaſons alledged by both Parties; but the King could onely judge of them, as to what related to his Crown; for that he alone is Soveraign judge of all that concerneth his own intereſts, and he hath no power but God above, which can Arbitrate concerning it.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THe ſubſtitution of Soveraignties made in favour of men, ſeemeth to be ſo much the more lawfull, in regard it is conformable to the Order of Gods Providence, who hath created women onely to obey; who knoweth not that *Moſes* the Lawgiver of Gods people, whoſe Councels were inſpired by the holy Ghoſt, hath not permitted the daughters to accept of the Succeſſion, but in default of ſons. And doth not *Plato* in the ſecond book of his Laws ſay, that it is reaſonable that they ſhould fall to the neareſt of kin, ſtill obſerving this Order, The Male ſhould be preferred before the Female, and that at leaſt the Teſtator ſhould chuſe one of the Males for his next heir? *Solon* one of the wiſeſt Law-givers of Antiquity, made a Law to eſtabliſh this rule in his Commonwealth, as *Demoſthenes* teſtifies in his Oration againſt *Leocrates*: And the Law of the Athenians gave not any right of ſucceſſion to the daughters, if the ſons ſhould preſent themſelves to accept of it, as it may be ſeen in the Book of *Theodoſian*. *Euripides* giveth a good reaſon of it in his *Iphigenia*, when he ſaith, the Male children are the Pillars of houſes; that to them it belongeth to take up Arms for the good of the People, that the Sacrifices are made in their names, that it belongeth to them, to tranſact Publick affairs, and the daughters inſtead of preſerving thoſe Families into which they are born, do weaken them by dividing the inheritances of them, and carrying them into other

places. And if this priviledge of Males hath been judged heretofore reaſonable amongſt private families, it is incomparably much more in Soveraignties, where the daughters have been alwaies eſteemed uncapable by the moſt diſcreet. It is true that Liege Lords, being onely to gather the profits of their poſſeſſions are bound for the making of theſe ſubſtitutions valuable to procure the conſents of their Eſtates in whom the proptiety remains: But an abſolute Soveraign ought not to make any difficulty at all of it, becauſe it is very advantagious for them; eſpecially if it be done in the favour of thoſe whoſe greatneſſe is not to be ſuſpected. This will be a means to preſerve the Eſtate that belongs to him in the hands of a ſmall Prince, whoſe power he will never have any reaſon to fear, which is no ſmall advantage to him, whereas letting it fall into the hands of daughters who may marry with Potent Princes, they may become their Maſters, and may not onely not render that ſervice which is due by Liege men; but on the contrary, may bring ſuch troubles to them, as may oblige them ſtill to attend them as enemies, who may make a War upon him. It ſeemeth likewiſe to be without any ground, that he ſhould pretend a power to hinder them, ſeeing his right extend onely to the inveſtiture, to the Homage, to the Tribute, to the Service of War, and fidelity, in which he cannot be damaged if they are preſerved to him. Of what importance is it then, whether it be a ſon or a daughter, which payeth him his Homage Tribute, and other duties as a token of ſubmiſſion. In that caſe it ought to be indifferent, for it hath onely relation to the Liege Prince, whence it comes that every one being in a capacity to diſpoſe his rights, as ſhal beſt pleaſe himſelf, eſpecially when no one is prejudiced by it, there can be no impediment for the ſubſtituting his eſtate in the favour of the Males. Provided he alwaies oblige them to pay that that is due to their chief Lord without great reaſon no alterations ought to be made, in fundamental Cuſtomes of Countries; and as it ſeems not to be allowable in *France* to abrogate the Salique Law, which excludeth the daughters from the Crown; ſo it is very doubtfull whether it be in the Power of the States themſelves of ſome Countries, to change ſuch Cuſtomes as have been received there time out of mind for the ſucceſſions of Soveraigns.

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## *Anno* 1626.

### *The Duke of* Savoy*'s Deſign to continue the Warre againſt the Spaniards.*

WHo ſo hath at any time beheld the Sun ſhining through a black Cloud, diſſipating thoſe darkneſſes that cover the earth; diſpelling fear out of their Souls who had been affrighted with the Thunder, and rejoycing the World by the preſence of his rayes, hath ſeen the Image of that happy Peace which entred upon the beginning of this year, in concluding the Wars wherewith *Italy* and the *Valteline* were ſo much afflicted: But to go on with the proſecution of that which happned after the raiſing of the ſiege of *Verrue*, untill the concluſion of the Treaty; I muſt tell you, that after thoſe advantages obtained, the Duke of *Savoy* being ſuggeſted by thoſe happy ſucceſſes, and the Devaſtations which the Spaniards had made in his Country, deſired paſſionately to fall upon their Army which was retired to *Pand ſture*, as alſo to enter upon *Mallun*, that he might ingage the two Armies in a long War, and by that means be revenged of them. This was according to the temper of his Soul, who could not indure any quiet, but the Conſtable *de Lidiguiers*, and the Marſhal *de Crequy*, who deſired not to attempt any thing which might

might not ſort to their Maſters glory, oppoſed his deſign, repreſenting to him that there was no ſence of reaſon to aſſault the Spaniſh Army, which conſiſted of fourteen thouſand men effective, intrenched in a place very advantagious with Cannon, and where they might be releeved with all neceſſary proviſions, and that neither the ſeaſon nor condition of their forces, would conſiſt with the beſieging any place in *Milan*, without hazarding the Kings Army and Reputation. Theſe reaſons were very conſiderable, and the Conſtable without loſing any more time, and ſeeing his preſence would be needleſſe during the reſt of the Winter in *Piedmont*, withdrew himſelf towards *Granoble*, after he had put the Troops in Gariſon, under the Command of the Marquis *de Vignolles* and *Uxelles*. In the mean while, it being neceſſary to give his Majeſty an accompt of the condition of affairs, and to receive his commands, he forthwith diſpatched the Marſhal *de Crequy* towards the Court. This journey of the Marſhal did much perplex the Duke, becauſe hee doubted, that he would induce the King to Peace; as alſo, leaſt he might make complaint to his Majeſty of the little care which was had for the ſatisfaction of the Treaty of the League, and leaſt he might lay all the faults which had happened in his diſh. This moved him to reſolve upon ſending of the Prince of *Piedmont* towards him, as well to defend his Intereſt, as to perſwade the King to carry on the War in *Italy*; and having diſpatched him a few dayes after, they both arrived at Court about the beginning of *Febrnary*, where after they had entertained his Majeſty according to their own deſires, they were obliged for the better conſideration of their Propoſitions to put them down in writing; accordingly, they preſented them to his Majeſty, who aſſiſted by his Miniſters, examined them with great deliberation; and at laſt reſolved in order to that Prince his deſigns; and withall, the more to oblige him to have a greater care in performing his promiſes, hee was aſſured of having the chief command of his Army, though the effect of it was diverted by that unexpected negotiation of the *Sieur de Fargis* in *Spain*, which ended in the Treaty of *Mouſon* in *Arragon*.

*Politick Obſervation.*

HAppy is that Prince whoſe Councels in War become unprofitable by a favourable Treaty of Peace, who can doubt but that the one is the ſource of all miſeries, brings all things into neceſſities, deprives the people of their liberties, maketh the land barren, deſtroyeth the moſt glorious Pallaces, tieth up the hands of Juſtice and bringeth the Country men under the barbarous inſolency of ſouldiers; and that on the contrary, the other is acknowledged to be the Mother of Plenty, the beginning of the happineſſe of Kingdomes, and the joy of Nations, that it giveth all Liberty of Commerce and Labour, leaving to every one the power of injoying his own Goods, making Arts to flouriſh, Juſtice to Reign, and baniſhing all fear, which keepeth the mind in hell and in a continual unquietneſs, whileſt there are any troubles. It is not much more pleaſant to behold the earth, decked with its verdure, painted with all ſorts of Flowers, inriched with the diverſity of Trees, which either nature or the Labourers hand had Planted, repleniſhed with all fruits and ſpices, and flowing with Milk and Honey, then when it languiſheth by the inſufferable hardneſſes of Winter, converted into Snow and Ice, become ſtiffe and diſ-coloured, and the Land Barren, and over-flowed with Water. So much more ſatisfaction ought a wiſe Prince to receive, when Peace commeth to deliver his Subjects from thoſe miſeries into which War had precipitated them, to reſtore them the free uſe of their own Goods, to give them the means of exerciſing their own Profeſſions with quiet, to drive away neceſſity from them, to open the Ports of Trade from one Coaſt to another about their affairs, then to ſee them remain idle, and without exerciſe, in the want of the greateſt part of neceſſaries, not daring to go out of their Gates, beſiegedby War in their Towns, and ſlaughtered in their own houſes by ſickneſs and famine.

## *The Concluſion of the Treaty of* Mouſon.

FOr the better underſtanding in what manner this Treaty was concluded, It will be needfull to look a good way back and to take the firſt riſe of Affairs from Count *Olivares* the chief Miniſter of *Spain*, who finding that the Legat could not bring his buſineſs to that paſſe as was expected, reſolved to uſe his utmoſt to accommodate things in a peaceable manner, and accordingly made ſeveral overtures that way tending, to the *Sieur de Fargis*, Ambaſſador with his Catholique Majeſty, who was not wanting to give ſpeedy notice of it hither; and at the ſame time the *Marquis de Mirabel*, Ambaſſador for the Spaniard certified to the Marſhal *de Schomberg* that his Maſter deſired a Peace. Whereupon orders were ſent to the *Sieur de Fargis*, that he ſhould anſwer to ſuch overtures as had been made, that his Maſter would not be unwilling to embrace it, if it might be made upon Honorable and ſafe conditions; and he was alſo acquainted with the Kings deſiers in that particular which were reduced under three principall heads. Firſt, that the Spanjards ſhould renounce all pretenſes to the Paſſages in the *Valtoline*, next that the Soverainty of the *Valtoline* ſhould be preſerved to the *Griſons*, and laſt related to the ſafety of the Catholique Religion, he acquitted himſelf of their directions very diligently, but with ſo much heat, that after ſeveral meetings and conferences had with the Count *d'Olivarez*, they at laſt ſet down their ſeveral propoſals in writing, which being agreed upon, they were ſigned by them, though the *Sieur de Fargis*, had no power ſo to do. The *Sieur de Fargis* conceiving he had diſpatched a great affair, preſently ſent away the Treaty to the King, who was not a little ſurpriſed, as alſo his Miniſters, to find a Treaty of peace concluded by his Ambaſſador, who had no Authority for it, nor had ever ſent any word of advice about it. His Majeſty ſeemed by this precedure to be obliged to recall him, and at his return to treat him according to his deſerts: but his prudence guiding him in it, he would not preſently conclude ſo to do, but propoſed the buſineſs to be debated by his Miniſters. Many were of opinion abſolutely, to reject this pretended Treaty, not onely becauſe the Form of it was ill, but becauſe it was likewiſe an offence to the Kings Allyes, it being concluded without them; and withall, the haſte and eagerneſs which appeared in the Spaniards was a manifeſt ſign of their weakneſs, which might not be paſſed by without taking ſome advantage of it.

But the Cardinal taking hold of the diſcourſe, told his Majeſty, that prudence did not ſo much tye men up to conſider the Forms as the ſubſtances of things, and withall told him that he thought it more proper to ſtand to the conditions, of the Treatie, then to diſpute the manner of the Treatie; and how the *Sieur de Fargis* had concluded it; He confeſſed that thoſe Termes which his Majeſty had deſired, were not expreſſed with all the circumſtances and limitations, as was to be wiſhed, and yet he repreſented to him, that it was no ſmall matter to have obtained of the Spaniards, the chief points which were demanded; for they renounced the paſſages in the *Valtoline*; they were contented the Soverainty ſhould remaine in the *Griſons*, and in concluſion he freely declared, That to his apprehenſion it were not proper raſhly to reject that Treaty, for that the Spaniſh Ambaſſador had lately told the Marſhal *de Schomberg*, that in caſe there were any thing to be altered in point of form, or if any of the Articles were too harſh, it would be more proper to review and amend them, then to neglect the reuniting of the two Crowns. Then he informed his Majeſty, how that his taking up Arms was for the eſtabliſhing the *Griſons* in their Soveraignty and to preſerve the paſſages of the *Valtoline* for France, in excluding the Spaniards quite from them, and that his Majeſty obtayning both one and t'other he might both with advantage and reputation; hearken to the peace. That true it was his Allyes might complain of it, but without any ſeaſon, if once thoſe ends were obtained, for which the league was made, and withall the ſmall ſucceſſe of the Army in *Italy* made it apparent, there was little to be got by it. In ſhort, he beſeeched his Majeſty to weigh one thing of great conſideration,

ration, which was that *Rochel* not being yet reduced under his obedience, it would be an easie matter for the Spaniards to stir up the Hugonots to revolt, who finding themselves countenanced and supported by several Princes of the Court, would divert one part of his Forces, and would impede his sending of so many Forces as would be needfull on t'other side the Alps, so that instead of expecting a good issue of the wars in *Italy*, there was great fear of many dangers in it. The Prudence of this incomparable Minister, urged so many strong reasons, that they were impossible to be answered, so that his Majesty resolved to lay hold on those advantages in the Treaty and to amend what should be thought fit to it. To which purpose Orders were dispatched to the *Sieur de Fargis*, with command to induce the Count *d'Olivarez* to agree to them, and in case he should make any difficulty of it, that he himself should presently take his leave and return home, to give an accompt of his business.

The *Sieur de Fargis* having received them, on the fifteenth of *February*, addressed himself with all diligence to repair the fault which he had committed, and also in his letters to his Majesty testified a great deal of sorrow for it, which however did not with hold him from running into a second, for he concluded upon and signed another Treaty with the Count *d'Olivarez*, somewhat better indeed than the former, but not strictly conformable to his Orders and instructions, so that sending them to his Majesty, they would not be accepted of unlesse once more amended: and also his Majesty that he might take away all suspition from the *Marquis de Mirabel*, that he did approve of this manner of proceeding in his Ambassador he willed in a publique audience, that *Fargis* had been but as discreet as he was, that the first time, he did a thing of his own brave, without any authority, and that in the second he had not followed his Orders and Instructions, for which he should exemplarily be punished. But thus in the mean time both himself & the King of *Spain* did reap some benefit by his Folly, in that they might both discover one anothers minds to be without guile, and to be well enclined to peace, of which thus he might give the evidence last mooty, he should send a Treaty to his Ambassador with the least alteration that could be, and such a one as the King of *Spain*, would not make any scruple to accept of.

The Treaty was drawn up, and before it was dispatched the King gave one part of it to the Prince of *Piedmont*, and to the *Venetian* Ambassador who both having several particular designs quite different from that of the League, neither of them did approve of it, either in substance or form, and the Prince himself took his leave of the King to return into *Piedmont*. The *Marquis de Mirabel*, was informed of their resentments, who seeming to suspect an absolute breach, pressed very earnestly for a quick dispatching of the Treaty away towards *Spain*, in such manner and form as his Majesty desired it should be amended, and gave great hopes that all things would be concluded in a happy end. So the Treaty was sent away to the *Sieur de Fargis* who received it at *Barcelona*, and as his own Interests as well as those of *France* did excite him to it, so he played his part so dexterously with the Count *d'Olivarez*, that it was soon after signed and concluded between them, and antidated from the fifth of *March* at *Mouson*, to evade any complaints of Cardinal *Barbarini*, who had bin at *Barcelona*, before the Treaty was signed and had no hand in it, for fear onely of some great delayes, which he might have raised, because he had no other answer made him to those overtures of his for peace, but onely complements and thanks, & assurances that the peace was concluded. The chief Articles were, That the Affairs of the *Grisons* and the *Valtoline* should be restored into the same state, they were before the war, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventeen, preserving by this means the Soveraincy to the *Grisons*, and the absolute disposing power of the Passages to *France*, in whose actual possession they then were; that there never should any exercise of Religion be established in the *Valtoline*, but only the Roman Catholique and Apostolique, that the *Valtolines* might elect their own Governors and Magistrates, all Catholiques either of the *Grisons* or the *Valtolines*. That such elections should be confirmed by the *Grisons*, who should not however

have

have any power to refuse the Ratification of them: That all the Forts in the *Valtoline* should be restored into the Popes hands, to be forth with raised and demollished that the two Kings should proceed with all sincerity, to settle peace between such of their Allyes as had ingaged in the wars with them, and that neither of them should openly or privately give any abbetting or assistance, to the continuing of the war between them, without having first used all fair means and wayes, for the setling of a peaceable and friendly agreement. Thus were all the grounds of difference between them ended and concluded, to the great Happiness of Christendom, though by away in it self extravagant enough, and contrarie to all usual Forms.

*Politique Observation.*

IN all Treaties of great Importance. It is more material to adhere to the substances then the formalities of conditions. Formalities are indeed, necessary as means to obtain that end which is proposed, and there is great reason to rest satisfied when that same end is once obtained. What sence is there not to accept of that which is aymed at when occasion doeth present, but to leave it off to the hazard of time and Fortune, and all to finish it, with certain Ceremonies, which at last cast do not at all advantage the thing doing? The end say the Philosophers, hath this propertie, That it terminateth all motion, and so a stone resteth when once arrived at the center of the Earth, the end which the Creator of Nature hath ascribed unto it.

So the Artificer, when once he hath perfected his workmanship, forbeareth any further labour about it, and it is most certain that all causes whether natural or artificial, do prefer rest before motion, if it were not necessary to admit of Actions for the attaining that end whereunto it tendeth.

Who knoweth not that Publique peace is the end of a wise Prince, and the very thing too for which he doth attempt any war, and that he would never design war but only for the obtayning of a quiet sure rest? The sick person would never have any recourse to the Philitian, if he had no need of putting his distempered body into a good order.

And what Reason could there be for continuation of the war, when there is an overture offered for accepting of an honorable and advantageous peace? to do so were point blanck against the prescribed rule of Justice, of which both art & nature giveth us examples. Admit there be some formalities wanting in the Treaty, they ought to be considered in the order of negotiation, in the same manner, as the motions of nature, and as no one maketh any esteem of motion when as the pretended end is once obtained: So the wisest Politicians doe lay by the considerations of all formalities, when once they are arrived at that pitch which they propose to themselves.

## *The Pope is very glad of the Treaty of Peace, between* France *and* Spain.

AS soon as the Treaty was concluded, his Majesties next care was to induce his Allyes to ratifie it; The Pope was first of all acquainted with it, who was overjoyed at it, and openly declared to the *Sieur de Bethune* that he took no notice at all, of the extraordinary manner had bin used by concluding it without interessing him or letting him have a hand in it, only that he might rejoyce with the more liberty to behold the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* in Peace: I shall also add that his Holiness excused himself too, for the Resolution which he had taken of sending six housand men to *Pepenheim*, for the guarding of the Fort of *Rive*, assuring him that he had not done it, but only to vindicate the injurie which had been done him by the Spaniards, who were come to that point of Boldness as to say his Holiness favoured the *Grisons* against the *Valtolines*; as also in some sort to repell the

injurie

injurie which had been offered to the Holy Chair, when as those Forts were taken which had been guarded under his Ensignes, and that he did moreover pretend by this means to get a greater power over the Spaniards, that he might afterwards the more easily force them to accept of a reasonable Treaty. But he was much more overjoyed at the news of the last Treaty, for he heard at the same time from the *Sieur de Bethune* that his Master the King had also accepted of it, and that the Peace was by that means absolutely concluded.

### *The sending of the* Sieur de Bullion *towards the Duke of* Savoy, *to perswade him to assent to the Treaty before mentioned.*

NOw as this Agreement was the principal thing which could be desired from his Holiness, so the *Sieur de Bethune*, satisfied him with it, by representing to him, with what respects the King his Master had treated him, by his admitting the Forts should be restored into his Holinesses hands to be by him demolished. All the Princes of *Italy*, who were not entred into the league, did testifie a great deal of joy at the news of the accomodation; but it was not so with the Duke of *Savoy*, and Common-wealth of *Venice*, who upon the first hear-say of it seemed to be much discontented, for that the Treaty had been concluded without them; though in reality, they had no reason to be troubled at the foundation of it, seeing his Majesty had obtained those ends for which their Armies and Forces had been united and leagued together: But in regard the form of the Treaty was contrary to that Order which was usually observed, his Majesty resolved to send his Ambassadors to them, to recompense by some extraordinary honour, the default which might be omitted in prejudice of their right. The *Sieur de Bullion* was sent towards the Duke of *Savoy*, by reason of that credit and acquaintance which he had of a long time had with the said Duke. His Instruction consisted of three particulars, The first to induce his Highness to assent unto the Treaty of *Monson*, and to qualifie his resentments for that it had been done without him. The second was to dispose him towards a cessation of Arms, with those of *Genoa*, and to refer the business of their differences to arbitration, and lastly to treat with him, concerning the interests of his house, and withal to proffer him his Majesties assistance to raise him, to the greatest point of glory, that he could aime at. Upon the first of these three points, the *Sieur de Bullion* had orders to give his Highness to understand, that the manner of *Sieur de Fargis* his proceeding in it, had deprived his Majesty of all possible means to communicate it to his Highness, and that his Majesty having had advise upon it, was counselled to lay hold on peace, in regard of the disposition of Affairs both within and without his Kingdome, considering the small progresse the Arms of the League had made after two years time in *Italy*, and lastly for that those very things were obtain'd in the Peace, for which the League had been contrived, all which things were much more considerable then any Formalities and Punctilio's of honour. Upon the second point the *Sieur de Bullion* had expresse charge to tell his Highness, that his Majesty had so much the more willingly consented to the Treaty of Peace, that he might be capable of ending his differences with the Common-wealth of *Genoa* by arbitration, in respect his Arms had so little contributed to advance his interests as yet, and that if his Highness would be pleased to make known his pretentions, The King would embrace them very affectionately, and as his own; and would also concur with him for the procuring him all possible satisfaction and content, either by disputing the business by reason, and if need were by Arms. Upon the third point, which had no relation to any thing of the League, and yet was no inconsiderable thing neither, for that it was designed only to allay and take off from the Dukes anger and passion, that his Majesty well knowing the courage and magnanimity of this Prince, and that it was his high mind which made him esteem glory above all things, as also that eminent Titles of honour have a great influence on the Souls of those who are touched with greatness, and that it

doth bring them to that point which is pretended, commanded the *Sieur de Bullion* to humour this inclinations, and to let him know that his Majeſty had by the *Sieur de Bethune* propoſed to the Pope, to cauſe him be Crowned King of *Cyprus*, as wel in regard of the pretenſions which the houſe of *Savoy* hath upon that Kingdom, as alſo in regard of his particular valour, which was riſen to ſo high an admiration and credit in the whole World, that this Title could not with Juſtice be denied him, and that there was not any King in Chriſtendom, which would not be wel ſatisfied with the admiſſion of a Prince of his Birth and recommendation, into that degree and quality.

## *The Diſpatch of the* Sieur du Chaſteauneuf *to the Common-wealth of* Venice, *for the Affairs before-mentioned.*

THE *Sieur de Bullion* made uſe of his Reaſon with ſo much Judgement and Prudence, that he obtained all he could deſire: The Ceſſation of Arms was conſented to; and accordingly, proclaimed in *Milan*, *Genoa*, and *Piedmont*. The referring of the buſineſſe to Arbitration was well approved of, and his Highneſſe delivered a breviate of his pretenſions to the Crown of *Cyprus*, to the *Sieur de Bullion*, who aſſured he would recommend that buſineſſe particularly to his Majeſty; and told him, that moſt aſſuredly his Majeſty would be very carefull of it. On the other ſide the *Sieur de Chaſteauneuf* was at the ſame time ſent to the Common-wealth of *Venice*, to induce them to accord to the Treaty and accommodation of *Monſon*, and from thence for the ſame purpoſe to the *Griſons*, the *Valtolines*, and the *Swiſſes*. Thoſe firſt Reaſons which were given in charge to the *Sieur de Bullion*, to repreſent to the Duke of [illegible], were alſo included in his Inſtructions, and he had likewiſe particular order to ad[illegible] to the Common-wealth of *Venice*, That they had great reaſon to be well ſatisfied with the Peace, ſeeing it freed them from a chargeable War, ſubject to many accidents, and in which well they might loſe much, but gain little. And becauſe the Venetian Embaſſador declared that he did imagine the aſſurance of the Treaty to conſiſt in the keeping up of thoſe Forts in the *Valtoline*; the ſaid *Sieur de Chaſteauneuf* had Order to let them know, that ſuch a pretenſion as that was, would moſt aſſuredly have broken off the Treaty of accommodation, and that all that was to be wiſhed, was ſometimes impoſſible to be effected: Beſides that, the keeping up of the Forts would be a great charge, either in relation to the neceſſary expences, for the giving of a full ſatisfaction, or elſe for the maintaining of a ſtrong Garriſon, and who at laſt caſt too, might not peradventure be able to keep out the Spaniard, if at any time hee ſhould have a mind to enter upon them with an Army. He was alſo charged to let them perceive that the natural inclination of the *Valtolines*, was not to indure any Rule or Government, and that they would never have indured any long time together, that thoſe Forts ſhould remain in the power of a ſtranger, and that the Spaniards knowing their natures to be ſuch, would alwaies be inciting and aſſiſting them underhand to retake them; ſo that the keeping up of the Forts, would inſtead of ſecuring the Treaty, onely become an abſolute ground of troubles to the Commonwealth; as they who are neareſt ſeated to the *Valtoline*, who are in perpetual fears and jealouſies, and forced ſtill to be upon their Guard againſt the Spaniards attempts, which would put them to vaſt charges, and force them too at laſt to yeeld to reaſon. And he was commanded by his Majeſty, that he might humour the Commonwealth in its Intereſts, to tell them, that the King would willingly grant them the Paſſages of the *Valtoline* and *Griſons* for ten years, he knowing how paſſionately they deſired it; and moreover, that his Majeſty would in caſe they ſhould requeſt it, enter into a defenſive League with them.

The *Sieur de Chaſteauneuf* proſecuted theſe Inſtructions ſo luckily, that the Common-wealth was ſenſible of the honour the King had done them, in ſending to them an extraordinary Embaſſadour upon their Affairs; and left it to his Majeſty to conſider, whether all thoſe advantages which were to be wiſhed for, were compriſed

priſed in the Treaty, and that for their particulars, they thought themſelves much obliged for his proffer of a defenſive League, aſſuring the ſaid *Sieur de Chaſtauneuf*, that they ſhould be ever ready to continue thoſe teſtimonies of affection and obſervance, which they had alwaies had towards the Crown of *France*, which was as much as could be deſired from them. Then the *Sieur de Chaſtauneuf* went towards the *Griſons* and the *Valteline* in proſecution of his Embaſſy: The inſtructions which he received from his Majeſty concerning thoſe parts, was to joyn himſelf with the Marqueſſe *de Coeuvres* and to ſwear thoſe people to a ſolemn obſervation of the Treaty. The *Valtolines* made not any difficulty at all at it, but accepted of the Treaty, as alſo to pay every year unto the *Griſons*, five and twenty thouſand Crowns, which had been impoſed on them: But as for the *Griſons*, there were many meetings and Aſſemblies held amongſt them, without any reſolution; but onely in general terms they thanked his Majeſty, for his aſſiſtance, and acknowledged themſelves infinitely obliged to him. But as to the Treaty, they deſired they might ſend their Deputies towards his Majeſty to repreſent to him the difficulties which did ariſe in their acceptation of the ſaid agreement, by reaſon of the alteration of Juſtice, ſeeing the Magiſtracy and Authority, was given into the hands of the *Valtolines*. They accordingly ſent their Deputies to make their complaints, but after they were once fully informed of the Juſtice of thoſe reaſons which invited them to accept of the Treaty, ſeeing otherwiſe it would be impoſſible to preſerve the Soveraignty of the *Valteline* to them, or to defend themſelves from a perpetual War with the *Valtolines*, who being under-propped by the Spaniards, would never ſubmit to their longer government of them; as alſo that the Soveraignty of Juſtice was well payed for by a great ſum, and that themſelves too might be choſen into the Magiſtracy as well as the *Valtolines*, they did at laſt accept of it, and were content to receive the Treaty. So the *Sieur de Chaſteauneuf* continued on his journey towards *Switzerland*, for the ſatisfying of his Majeſties pleaſure, who had commanded him to induce the Cantons both Catholick and Proteſtant to accept of the Treaty, ſeeing they had not a little contributed to the recovery of the *Valteline*, by thoſe Troops which they had ſent thither, and that it were not amiſſe to ingage them in the execution of thoſe Articles of Peace, for that they might be very much aſſiſting towards the preſerving of the *Valteline* in that condition as had now been reſolved on. To the Catholiques he repreſented, that they had great reaſon to be ſatisfied with it, ſeeing the Catholique Religion was eſtabliſhed ſo firmly in the *Valteline*; and to the Proteſtants he alledged, that conſidering the Soveraignty was maintained to the *Griſons*, they had reaſon to reſt contented; accordingly, the Catholicks reſolved to ſubſcribe to it and to perſwade the *Griſons* to do the like. And the Proteſtants after ſome difficulties at firſt, being ſhortly after aſſembled at *Aran*, reſolved likewiſe to imbrace it, excepting as to what concern'd Religion, and delivered their Declaration at the ſame time to the *Sieur de Chaſteauneuf*. And thus the Treaty being accepted of all hands, that were any wayes concerned in it, there remained onely the putting it in execution.

*Politique Obſervation.*

AN Embaſſadour who is imployed to make a Treaty of Peace, is chiefly bound to repreſent to them, with whom he treateth, the great inconvenicences unto which thich they expoſe themſelves by continuation of the War. For as Intereſt is the onely riſe from whence all the motions of Princes do flow, ſo he need not doubt but that Intereſt too will lead them to any thing, if he finds a means to perſwade them that War will be prejudicial to them. He ought not to be unmindfull of letting them know, that a Prince may not either with Juſtice or Prudence make a War, but onely that he may obtain a moſt certain and advantagious Peace; as alſo that that Prince who would continue a War, after a Peace is offred to him, with thoſe two conditions annexed, is as unreaſonable as an Artificer, who after he hath given his work the beſt and moſt curious form that it is capable of, ſhould however

still continue his care and pains, to perfect it, though unable to give it any other or better form then he hath already done.

This once done, it behoveth him to tell them in words tempered both with Prudence and Courage, that the successe of War is uncertain, and that many Princes have fallen down from their great hopes and victory into misfortunes and losses: That the divine Providence hath often permitted those Princes, who are over obstinate for the continuing of Wars, to be rebuked with disgraces and shame. That the Holy Scripture giveth us a notable example of this truth in that of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, who refusing these overtures of Peace, which were made to them, by the rest of the Tribes, when they intreated them to abandon the *Gibeonites*, who had offended them, were shamefully overcome, and their Cities Pillaged; That many having given way to their Ambition to perswade them to the Conquest of their Neighbours. Have seen their own States exposed as a Prey to their particular enemies: That many things appear easie in discourse, which are difficult to be put in execution. That they are not the most generous Princes, who suffer themselves to be led on with Passion, to inlarge their Borders, but they who imploy their powers with prudence and equity; That a Prince hath glory enough, if he can but give his Subjects the means of injoying that felicity which is the end of the Politique Government; which happiness being linked with Peace, he ought not at any time to refuse the accepting of it when proffered with advantagious conditions: In fine, he will make a great impression upon their Souls to incline them to conclude a Peace, when as he shall discourse to them, that Princes who are ambitious of their neighbouring States, are like unto hunger starved appetites, who never satisfied, but desirous to devour all, do weaken and destroy their natural heat by the excesse of those meats wherewith they fill themselves; and that in the same manner it is with those, who not contented with that state and condition whereto their Birth or Fortunes had assigned them, suffer themselves to be hurried away with an insatiable desire of usurping upon others; and in fine, onely weaken and impoverish themselves, and their Subjects by a continuation of Wars, which layeth them naked to the cruelty of their enemies, inforceth them to leave their Lands untilled, squeezeth from them all their means towards the Contribution of the War, and sometimes too casteth them into rebellion, when as once they begin to be weary with the violences of the Souldiery: and adding to these misfortunes the constant attendants upon War, the want of all those good things which are so plentifully injoyed with Peace, it wil be a most efficacious means to cause them to lay down their Arms and to accept of that peace, which is so offered to them.

### *Prosecution of the History.*

IF it was a businesse of some difficulty to perswade the Allies to accept of the agreement, it was no whit lesse troublesome, to execute those Articles which had been concluded particularly for demolishing those Forts in the *Valtoline*: The two Armies could by no means be drawn off untill the Forts were slighted, which was no small charge to the two Kings as well as to his Holiness, who had carried six thousand men as far as *Milan*; whence is followed that it was treated both in *France*, *Spain*, *Rome*, *Milan* and the *Valtoline*, in what manner it should be done, and so many difficulties did arise, that it was *November* before any thing was resolved on; and the execution of it deferred untill *February* in the year one thousand six hundred twenty seven. The Treaty was to this effect, that the Forts should be restored into his Holinesse hands to be forthwith demolished; but the Pope made some difficulty of charging himself with the doing of it, and onely desired that the Forts might be delivered up into his hands, for reparation of the injury, which had been done him as he perswaded himself, when as the Marquess *de Cœuvres* took them from him, and that afterwards he would cause the Spaniards to rase them. *France* did not at all stand upon restoring them into the Popes hands, but the King would be well assured that the Pope should not deliver them over into the Spaniards

hands

hands to be by them demoliſhed, to which effect he deſired that his Holineſs would only ſend in ſo many Souldiers, that in appearance only they might ſeem to be Maſters, which his Holineſs would not be drawn to, and the Spaniards too diſſwaded him from it, as hoping that when his Holineſs ſhould have them in his abſolute power, they might find ſome way or other, to get them into theirs and ſo demoliſh them, which many amongſt them thought to be very honourable, though divers others were of a contrarie opinion, as imagining it to be a work ignoble for their Maſter, who had firſt cauſed them to be built.

## *The Final agreement for the demoliſhing of the Forts in the* Valtoline.

AFter many conteſtations off and on, the King to end all differences, gave full power to the *Sieur de Bethune* to conclude at *Rome* with the Pope and Spaniſh Ambaſſadours, any thing that was reaſonable to be do, and between them it was at laſt concluded, that the Forts ſhould be delivered into the hands of *Torquatus Conty*, who commanded the Popes Forces: that in the mean while the Kings Fortes were to quarter in ſuch places, as were not included in the depoſite, That as ſoon as ever the Forts were delivered up, they ſhould preſently demoliſh them; That the Arms, Artillerie and Ammunitions of war, which belonged to the Spaniards, ſhould be reſtored to them and that the diſcharges being granted, his Holineſs Forces, as alſo thoſe of the two Kings ſhould withdraw themſelves at the ſame time from the Valley and the Earldoms of *Bormio* and *Chiavennies*; Theſe were the principal Articles reſolved upon for execution of the Treaty, which after it was ratified by the King, the Marques *de Coeuvres* preſently trealed with *Torquatus Conty* and *Don Goncales de Cordua*, whom the Spaniards had ſent in *Ferra's* place as a man more enclined to peace, concerning the form of the redemiſe and demolition of the Forts. There were Commiſſaries likewiſe appointed for the giving in of true Inventories of the Artillerie, Ammunitions of war, victuals and the depoſit, and to make a general diſcharge which ought to be given to the Pope, upon his entrance into thoſe Forts, which had formerly been delivered to him in depoſit. Upon the fifteenth, the demolition was began, and ſo many labors came to finiſh it, that in ſix dayes it was all ended. The Marquis *de Coeuvres* gave order to the Marquis *de Tequiers* to retire with his Majeſties Forces towards *France*, and his Majeſty, for a juſt and worthy recompence of his ſervices, beſtowed in him the Honour of Marſhal *de Campo*; and thus the reſpect and reference, which the two Crowns made to the Pope, were an aſſured means for ſettling them in peace with one another.

## *The Reaſons which oblige great Princes to ſhew an extrardinary honour to the Pope.*

THere are divers Reaſons which invite great Princes to pay an extraordinary reſpect ſo the Pope. They are bound to it by duty, ſeeing as St. *Bernard* ſaith, he is the high Prieſt, the Soveraign Biſhop, the Prince of Biſhops, Heir to the Apoſtles, that he is like *Abel* in his Priority, *Noah* in his Government, *Abraham* in his Patriarch-ſhip, *Melchiſedech* in his Order, *Aaron* in his dignity, *Samuel* in the excellency of his Judgement, *St. Peter* in the Power which he received from the Son of God, ſeeing he is the cheef of Chriſtians, the Shepheard of the people, the Rod of the Mighty, the Hammer of Tyrants, the Father of Kings, the Light of the World, and the Lievtenant of God upon Earth: And who ſeeth not that all theſe eminent qualities, do make him amongſt other Potentates here below, the ſame that the Sun is in compariſon of the reſt of the Stars? And then looking on his Perſon, and beholding the Object whom he doth repreſent, which is no other than

God

God himself, ought not every one be perſwaded to treat him, withall imaginable reſpects for the love of God the Almighty Lord, who governing States by the hand of Providence, doth moſt commonly bleſſe them in that proportion, as Princes reſpect thoſe for his ſake who belong unto him. To ſpeak truth, this honouring them is a Loadſtone, which draweth down all kind of bleſſings from Heaven, which conduce to the Happineſs of Kingdomes: And if neither of the two conſiderations ſhould be potent enough, over the minds of Kings, to perſwade them to bear a great reverence to the Pope; yet in my opinion they are bound to it by a very Politick and conſiderable reaſon, which is to preſerve themſelves in Peace. For that it hath been alwaies judged neceſſary that amongſt Princes there ſhould be an Impartial chief, and a general father of Jeſus Chriſts family, who might accommodate their differences, and might by his Counſels moderate, the violence of thoſe, who make unjuſt attempts, and who might unite their Arms and Powers to defend the from the violences of its enemies.

If it ſhould ſo happen that the Pope ſhould become contemptible by the little reſpect which is rendred to him, what credit could he have, to conclude or effect ſuch things amongſt them? what eſteem could he have to end their differences. They might force him to contain himſelf within the limits of his ſpiritual juriſdiction, without medling in temporal affairs, but in the *interim*, the fire of war would often break out amongſt them, with ſuch fury that both themſelves & eſtates would be conſumed in the Flames of it: Whereas did they but receive his Counſels with reſpective honour, and admit of his perſwaſions with eſteem, his dignity would then become venerable amongſt them all, and he might with eaſe accommodate their diviſions, by his allotting to each one what belongeth juſtly unto him, he might reſtore peace to the Nations, and ſtop the courſe of all violent proceedings.

### *Articles of Peace granted to the* Rochelois.

AS Peace is the moſt ſure Foundation of the happineſſe of Kingdomes, ſo the Cardinal was not ſatisfied to have ſetled it abroad, but indeavoured the procuring it for thoſe of *Rochel*, and to eſtabliſh it in *France*, both for the greateſt good of the people, and the higheſt glory of his Majeſty that could be aimed at. Hee quickly ſet on work divers perſons of the Town, whom he had gained by opening their eyes, and who were potent enough, with ſeveral others, to perſwade them to follow the example of the reſt of their Party. So that the Deputies who had been ſent by the Aſſemblies of the Hugonots, comming to Court to preſent to his Majeſty the Ratification of the Articles of Peace, which it had pleaſed his Majeſty to accord to them the year laſt paſt, were accompanied with thoſe of *Rochel*, who came in their behalf to offer their ſubmiſſions, and to beſeech him that they might obtain the ſame grace and favour which had been granted to the reſt of that party. It is true, they did not ſo much repent for their Rebellion, as they were ſorry for thoſe inconveniences, which the Kings Army had put upon them, then commanded by the Marſhal *de Themines*, who ſucceeded the Marſhal *de Pleſſis*, and who preſſed ſo cloſe upon them, that they could not peep out, but in danger of being taken: For that they no longer had the liberty of injoying their Goods, and that all their Traffique was ſpoiled. Affliction doth at laſt open the eyes of thoſe Rebels, whom inſolency and ambition had but lately cloſed up, of which they gave aſſured proof, by thoſe earneſt intreaties which they made to his Majeſty, to forget the Rebellion of which they had been guilty. The ſame reaſons which invited his Majeſty to ſhew his Clemency to the reſt of that party, did alſo perſwade him to do the like to them of *Rochel*; as alſo the Cardinal hinted one more to him, ſomewhat powerfuller then the reſt. There had then been newly diſcovered a Combination between divers Princes and Lords of the Court as ſhall be anon declared, and amongſt others, one of their deſigns, was to ingage *Monſieur* with the Hugonots Party; ſo that if Peace had not been granted to *Rochel* as well as to the other Towns and Cities, it were the ready way to let open a door for War, and to give

those

those Rebels the more means to execute their designs by a high hand; for it were an easie matter by the means of this one City, to raise all the party. And last of all, this great Minister laid down before his Majesty, That the English (being as they were picking a quarrel with us, to which they were inclined) would upon a word speaking find *Rochel* ready to let them into *France*. These reasons of State were of great weight, and fit to be considered, of which his Majesty being sensible, he did at last grant the City of *Rochel* the favour which was desired, and the Cardinal was not a little diligent to watch that this Peace were not concluded upon such shamefull Articles, and full of baseneſſe, as formerly they had been. The King consented that the Town should be delivered into the hands of the Corporation, on condition they kept no Ships of War; that they observed those Orders for Traffique which were established in the rest of the Kingdome: That they should restore to the Ecclesiastiques all the Goods which had been taken from them: That they should suffer the Catholicks to live freely and quietly in the exercise of the Roman Catholick and Apostolick Religion, and in the injoyment of those Goods which appertained unto them: That his Majesty should leave what Garison he thought fit in Fort *Lewis*, and the Islands of *Ree* and *Oleron*, onely promising that out of his bounty and goodneſſe, he would settle such a course in it, as those of *Rochel*, might receive no trouble by it, either in their Commerce, or the injoyment of their goods. These Articles were agreed on about the beginning of *February*, and the next day the general and particular Deputies ratified and confirmed them, thinking themselves happy, for having obtained this end from his Majesties Bounty. By this years injoyment of Peace among the Hugonots, his Majesty did with the more ease detect and break the designs of those who were factiously bent, as also he assisted his Allies in *Germany*, he eased the people, and went on labouring in the means, for restoring of that happineſſe and glory, which had been so long wished for in the Kingdome. I shall onely adde, that his Majesty for the surer execution of the Treaty, sent Commissaries to *Rochel*, who were received there with great honour: Those of *Rochel* having sent their Deputies to *Surgeres*, for the establishing the exercise of Religion, and setling things into such order, that there were very great hopes of a true Obedience and long Peace, had not that people been extreamly much inured to Rebellion.

*Politique Observation.*

ALthough the Rebellions of subjects force a Prince to punish some for an example, yet prudence doth oblige him sometimes to dissemble it, and to give them peace, when as there is any fear of a greater mischief to follow, by any new revolt, which joyning their flames with the former, might endanger the putting of the whole into combustion. It could not be any weakneſs of heart, or necessity (to which as an Antient saith, the Gods themselves are obedient) will force him to it. It is no fault to fear, when as there is a just ground for it, but it is rather a great piece of prudence, and a vertue, without which there is no enjoyment of happy success in war any long time together of this. *Marcellus* heretofore gave us a good example, when as *Badius*, that he might acknowledge the favour which *Hanibal* had done him, in saving his life, and giving him back his Ransom, made the most part of the inhabitants of *Nole* revolt against the Romans in the Battle of *Cannes*. This Captain seeing the conjuncture of Affairs, did oblige him rather to allay then exasperate, used his utmost power to regain *Badius*, by assuring him, that if he would but return to *Rome*, those wounds which he had that day received, would bring him great rewards: *Badius* was much taken with the generousneſse of the Message, and *Marcellus* the more to accomplish his design, sent him a very goodly Horse, and five hundred drachma's of Silver, which did so oblige him, that he was ever after very loyal and faithfull to him, so that from that time forward he would never inflict any punishment upon those who were revolted. It was more by Prudence then by Force that the Romans became Masters of the Universe. A discreet Minister

ſter ought much rather to induce his Maſter to accommodation on ſuch occaſions, then to hazard the State in any eminent danger, by too much ſtiffeneſſe in reſolution, for the puniſhing of thoſe who are revolted, when they are upon the point of having a ſtrong aſſiſtance, by which means they may hazard the ſucceſſe of the War.

### *An Edict againſt Duels.*

IT was no ſmall happineſſe for *France* to be thus at Peace abroad, and with the Hugonots at home, but the Cardinal could not imagine it ſufficient, if not ſetled amongſt the Nobility, who were every day cutting one anothers Throats in Duels. It was impoſſible to perſwade them by any reaſons, that it was one of the greateſt parts of glory, for a wiſe man and a Chriſtian, to overcome his own emotions of anger, and to forgive his enemies. So this great Miniſter inſinuated into his Majeſty, who was already zealouſly deſirous of Juſtice: That nothing was ſo contrary to the Law of God, and the welfare of his own State, as Duels, in which there every day periſhed many of the Nobility, and which hath been alwaies known for one of the greateſt Incendiaries of *France*. It was no hard matter, to perſwade him to ſtop the further courſe of it, by the terrours of thoſe puniſhments included in an Edict againſt all ſuch, as ſhould bee found guilty of the breach of it. The Edict contained, that all ſuch as ſhould for the future fall into that crime, either challenging or challenged, ſhould be ever after deprived of all their Charges, Penſion or other gifts, notwithſtanding any letter of favour or grace, which they might procure or obtain, either by ſurmiſe or otherwaies; and that in caſe they ſhould afterwards attempt any thing againſt thoſe who ſhould be placed in their Offices, they ſhould preſently be degraded out of the Nobility, declared not to be Gentlemen, but Yeomen, and puniſhed with death. And beſides, that a third part of their Goods ſhould be confiſcated: That the perſon who carrieth a Challenge ſhould under the Penalties aboveſaid be baniſhed three whole years: That all ſuch as ſhould aſſault or fight with one another upon any occaſion, ſhould be proceeded againſt and puniſhed, as if the deſign to fight had been premeditated. That all ſuch as ſhould fight out of the Kingdome ſhould be puniſhed in their Goods during their abſence, and in their perſons after their returns in the ſame manner, as if it had been committed in *France*. And laſtly, that ſuch as ſhould take with them either a Second or Third, ſhould be puniſhed without more a do, with death: As alſo all ſuch, who ſhould the ſecond time carry any one a challenge for a Duel.

Theſe were the chief puniſhments included in the Edict, and upon the publication of it, his Majeſty took a ſolemn oath, not to ſhew any favour to thoſe who ſhould break it, and commanded his officers, that if it ſhould happen that his Majeſty, might by importunity be drawn to grant any pardons for it, they ſhould take no notice of it, and enjoyned the Marſchals of *France* to have a great care in ending any difference which might ariſe between the nobility, giving them authority, that in caſe any ſhould refuſe to give that ſatisfaction, which ſhould by them be injoyned, they ſhould preſently beſides thoſe puniſhments of impriſonment, and ſuch others as might be inflicted on them, be forth with degraded of their nobility. It was however much to be doubted, leſt thoſe, who ſhould be challenged and did not fight would be eſteemed as cowards, but to prevent that diſorder, his Majeſty did alſo by the ſame Edict declare, that ſuch refuſal to accept of any Challenge ſhould be eſteemed as a mark of courage, genèrous and prudent conduct, and deſerving to be imployed in Military commands; and hee did likewiſe promiſe by oath before God, that he would reward ſuch as ſhould forbear to accept of any ſuch challenges.

*Politique*

*Politique Obſervation.*

PRinces may not permit Duels without partaking in the Crimes of them; for who ſo hath the Authority in his hands, and maketh not uſe of it, to puniſh thoſe offences which are committed againſt the Laws, is no leſſe guilty, then they who are the abſolute Authors of ſuch miſdemeanors. The people do not only violate the Law in the perſons of their Kings; but the Kings themſelves in not puniſhing the offenders, are guilty of the ſame crime.

How unjuſt is it to leave Duels unpuniſhed, ſeeing they are condemned by the Judgment of God, when he ſaid, his Blood ſhall be ſpilt, that ſpilleth the Blood of his Neighbour. And under the new Law who ſo ſhall take the Sword in hand ſhall periſh by the Sword. I may ſafely ſay, there is not any Crime ſo enormous as this, for the man who commiteth it, taketh that Authority which God hath reſerved to himſelf, according to that ſaying of Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it. And it is not only an attempt upon Gods prerogative, but alſo one of the greateſt miſeries that a Common-wealth can be afflicted with: For as a great loſſe of Blood, extinguiſheth the vigor of our bodies, maketh our faces become pale, and rendreth nature weak and languiſhing: So likewiſe is it with Duels, which draw out the moſt couragious Blood of the nobility, in which conſiſteth the Chief ſtrength of the State, which mightily impair the force of it, exſtinguiſhing the lively colours of its beauty, and bringing it into a languiſhing condition: And if the State be injured in it, thoſe particular perſons who periſh in ſuch combats are much more expoſed to many unhappineſſes; for with the life of their bodies, they likewiſe loſe that of their Souls, by the loſſe of which the utmoſt they can hope for is to become objects of Gods Juſt vengeance, who is ſeldome wanting to puniſh even thoſe who eſcape with the victorie, with ſome notable chaſtiſement, unleſſe they pacifie him by a true repentance: For can it be otherwiſe then very diſpleaſing to him to behold his workmanſhip ſo deſtroyed, which coſt him ſo much, and to ſee ſuch Souls ruined by the enemy, which have heretofore invited him to ſhew ſuch effects of his power, and ſuch miracles of his love, and all for their ſakes?

The cauſe of this misfortune is no other then a falſe and damnable tenent, which finds wayes to perſwade men, that it is glorious to be revenged, and that to ſuffer an injurie unpuniſhed by their Swords, is a great loſſe to their Honour. But can there be any reaſon to think an Action honourable, which is ſo contrary to God's Laws? It cannot be denied but that the nobility do draw there Chief glory from their courages, but there is a great difference between this vertue of generoſity and the Paſſion of Revenge. This ſame vertue is no fury, and tranſportation of the mind, to things againſt both humane and divine Laws: But it is a vigorous reſolution; commendable in a generous Soul which maketh him deſpiſe dangers, eſpecially when his Prince commandeth him to fight againſt the enemies of the State. Valour hath it's limitation as all other vertues, and who ſo goeth beyond thoſe bounds, falleth into the extremity of vice, whence it hapened that *Ageſilaus* ſaid, according as *Plutarch* reporteth it, That valour ought not to be regarded, if not accompanied with Juſtice. Now that which is ſhewed upon private authority, is it not quite contrarie to it? Reaſon obligeth a man to overcome himſelf at private and particular quarrels, juſt as he would his enemies. In Common-wealths well governed Revenge is an Act ſavouring of a Brute. *Socrates* once anſwered a certain man who beat him, If I were an Aſſe I ſhould run upon thee too, but being a man I muſt endure it with patience. Is there any reaſon or ſenſe to fix honour upon an Action prohibited by God, and forbidden by nature? Honour would be but ill grounded, if it had any dependance, upon an unruly paſſion; it cannot be linked to any thing but vertue, and none but they who are overſwayed by paſſion do pretend to attain it, but by vertuous wayes.

## *The Condemnation of a Book compoſed by* Sanctarellus *the* Jeſuit.

WHilſt his Majeſty was uſing theſe juſt and prudent means, for the eſtabliſhing of Peace in the State, There did ariſe very great diſputes in the Univerſity of *Paris*, eſpecially between the Doctors of Divinity; and all about a certain book compoſed by a *Ieſuit*, one *Sanctarellus* by name, which treated of the power Popes had over Kings, which book had been approved by their Chief Preſident, by his Holineſs Vicegerent, and by the Maſter of the Holy Palace. His Doctrine was very ſtrange, teaching that Popes had a Power of direction, or rather correction over Princes, that they might not onely excommunicate them, but deprive them of their Kingdomes too, and abſolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, whether it were for Hereſie, Apoſtacy, or any other great publick Crime, whether it were for the inſufficiency of their perſons, or for their not defending the Church; and that his Holineſſe might at laſt give their States to ſuch as he ſhould think fit. They who were clear ſighted, attributed this work to the Spaniards Ambition, which uſeth all devices to ſtir up commotion amongſt their neighbours, and fiſh their own ends out of the troubled Waters, and who did at that time chiefly aim to draw the hatred of all Chriſtendome upon the King, by reaſon of the ſuccours which he had given to the Griſons and Hollanders, and of ſome aſſiſtance which the Princes of *Germany*, who were oppreſſed by them, did hope for from his Majeſty. Theſe tricks of theirs are ſo ordinary, that it might eaſily be concluded this in particular was ſhot out of their Bow, and that it was onely a piece forged in the Fire of their Ambition. But that we may not be longer ſtayed upon the conſideration of the promoters of ſo ſtrange an opinion. I ſhall only add, that for the preſent it made a great noyſe amongſt the Doctors, and was oppoſed by ſeveral books, which were then ſet out; and that the whole Body of divinity did condemn it; ſome indeed of the old league ſeemed to favour it; But the Parliament, which is the depoſitarie of the Kings power, that they might not let his Majeſties Authority reſt Idle, called the chief of the Society of *Ieſus* before them, and obliged them to ſign a Declaration, by which they ſhould condemn the ſaid Book, and to cauſe another of the like to be ſubſcribed by all the Provincials and Rectors, and by ſix of the moſt ancient of every one of their Colledges in *France*, and ſo ordered the ſaid Book to be burn'd by the Hangman, with prohibition to the Stationers to ſell any of them.

## *That the Kings of* France *may not be depoſed by the Pope.*

IT is very often no leſſe important to prevent the offending of the Regal Authority, by the publiſhing of any pernicious Doctrine, then to oppoſe any violences which are offered to it by Arms. In my opinion he ſpoke very learnedly, who likened this authority to the apple of the eye, which may not be touched though never ſo little, but the whole man is ſuddenly troubled and hurt by it; for to ſay truth, it can hardly be expreſſed unto how many inconveniences a State is expoſed, when once the authority is entrenched upon, or ſhaken, though it be but a very little. But would not that Magiſtrate be very much to blame, who ſhould ſuffer, that the authority of our Kings ſhould be brought under any other power, which might deſpoil them of it? Were it not the only ready way to open a gate to the revolts of Grandees, who would find means enough to embroyle the State as often as they pleaſed, if the people might but once be perſwaded that the King were guilty of any great ſin, uncapable of ruling, ſuſpected of hereſy, or a favourer of heretiques? were it not the ready way to furniſh the ambition of ſtrangers with a pretext for entring upon and invading the Nation, when and as often as they would,

would, or had power so to do? Besides, what appearance of any reason were there to tollerate so dangerous at enent, and which all the Fathers of antiquity have condemned as erroneous, & which too was but now late risen up again, in these last ages, and in the time of *Gregory* the seventh, who first attempted to make it vallid? The King never ceaseth to be King, until he be deposed by him, who first constituted him to be King, or unlesse he falls under those conditions which his first Constitutor hath declared should be the means he would use to throw him down from his authority; Our Kings are only appointed by the hand of God: He hath made use of their courages to set the Crown upon their heads, and God hath not appointed, that either Apostasie, Heresie, or any other Crime should be the condition, which should shake them out of their Authority, for that both good and bad do equally raign, as we have heretofore said, and by consequence they cannot be deposed but by God himself; nor can they be deprived of their Authority, for any crime whatever. Besides, if they could be deposed by Popes; it would necessarily follow that the Pope must be superior to them in Temporal Power, for that such deposing must needs be the Act of a superior Iurisdiction, now the Popes are so far from being above them in this particular, that rather on the contrarie the most ingenious and able writers of antiquity have confessed that they are inferior to them. Pope *Gelasius* writ to the Emperor *Anastasius*, *Polagius* the first to *Childebert*, one of our Kings, and St. *Gregory* to the Emperor *Mauritius*, and that in such expres terms that their meaning cannot be questioned; The most moderate of them who uphold this error, cannot maintain against these reasons, the power of disposing Kings, which they ascribe to the Pope; they say indeed it is not an absolute and direct power that they have, and that they do not so much excercise it in despoyling them from commanding, as in dispensing their subjects from their oathes of allegiance which they had made to them; But how frivolous is this evasion? For the Popes cannot dispense with divine right, and the obedience from subjects to their Princes is commanded by divine right in an hundred expres places of Holy writ; But I shall passe farther on, and say that it is not in the power of a King to bring himself under such a condition, as that their subjects can be discharged from their duties and oathes, by any means or way whatsoever, for they may not do any Act which is prejudicial to the Regal Authority, entrusted in their hands, but they are bound to leave it entire, not maymed to their successors. Whence it hapned that *Philip* the *Long*, intending to make a Treaty with his subjects of Flanders, granted to them for their security of his observing the league, that they might rise against him, and withdraw themselves from his obedience, if he should faile in that which did belong to him or his part, but he was hindred by those of his counsel, who represented to him, that it was unlawful for him to make any such condition.

*The subtil means which the Cardinal used to joyne the Princes of the lower* Saxony, *into a league with the Auseatique towns against the house of* Austria.

THough Peace was very necessary for *France*, yet it was no lesse needfull to prevent the rising of the house of *Austria*, in *Germanie*, which had usurped the Lands of divers Princes there and oppressed their liberties, especially since the Treaty of *Ulm*. For the same reason it was that the King of great *Brittaine* sending Count *Mansfeld* with an Army, to endeavour the restablishment of his Brother in Law the *Palatine*, his Majesty ayded him with two thousand Horse and a good summe of mony, but these Forces were not enough, to oppose those of the Emperor, but it was requisite to send more and greater; *England* would have engaged the King to have joyned in an Offensive league, and declared the war against him, but it was improbable his Majesty would hearken to such proposals, for that affairs were not in a condition fit for such an attempt, so they were rejected: But

the Prudence of *Monsieur* the Cardinal, which is never deficient in the finding out expedients fit for the greatness his Master, and did give life and heat to that designe which the Princes of *Germany*, had heretofore resolved on, of putting themselves into the field, in defence of their liberty, and for the restablishing of those, who had been forced out of their States.

The King, who hath a most admirable apprehension to Judg of those counsels which are given, quickly conceived the goodness of this, and in order thereunto he sent about the end of the year, last part, the *Sieur de la Picardiere*, to the King of *Denmark*, the Princes of the Lower *Saxany* and the Auseatique Citties; His instructions were to represent to the King of *Denmark*, and those other Princes, that the King his Master did hear with much joy their resolution to take up Arms, for the establishing of the Prince Elector and his Brothers, and to repel those menaces wherewith they were threatned, and the ancient friendship, which had alwayes kept their States in good Union, obliging his Majesty to be sollicitous, of their Interests, had induced him to send a proffer unto them, of what ever was within his power. They had beseeched his Majesty, not to engage himself in any league with *Germany*, without giving them notice of it, which he had not only order to assure them of, but also to promise them, the summe of a Million of livures in two years time, and French Troops besides. He had moreover expres order to excite them to a quick dispatch, because experience hath made it evident on a thousand occasions, that the successe of most enterprises doth usually depend upon the ready and dexterous excecuting of them, and that when as much time is taken in deliberation, the most favourable oportunities are lost by it. But these reasons were needless, for by that time that he came to them, he found them with their Arms in their hands, and the King of *Denmark* had already sent some Forces by Sea, to joyne with those of the other Princes, who began to threaten the Empeour, and forced him to send Count *Tilly* to advance towards them for the opposing of their designs; Yet he did not a little heighten their resolution, setting them on, by proposing to them what a glory it would be to them, to restablish their Allyes, and also by telling them with oportunities of advantage, they had against the Emperours Forces who were but weake, and much dispersed, by reason of the warres in *Italy* and the *Valtoline*, whereas their Army was fresh, and numerous, and all their Forces met in a Body together. He had particular order not to demand any thing in prejudice of the Catholiques, His Majesty having no other end in his intentions, but the seeking the Liberties of *Germany* and the restating of those Princes. Who had been clapt out of their States; And whereas the lower *Saxony* is composed of several Auseatique Citties, as well as Princes, which Towns and Citties were no lesse against the war, then the Princes were for it, by reason their Traffick was into *Spain*, and they much suspected, least if they should declare against the house of *Austria*, the Spaniard would then stop their Ships and break their Trade; He was commanded to visit them in his progresse, and to perswade them, to associate themselves with the Princes in the league, as also to contribute toward the maintenance of the Army, and to represent to them that in case they should refuse to joyne in the designe, they would then run a very great hazard, least the King of *Denmark* fall upon them, who had an old grudg to them, and only wanted such a pretence to be upon them, especially now that he had his Arms in his hand: and that if he should be to weak to force them, he might however easily enough ruin their Trade particularly that of *Dantzik* and *Lubec*, and of other places too by stopping up the straight of the *Zound* by which their Ships must necessarily passe, and also that of *Hambourg* and *Breme*, by building some Forts on the Rivers *Elve* and *Vezel*, which do belong unto him; That in case such a misfortune should befal them, all their Allyes, would undoubtedly abandon them; That the King of *Spain* could not assist them, he being to far off, that he had not one Ship upon that Sea, and that as for himself and the King of great *Brittaige*, they could not in consideration of the King of *Denmark*, take care or notice, to hinder the *Hollanders* from seizing on their vessels between *Calis* and *Dover*, which should make any voyadge

into

into *Spain*, which being ſo their Commerces would be for ever ruined and decayed; ſo that it would be much better for them to league themſelves with the Princes, which if he ſhould do his Majeſty would undertake their protection againſt all their enemies, and that the King of *England*, and Hollanders too would give them the ſame aſſiſtance: Theſe were the chief Inſtructions which the *Sieur de la Picardiere* received, and all which he effected with ſo great judgement and good ſucceſſe, that he he went not from them until he had ſeen their Army march into the field, and perſwaded the Anſeatique Towns, to joyn in League with the Princes. This was not a work of ſmall importance; for the reſolution of this Enterprize, was one of the chief motives which induced the Spaniards to conclude the Treaty of *Mouſon*, forced them to abandon the *Valtoline*, and to relinquiſh the deſigns, which they had in *Italy*, and leave all the reſt of the Allies of *France* remain in peace and quiet. His Majeſty teſtified to him that he was well pleaſed with his conduct and management of the buſineſſe, for carrying on to that perfection, the deſign of uniting the Anſeatique Towns and the Princes of *Germany*, and accordingly his Majeſty ſent them Troops and Forces and ſuch monies as he had ingaged to them, as alſo to keep an Army of twelve or fifteen thouſand men upon the Frontiers of *Campaign*, to ingage ſome part of the Emperours forces to ſtay in *Alſatia*, by which means he might give the more advantage to thoſe of the League, who did in the revolution of the year, make a great progreſſe by this means againſt the Emperours Armies.

## *It is the higheſt peece of Prudence to aſſault ones enemy by a third Perſon.*

IF it is advantagious for the King to ſettle a Peace at home in his own Kingdome, it will be no leſſe needfull for him to drive on ſome War among his neighbouring Princes, to the intent that they being forced to defend themſelves might be ſo prevented from attempting any thing againſt *France*. It is one of the beſt peeces of Policy for which *Lewis* the eleventh is commended in Hiſtory; for he knowing the deſigns which the Engliſh and the Duke of *Bourgogne* had contrived againſt him, did raiſe them ſo many new broyls, that he brought them to an impoſſibility of executing their wicked intenſions againſt him. Above all this one means ought to be made uſe of, when as a Soveraign doth once begin to grow ſo Potent by his Arms, that he becomes terrible by reaſon of his Victories. The ſafety of States doth conſiſt in the equality of the neighbouring Princes, and there is great reaſon of fear, if any one of them ſhall grow to be too Potent; for that Ambition which is natural to all Princes, cannot well contain it ſelf within bounds when it is once accompanied with Power.

It is the higheſt point of Wiſedome, to aſſault ones enemy by a third hand, to raiſe a League againſt him, in which one is not any thing concerned; but onely to contribute ſome monies, or ſend ſome Troops thither, which may be as occaſion ſerves diſowned; for is not this the way to obtain the end which a man doth propoſe, without any great expence, and without putting any thing in hazard or danger? An Enemy is ſometimes overcome by this way with more advantage, then if the whole force of a State had been imployed againſt him; at leaſt he will by this means be ſo buſied, that he will not have any time to think of attempting any thing on his neighbours, but rather how he may beſt defend himſelf, and yet one is not all this while forced to break with him, but preſerveth Peace in his own Country, one is at little or no charge, and the Souldiers will be ſpent who under go many great inconveniences in ſtrange Countries: The Embaſſadour who is to negotiate ſuch a Treaty, after he hath reſolved upon, and ſet down this truth for the foundation of his good ſucceſſe. That Princes have no other motives in their deſigns then their own particular Intereſt is obliged, to induce them to whom he is ſent to have a good opinion in his Audiences, and to repreſent all thoſe things and reaſons which may further and countenance the deſign which he would inſinuate and perſwade

perſwade them to. He ought to let them know, that the Peace in which a great Prince is left, doth raiſe great ſuſpicions, and ſerves to no other end, but onely to augment his Forces, and eſtabliſh his Power, that not long after he may attempt new deſigns. That many Princes have in fine been ruined by being two great Lovers of the Sweets of Peace: That it is much better to prevent an Enemy, then to ſtay in expectation of him; by which means he may be taken unprovided, and conſequently be the eaſilier ruined, whereas ſtaying for him, will give the leſſe abilities to our ſelves for our defences, by letting him take what advantages he pleaſeth againſt us: That thoſe who love quiet in an over great meaſure, do never ſubſiſt long; for it is to their enemies a moſt evident ſign of little courage, and leſſe reſolution, to repulſe any attempts which may be made upon them: That nothing is more ſhamefull then a Peace which giveth way to our enemies, to fortifie themſelves for the commencing a War, and that he who neglecteth firſt to fall on them, when he hath reaſon on his ſide, doth but adde to their Inſolences and Courages: That a falſe gloſſe of Peace, will at laſt deprave into a baſe and true ſervitude: That after all, it will be eaſie for them to vanquiſh and overcome their enemies, if they will joyn and unite their Forces; for by every ones contributing the to War, they will have a greater power, and with leſſe charge then their enemies: That it will be very honourable and glorious for them to have curbed his Ambition, whoſe Arms begin to ſtrike a terrour into all the World; and by thus inſinuating to them the glory, utility and facility of the deſign, they cannot but let themſelves be perſwaded to ingage in it with a great deal of readineſſe and affection.

### *Combinations of divers Grandees of the Court againſt the King and State.*

IT is as impoſſible long to keep *France* in quiet, as to prevent the agitation of the Sea by Winds. The humour of the French is full of Action, and they are no ſooner clear of one broyl or War, but they are deſirous of beginning another. The Cardinal had uſed his utmoſt indeavour to ſettle the Kingdome in quiet, but divers young Princes and Lords of the Court, not able to reliſh the ſweetneſſe of ſuch a Calm, did ſtill ingage it in ſome new Commotions. Peace indeed did not ſo much grate upon their humours, as the cauſe which gave it, which was nothing elſe, but the Authority with which his Majeſty diſpatched the Affairs of the Realm, and the neceſſities which he layed upon them to live within the limits of their duties: Now as they had much adoe to ſubmit after they had many years lived in an intire licentiouſneſſe, they reſolved to employ all their indeavours to ſhake off the yoke. The moſt expert amongſt them, acquainted the reſt how the Cardinal was the man, who had perſwaded his Majeſty to take this power into his own hands; whence it followed that they layed their heads together and contrived, how they might bring him into ſome diſgrace, or remove him by what means ſoever it were from the Stern. As their deſign was extravagant, ſo the wayes which they propoſed to accompliſh it were extreamly difficult. They deſpaired of doing any good upon the Kings mind towards it, for that he was too clear ſighted, not to be mindfull of thoſe ſignal advantages which he had received from the ſage advices of this great Miniſter, and too too indulgent of his States good, to deprive it of ſo prudent a ſupporter; ſo that they concluded there remained onely 2 ways, proper to attain their end. The firſt was to put all things into confuſion, & then to force the Scepter out of the Kings hand, by which means they might bring things to that paſſe, that they might have none above them, but God to Pray too. The other was to form ſo powerful a Party amongſt the Princes, that they might be able to give the Law to his Majeſty, to conſtrain him to baniſh the Cardinal, and to compel him to be ruled by their directions. This Cabal conſiſted of a great many perſons, which as it could not be done but with a multitude, ſo there wanted not ſome who ſpake very raſhly of it: There were divers reports ſpread abroad of what they intended, which were publiſhed, though whiſperingly, with a great deal of inſolency, and at the ſame time it was known

that

that a Favourite of *Buckingham's*, said openly in *England*, That there was so great a Faction contriving against the King, and carried on by *Monsieurs* Councellours, that all the Catholicks of the Queens house might be driven out without any danger, and Heretiques placed in their room, though contrary to the Articles of marriage. There were some two of the *Bourbonnois* ingaged in this Combination, who talked so openly and confidently, that notice being given of it to the King and his Ministers; it was adjudged that they intended to carry things to extremity, and that it would not be much amiss to give Commission of Enquiry to the Vice-Seneschal of the *Bourbonnois*, to make enquiry of the truth, who gave a great light of the whole matter, by his informations. It was likewise discovered that Madam *de Chemurenst* being discontented that her private intelligences with the English Embassadour were so publickly taken notice of, did not a little promote the undertakings, by her animating of *Monsieur* the Grand Prior, and *Chalais* to execute it; both which were ingaged by love to her; as also that the Colonel *de Ornano*, abusing *Monsieurs* goodnesse, and the credit which his place gave him, did absolutely divert him from the marriage which his Majesty had so earnestly desired should be celebrated.

The Cardinal on the other side having been acquainted that *Lougry* who was one of the cabal, being deeply in love with a Lady of quality; had discovered to her the summe of their design, and amongst other things had assured her, that *Chalais* was one of the chief instruments in the enterprise, he resolved to go passe away some time at *Chaillot*, in *Chalais* father in Laws house, that he might the better make use of his prudence to discover more particulars of the business. His design took effect, and as there are few things in his wish which the greatness of his prudence cannot accomplish, it is said that he found a device to learn several things from *Chalais* own mouth, and that he assured him both of his own assistance and his Majesties favour in case he should do that which was desired of him in this business of discovery. He likewise found out how the Colonel *d' Ornano*, was the Ringleader of the Plot, hurried into it by like for fear lest if *Mounsieur* should marry, his Princesse would assume to her self, those advantages which he then had over his Spirit; That their chief end was to unite all the Princes so close together that they might enforce his Majesty, not to remove any of them from the Court, and with all to permit them to live in the same licentiousness that they had a long while formerly enjoyed; That to this effect, they endeavoured the breaking of the match between *Monsieur* and *Madamoiselle de Montpensier*, and to bring on that of *Madamoiselle de Bourbon*, which would more neerly ingage *Monsieur* to their Interests; or else to perswade him to marry some other stranger Princesse, which might be a means to shelter, and defend their designs by the Forces and assistances which they might reasonably expect from such a family. That this once effected, they intended the Count *de Soissons* should marry *Madamoiselle de Montpensier*, that the Houses of *Guise* and *Bourbon* might be united together, and in this manner, they would in a moment huddle up together almost all the leading potent persons of Court. It was no small advantage for the Affairs of the State to know what end this Cabal did drive at. The Cardinal was not defective, in acknowledging the services which *Chalais* had done in that particular, and he might certainly have made very great advantages by it, had he not relapsed into former contrivances and designs.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is a very great Imprudence, to ingage in any Faction against the Prince of State, under hope of not being discovered. It cannot be denied, but most ill-doers do believe their disorders will lye concealed; For who would commit them, if he thought he should be detected? But who knoweth not, that there is a certain blindness which attendeth on sin, like a thick curtain spread over the eyes of the Soul, which obstructeth the seeing such things as are most in themselves perspicuous and

and hurrieth the mind into exceſſe of Raſhneſs? Whoſoever will ſuffer himſelf to be reduced by the Error, muſt of neceſſity be ignorant of what the Son of God hath ſaid in the Goſpel, That there is nothing hid which ſhall not be found out, nor nothing how ſecret ſoever, but time ſhall diſcover, God who over-ruleth Kingdoms, and watcheth for their conſervation, will not permit, that thoſe Plots and conſpiraces which are contrived againſt them by ſome particular perſons, ſhould remain concealed; and it oftentimes ſo fals out, That Juſtice being guided by his Providence, cauſeth the very Authour himſelf to become the diſcoverer before he be aware of it. All great ſecret is a great Burthen to the Bearer, and experience hath often ſhewed, that it is almoſt impoſſible, for a man to keep it any long time without disburthening his Breaſt of it: If perchance a man hath the power to bridle his tongue from diſcovering it, yet can he never forbear the diſcovery of it by ſome Actions, which will ſpeak it to thoſe of underſtanding. And truly it ſeems God permitteth it ſo to be for the glory of innocence, under whoſe Laws, few would enforce themſelves to live, if Treachery had diſcretion enough to conceale it ſelf.

*Ariſtole*, did judiciouſly anſwer him, who demanded what was the moſt difficult thing in the World? when he ſaid, that it was to conceal that which was not fit to be made known; ſince no man could be thought capable of keeping a ſecret, but he who could indure a burning Coal upon his Tongue. Indeed whatever is once known to three perſons, is quickly after made common to all; for that each of them having an itching deſire to ſpeak of, relateth it to his friend, and ſo from one to another it comes to be publiſhed. According to which, Hiſtory too hath recorded many wicked deſigns cloſely contrived, yet at length brought unto light.

*Plutarch* ſaith, that in the *Cyprian* War one *Ariſtocrates* chief of the Meſſenians, was the cauſe of their being cut in peeces by a notable peece of Treaſon, into which the deſire of rule had ingaged him, and that twenty years after it pleaſed God to permit his wickedneſſe to be found out, and himſelf ſeverely puniſhed; and it were needleſſe to produce any the like examples, for that Hiſtory is full of them.

## *The Marſhal of* Ornano *Arreſted at* Fountainbleau, *and carried Priſoner to the Caſtle of* Bois de Vincennes.

IT were a dangerous folly to give them who contrive againſt the State, time to execute their deſigns. Accordingly the King reſolved with advice of his Councel to ſecure the Ring-leaders of the conſpiracy, yet ſtill pretending ignorance both of the perſons and their intentions. He had been ever ſince the beginning of the Spring at *Fountainbleau*, not ſo much for his recreation, as becauſe it was eaſier to dive into the bottome of thoſe Intreagues in ſuch little Towns then at *Paris*, the vaſtneſſe and confuſion of which is ſufficient to hide and ſhelter the greateſt wickedneſſes. The whole Court attended him, and the cheef of that Faction failed not to be there. But his Majeſty needed no other witneſſe then his own eyes to diſcover their frequent meetings, nor other proofs but his own ears to convince the Marſhal *de Ornano* to be the chief of that Cabal, and of the extream Paſſion that they had to hinder *Monſieurs* match by his frequent diſcourſing with his Majeſty whole hours together upon that Subject. He was not ignorant, that Princes were jealous of no one thing more, then of their own authority, and upon that ground it was, that he principally indeavoured to incite the King, by making him beleeve, that thoſe who perſwaded him to marry *Monſieur* were not very affectionate to his ſervice, that this marriage of *Monſieur* would quickly raiſe him up Children, and as ſoon as hee ſhould have a Male, every one would conſider him as a riſing Sun, that the Grandees would forſake his Majeſty to follow him, and that he would ſoon find a power ſet up in the State, able to confront his own Anthority.

This

This Artifice was subtle, and fitted to cast a Myst before his Majesties eyes, had he not been before hand well informed of his design; and if after mature consideration of the reason, he had not concluded it of lesse consequence then the breaking of his wicked devices. His importunities the true witnesses of his excessive Passion, made his Majesty conclude that it was not safe any longer to defer the securing of his Person, and he thought it so much the more necessary, from the rule which he had learned in *Tacitus*, that for the hindering the progresse of a Conspiracy against the State, it would be needfull to make sure of the cheef; because most commonly all the others are then left with as little motion, as the Members of the body, after the head is once cut off; besides imprisoning of him, *Monsieur* too was in a manner secured; accordingly his Majesty returning from hunting upon the fourth of *May*, gave command to some Companies of his Life-guard, to beset the wayes between *Fontain-bleau* and *Paris*, to seize upon those of the Cabal, if they should indeavour to save themselves by flight; in fine, his Majesty caused him to be Arrested by the *Sieur de Hallire* Captain of his Guard, he was imprisoned in the Castle, and from thence guarded to the *Bois de Vincennes*, where a few moneths after he died of a stoppage in the Bladder.

In the mean while his Majesty, who never speaks openly any one sillable, which may be of consequence in affairs, kept close the reasons which obliged him to restrain him, neither did he shew any coldnesse in his carriage to his Complices, as well that he might prevent their running into extremities, and oblige them to quit themselves of wicked designs; as also that hee might have an opportunity to seize on *Monsieur de Vendosme*, who was suspected to be of that party, his Majesty was pleased to signifie to the Queen his Mother, that he had imprisoned him by reason of some broyls he had intended to raise between him and his Brother: *Monsieur* having notice of it, went presently to wait upon the King, who assured him of the truth of it, and told him the same reason which he had sent the Queen his Mother; to which *Monsieur* answered, that if he should be convinced of the truth of it, he would be the first that should prosecute Justice against him; but withall, that it were proper to consider whether his enemies had not made this contrivance against him; but he could not contain himself upon this occasion, as in divers others from testifying his displeasure at it.

### *Politique Observation.*

IT is expedient after the discovery of a Conspiracy, to wink at those who are guilty, for the better preventing of them, and seising on their chief instruments: The reason is, because they soon draw their necks out of the Collar, if they have the least suspicion of being detected; and sometimes so fortifie themselves, that it becomes almost impossible to hinder the execution of their intentions, or to secure their persons. *Lewis* the eleventh was very dexterious in this particular, as *Philip de Comines* relates in several places of his History, particularly in the reception he gave the Constable of *St. Paul*, when he came to him near *Noyon* in the year one thousand four hundred seventy three, he received him with so many endearments, and gave him so many fair words, that the Constable thought himself bound to beleeve him. The King dissembled for two years together, the hatred which hee bore unto him, because his other affairs did not concur with his resolution of chastising him; but at last he cut off his head, it is likewise reported, that hee would let his son *Charles* the eighth, learn any other Latine then the Proverb, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, so much did he esteem dissimulation to be a quality necessary in a Prince, which amongst private men passeth most commonly for a Vice. The wise Fowler spreadeth not his Nets for one or two Birds, but expects until the whole flight, or the greatest part of them light together, that he may take a great many at once; and so a wise Prince who would secure himself of the chief heads of a Conspiracy, knows well how to dissemble with them, till such time as occasion presents it self, that he may snap them all together, or at least those without whom

the rest are not able to attempt any thing considerable, that he may bring in practice the saying of *Seneca* the Tragedian, that hee who takes notice of a Conspiracy before the Complices bee imprisoned, looseth the occasion of punishing them.

### *The Cardinal beseecheth the King to permit his retirement from the Court.*

THE Soul of *Monsieur* the Cardinal did like the Palm undergo with Courage all those burthens which were imposed upon him, neither was he much moved at those pernicious contrivances, though he knew his own ruine was the principal which they aimed at. However to remove all pretences which his enemies might raise to asperse him; That his fortune was built upon the losse of divers men of quality, if they should be punished according to their deserts, and to take off any pretext for their making of Factions in the State, should they but arrive to the end which they proposed to themselves, he resolved to beseech the King to give him leave to retire himself from the Court. He could not be reproached for this Act without injustice, seeing the discontent of all those Factious persons was onely grounded upon the Power, Authority, and Glory, which he had acquired for his Master, and the good Order and Government which he had established in the State. Great and Noble Souls, cannot endure that Envy her self should have the least occasion to detract from their Glory; and accordingly, he testified to the whole Nation, that he did not at all consider his own Interests. Now that hee might the easilier obtain his request of with-drawing himself, and that he might the better dispose his Majesty to grant it, he entreated the King being then at *Fountainbleau*, that he would give him leave to passe away some few days at *Limours*, by reason of some indisposition, which he found growing upon him, which the King gave way to, and being there, he was visited by *Monsieur*, what resentments soever he had for the Marshal *de Ornano's* imprisonment, as also by *Monsieur* the Prince of *Condy*, whom he had perswaded the Queen Mother to *Caresse*; notwithstanding all her aversions from it, that he might ingage him in his Majesties interests, and divert him from taking part with those of the Cabal. From thence it was, that *Monsieur* the Cardinal writ to his Majesty, beseeching him, that he would be pleased to let him withdraw himself. He presented to him, that for his own part he never had any other designs in his service, then his glory and the good of his State; but was now extreamly much discontented to find the Court divided upon his occasion, and the fire of dissention ready to flame out, and all with design for his ruine. That he would little esteem his life, if imployed in his Majesties service, and for the good of his Crown; but that it could not but trouble him, to see himself basely Butchered in the midst of the Court, as it was almost impossible for him to avoid it, he being every day attended by a multitude of men, whom he knew not, and not having any one near him, who could defend him from any violence which might be offered to him, that in case his Majesties pleasure were such, that he would command him to continue neer him, and in this danger he would most gladly obey him without the least repugnancy, because there was not any thing which he would prefer before his Majesties Will. But the confidence he had that his Majesty could not take any delight to behold him, ending his dayes by such a death, to which he could not be exposed, but his Majesty must remain injured and offended; did oblige him to think good to retire himself from the Court. He added, that his want of health too which was much impaired, by that great concourse of people, with which he was dayly over-pressed; did make him beleeve, he could not long hold out in the management of Affairs, and that his Majesty had so much the more reason to grant him his request, in regard his weaknesse would in a little while make him useless in his service.

He writ to the same effect unto the Queen Mother, and begged her to imploy her power

Power with his Majesty to obtain his requests. But their Majesties were so far from having the least inclination to admit of his retirement; that on the contrary, the King openly declared, he would never give his consent to it, he being sensible enough of those great happinesses which he had procured to the Kingdom already, of that credit and esteem, which he had raised his Arms unto amongst strangers, of the submission to which he had reduced the Heretiques, of the good Order which he had established in the Treasuries, and of the great height whereunto he had advanced the Authority of his Scepter. The Queen Mother too, considering over and above these reasons which were not unknown to her what a losse it is to a State, to be deprived of a grand Minister, how usefull the Cardinal was to her Counsels and Interests, at the same instant resolved to oppose his removal, so that it was by their common advices concluded to command him, no longer to think of absenting himself, and to let him know that his services were too well known, to procure an assent for his departure; and lastly, that he need not be afflicted at the sense of those wicked designs which were contrived against him, nor at the inconveniences which he suffered in point of health, for that it were easie to remedy both one and t'other. *Monsieur* the Cardinal who prefers nothing in respect of their Majesties will and pleasure, submitted all his resolutions accordingly. The King too, that he might provide for the safety both of his life and health, assigned Guards to him, who were to wait on him every where, and defend him from any attempts of his enemies, he commanded the *Sieur de Folain*, to have an especial care, that his health were not prejudiced by the multitude of people who made addresses to him, but that entrance were onely permitted unto such as had occasion to speak with him, about some urgent Affairs. These Provisions of the King were so many certain testimonies of the good Will, which his Majesty did bear towards him, and I think that the honour he got in this Action, was more considerable then all the rest; for by it he evinced to the whole Nation, that hee was not tied to the Court; but onely for his Majesties service, and that his own particular intrests and concerns were not valued at all by him.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is impossible to prevent that the splendour of an extraordinary vertue, honoured by a Prince with a great power, should not raise up the Envy of those who have never so little Ambition in them. The Sun doth not more naturally attract divers vapours from the earth, which afterwards become Clouds and darken his light, then a grand Minister doth ordinarily see his own merit, and the greatnesse of his *Genius* draw upon him the hatred of the Grandees, that they make use of factions and divisions against him. We have elsewhere said, that Fortune was never yet seen to defend them from this infelicity, and I shal now adde that the cheef and ready way for great men to exempt themselves from the blame and the troubles which envy may stir up against them, is to manifest, that their medling in affairs of Publique concern, is free from all manner of self-interest, which may easily be done, by their desiring to withdraw themselves from the trouble of Government, to lead a private life. This moderation will stop the mouths of the most imbittered men, who after this, cannot find any thing to object against the power wherewith they are honoured, and are forced to convert their hatred into admiration. *Lucullus* finding that the glory of his Triumph, had laid him open to the hatred of some leading men in the Common-wealth, withdrew himself from the management of Publick affairs, to spend the time in studying of Arts; but he was instantly intreated by the wiser sort, not to follow his own inclinations in that particular, and at such a time, for it was not unknown, that he was only able to curb the ambition of *Pompey*. And *Augustus* (as *Suetonius* reporteth) did often desire to quit the Empire, when he found how difficult it was to deal with the people of *Rome*. The Pope *St. Gregory* the Great, in the like manner, knowing that the course of his life, did offend many persons, who could not indure that his exam-

ple ſhould oblige them to live retiredly and reſervedly, and had deſigned to chuſe another Pope in his place, he declared to them; that he for his part ſhould be very much afflicted to find any ſtorms ariſe in the Church upon his ſcore, and that he would much more willingly ſurrender the Government, then ſee any Schiſm ariſe amongſt them. But this his modeſty and humility, repreſented him ſo venerable a perſon, that thoſe very men, who did not reſent his Government, were obliged to acknowledge the greatneſſe of his worth. Laſtly, although it be commendable in a great States man to make ſhew of ſuch moderation, to the end he may ſilence that Envy to which he is expoſed; yet a King is bound to make ſome difficulty in aſſenting to his retirement, on ſuch an occaſion. No Counſel can better bee followed, then that of the wiſe man (who ſaid) he who hath found a faithfull ſervant, ought to cheriſh him like his Soul, and to eſteem him as a brother; and it cannot be denied, but that to deprive a Kingdome of the aſſiſtance and guidance of a Soul highly generous and underſtanding, were to take away the Sun from it, and to fill it with horrour and confuſion.

## *The Impriſonment of the Duke* de Vendoſm, *and the Grand Prior of* France *his Brother, at* Blois.

IT had been little to the purpoſe, barely to have impriſoned the Marſhal *de Ornano*, if ſome others too of the chief Complices had not been ſecured, and eſpecially, the Grand Prior, who was much to be feared, he being a perſon of greater abilities to carry on a deſign then all the reſt. His Brother too, the Duke of *Vendoſm* was not to be neglected, conſidering the intelligence which his Majeſty had but newly received of his indeavours, to withdraw the people from the obedience which they owe to his Crown: That he had cauſed himſelf to be called *Monſieur* the Duke without any other Title: That he had commanded this form of Prayer to be uſed in the Church, *Pro famulo tuo duce, domino noſtro*: That he had ſundry times attempted by money to corrupt the *Sieur de Cange*, then Lievtenant of the Caſtle of *Nants*: That he fels the Pulſe of the Nobility, the Parliament, and Chamber of Accompt, that he might the better fortifie himſelf in the Province; an intelligence which ought ſo much the more to be looked into, in regard two brothers do not uſually enter upon any great deſign, but by a joynt conſent; that ſome pretenſions they might have (though weak ones) upon *Britain*, and that nothing doth ſooner ingage great men in the Factions of a Court then Ambition. Now although it was very needfull to arreſt him, yet it was difficult to be done in *Brittain*, by reaſon of the great Power he held there, ſo it was thought fit to withdraw him, and ingage him to wait upon his Majeſty upon ſome pretence or other. No way was imagined to be more expedient for it, then to work upon the Grand Prior, by feeding him with hopes of the Admiralty, concerning which he was to treat with the *Sieur de Montmorancy*, or at leaſt by perſwading him that in caſe that charge were taken away, as it was then intended, he was the onely man who ſhould have the Commiſſion to diſcharge that Office.

Theſe Propoſals were made to him, with ſo much addreſſe, that they made ſure of him, and abſolutely convinced him that there was not any ſuſpicion in the leaſt of him, and the King going to *Blois*, where it was not known that he intended to paſſe on any further, his Majeſty told him how glad he ſhould be, that the Duke of *Vendoſm* would come to him, ſo hee preſently tooke upon himſelfe to goe to him, and to perſwade him to come and pay all ſignes of obedience to his Majeſty. Some have ſaid, that hee being doubtfull, leſt his Majeſty had already conceived ſome apprehenſions againſt the Duke of *Vendoſm*, did demand aſſurance for his bringing him to his Majeſty at *Blois*, and that his Prudence returned ſuch an anſwer, which though it obliged him to nothing, yet it gave the Grand Prior ſatisfaction enough to ingage the Duke to undertake the journey. I paſſe my word to you (quoth the King, as is reported) that he may come to me,

and

and that he ſhall have no more hurt done him then your ſelf, though for my part I cannot but much doubt of this particular paſſage; but true it is he went from the Court and ſhortly after brought the Duke his Brother with him to *Blois*, where his Majeſty received them with ſo many, embraces and endearments, that they could not in the leaſt ſuſpect the reſolution which was taken for ſecuring of their perſons.

Before I proceed to the manner of their being taken. I cannot but obſerve, how very neceſſary it is, that the Chief Offices of the adminiſtration, be ſupplied with perſons of courage as well as of Integrity, The King ſent for the ſeal to the Lord *Chancelor Haligie*, the very ſame day that the *Grand Prior* went to fetch the Duke of *Vendoſme*. The Honeſtie of his Miniſter was not unknown to all the world, but it could not be denied, that his mind was low and full of fear which he did ſufficiently make appear, wen as upon the taking of the Marſhal *d'Ornano*, he had not the courage to juſtifie his Majeſties counſels in that particular before *Monſieur*, although the thing it ſelf were one of the moſt important accidents, that had a long time happened for the good of the State. This paſſion of timerouſneſs, is a very improper quality in a ſupream Miniſter of Juſtice, who is bound to make head againſt all wickedneſs, and not only that, but alſo to uſe courage and force to reſiſt and overcome it; this was it which obliged his Majeſty to take the ſeal from him, and to intruſt it with the *Sieur de Marillac*, ſuperintendent of the treaſury, whoſe loyaltie was then in great credit amongſt all well affected men, and who had teſtified a great deal of reſoluteneſs in the diſpatch of thoſe affairs which preſented themſelves unto him. The ſuper-intendency was beſtowed on the *Monſieur d'Effiat*, whoſe judgment and diſcret conduct was well known in ſundry occaſions, particularly in the late affair of the Match with *England*. But that I may now return, to the two Brothers, who were come to wait on this Majeſty at *Blois*, his Majeſty being retired to his bed, ſent about two howers after mid night to find out the *Sieurs d'Hallier* and the Marquis *de Moicy*, Captains of his Guards, and commanded them to go into their Chambers, and make ſure of their perſons; accordingly they ſeized on them and it is reported that, the Duke of *Vendoſme*, beginning firſt to ſpeak ſhould ſay, looking on his Brother, well Brother, did not I tell you in *Britain*, that we ſhould be arreſted? and that the Grand Prior ſhould anſwer, would I were dead, upon condition you were ſafe there again, and then that the Duke ſhould reply. I told you the truth when I ſaid the Caſtle of *Blois* was a place fatal to Princes. They then made a thouſand excuſes, each telling the other that he was the cauſe of their impriſonment, and that they themſelves confeſſed, that they were adviſed that evening by a letter how they ſhould be impriſoned, but that they could not believe it. That whole morning, they had liberty to diſburthen their miracles by their complaints, of the misfortune in which they found themſelves imbroyled. Afterward they were carried to the Caſtle of *Amboyſe*, and thence to the *Bois de Vincennes*. This blow gave the allarum to the whole Cabal, though his Majeſty who would content himſelf with puniſhing of ſome few, pretended to be ignorant of the reſt: He alſo ſent a commiſſion to the Count *de Soiſſons*, to command during his abſence in and about *Paris*, for the ſecuring of it. It 's true he would not truſt himſelf there, but choſe rather to paſſe away, ſome little time either in *Savoy* or *Italy*. A certain Princeſs took the boldneſs to ſay unto ſome who went to viſit her that notwithſtanding the aſſurance, which the King had given to the *Grand Prior*, in behalf of his Brother the Duke of *Vendoſme*, yet that both of them were arreſted; which did clearly evince, that thoſe were near his Majeſty did perſwade him to break his promiſes; which being reported to the King, it is ſaid he was pleaſed to anſwer, that the was not well informed of the whole paſſage, and that he was not concerned to entertain ſuch diſcourſe, for that if they knew themſelves innocent, they would never have thought of demanding a ſecurity to come and wait upon him: and that who ſo doeth require an aſſurance for his attending on his Soveraign, doeth in effect condemn himſelf to be guilty, and that the promiſes which are made on ſuch an occaſion ought not to be his warrant, unleſſe they be very clear and expreſſe to that purpoſe.

*Politique*

*Politique Reflection.*

ALthough all absolute promises which are made by Kings, ought to be kept, and that even with seditious persons; yet it is not the same thing, where a divers sence may be imposed on them, or where there is an apparent good will shewed on purpose to draw them on into a snare prepared to arrest them. To punish them and hinder their troubling the repose of the Kingdom, cannot be denied for an Act of Justice, which if it cannot be done but by giving them fair hopes and good words to a muse them, then such means are to be made use of accordingly, provided alwayes, that there be no expresse promise granted unto them. King *Antigonus* having understood how that *Pitho* Governour of *Media*, did raise Souldiers, and money, to revolt against him; pretended not to believe those informations, but gave out, that he would send him an Army to command upon some exploit or other, designing that *Pitho* when he once heard how affectionately he was esteemed, would peradventure come to wait upon him; which indeed hapned accordingly, for he presently repaired to the Court, shewing himself highly pleased with the Honour which the King did him, and that he came on purpose to receive his Majesties Commands, whereas *Antigonus* finding him within his power chasticed him according to his deserts.

Pope *Leo*, made use of the self same device, to imprison *John Paul Baylloni* and to punish him for those Crimes which he had committed, and he answered those who complained of being deceived by his promises, that evil doers could not think themselves deceived; when they were chasticed for their fals, but that they were deceived, when as there were permitted to continue Scot free in their Crimes, and when their liberties and lives; of which they were unworthy were continued and granted to them. The proceeding of *Artaxerxes* King of the *Persians* towards *Artaban* is not improper to be remembred on this occasion. This Prince having understood how the other had contrived to kill him, and seize upon his Kingdom, resolved to prevent him; but he being cunning and alwayes well guarded, he had recourse to his wit. dissembled the suspition which he had against him, and that so handsomly that *Artabanus*, imagined himself to stand very right in his opinion; To compleat his designe, he gave out that he intended a certain forraign invasion, and gave him order to levy his Troops, and draw them together, which being all assembled, *Artaxerxes* desired to see them mustered in his own presence, and comming up to him in the head of his Forces, seemed to be much taken with the handsomness of his Arms, and desired to make an Exchange with him, *Artaban* finding himself obliged to put them off, forth with disarnied himself, and presented them to the King, who seeing him naked would not loose that opportunity, but fell on him, and killed him with his own hand. I know there are some *Politicians*, who are of opinion that there need not any great care be taken concerning performance of promises, nay not those which are absolute and expresse, though made by Princes in the way of assurance and security; and that it is sufficient for them to answer those who shall complain of the breach of them, as *Agesilaus* did a friend, who taxed him upon a promise, which he afterwards had found to be unreasonable. If what you demand be Just, I have promised it, but if it be unjust, I am not obliged to be as good as my word, and when he was answered that a Prince, ought to perform whatever he promiseth, yes Quoth he, and a subject ought not to request any thing of his Soveraign which is unreasonable. But for my particular I am of opinion, that a Prince is obliged inviolably to observe all expresse promises, and that it is only permited to his Ministers for Justice sake to be lesse then their words. I should rather imagine that a Prince should on such occasions make use of all violent means, rather then deludions, because Force is reputed for a vertue, when backed by authority, and nothing can be alleadged against it; whereas deceipt cannot be taken for any other thing, then a kind of mallice unbecoming the Majesty of a Soveraign.

*An*

## *The Assembly of the States at* Nantes *the King being present.*

UPon the Duke of *Vendosme's* imprisonment, it was mistrusted least divers persons, whom he had won to his Interests in *Britain* might stir up some Commotion with hopes to enforce the King to grant him his liberty; but as his Majesties presence only was sufficient, to deprive them both of the means and liberty to do so, he went to *Nantes*, and shortly after summoned all the States to meet there, where such as were any wayes suspected were not suffered to appear. The King was pleased to be personally present at their first Assembly, and the Lord keeper gave them to understand, that his Majesties design, was only to consider of what means and wayes were most proper for setling the peace of that Province, which was the principal thing there debated, and at last it was so happily concluded by the Kings Authority, and the Prudent conduct of the Marshal *de Themines*, (to whom his Majesty had committed the Government of it upon the Duke of *Vendosme's* imprisonment) that there did not any difficulties arise in it. The chief means to settle all was to disarm such as were suspected, and to deliver them to others who were known to be right and honest. To destroy some strong places, many of which belonged to the Duke of *Vendosme*, and served only to countenance a revolt. Which being thus ended, The King began to debate with the Queen Mother and his Counsellours, whether it were proper to marry *Monsieur* or not; for that was one of the main pretexts of the Cabal, who had endeavoured to possesse *Monsieur* with the opinion, That having no other liberty or freedome, he might chuse his own wife, and in that particular follow his own inclinations; but it was easie to undeceive him, by laying before him, how the liberty incident to Marriages was civil, that it is ordered by the Laws of the Kingdome, which do prohibit any Princes to marry themselves, without the Kings consent, and that he for his part could not do better then to be governed by the King, who loved him very dearly, and would undoubtedly match him, with such a person as would be most proper for him. Divers reasons were urged both of the one and t'other part, all sorts of Interests were considered with great deliberation, and all the consequences incident upon his marrying or not marrying, were examined to the full, and in conclusion the King of his own motion said, he indeed apprehended several reasons which were sufficient to take him off from any thoughts of marrying him, but with all that the Quiet of his State, seeming to oblige him to marry him, he resolved to do accordingly: That his intentions in it being good, he could not but hope Heaven would blesse it with good successe, and in case the enemies of the publique Peace should attempt to raise contrary effects out of it, that he had power enough in his hand to remedy and defend it.

It is reported, That *Monsieur* the Cardinal, did only represent to his Majesty those reasons, which might seem either to invite or dissuade the marrying of him, without inclining more to the one then to the other, as well because he knew his Majesty to be prudent enough, and not to want any advices in what did so neerly concern the power of his Authority, as also because it was a business in which his Majesty ought to follow his own will and pleasure, and was not obliged to conclude off or on but with his own satisfaction and content, it is very dangerous to second too strongly such counsels, whose effects are lyable to the changes of Fortune, and it were a great folly for a man to think himself safe and sure, of that, which is often perverted by the wickednes of some men, who by it raise advantages to themselves.

At last it being generally resolved, the Queen mother passionately desirous, that *Monsieur* should marry *Madamaiselle de Montpensier*, sent to *Madam de Guise*, to come forthwith to *Nantes*, and to bring her with her, as also she presently proposed to execute those Articles which had been so long since concluded on. This Princesse, who indeed was the richest match of *France*, had been betrothed to the late Duke of *Orleans*, in the year one thousand six hundred & eight, whilst the King

was

was then living, and the young Prince dying about the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eleven, both the King and Queen Mother, had paſs'd their words to marry her to *Monſieur* who was to ſucceed in the quality of Duke of *Orleans*. Both being now of an age fit to be married; *Madam de Guiſe* did oftentimes urge that the promiſes which had been made to her, might be performed, and *Monſieur* who had alwayes preſerved himſelf, in a total reſignation of his own to the Kings will, was the more eaſily induced to effect it, in regard of thoſe moſt excellent qualities wherewith Heaven had bleſſed both the Perſon and mind of that Princeſſe; but however, the liberty which is uſually permitted to Princes of his age, did allay the over haſty execution of it neither did his Majeſty preſſe it, untill he had diſcovered by the dangerouſneſs of the Cabal, that one of the onely means to ſtop the farther progreſs of them, was to haſten on his marriage. The King did not approve of his marrying any Forraign Princeſſe, leaſt it might prove an in-let for Factions in the State, and leaſt it might open a dore for ſtrangers to invade the Kingdome, as often as they would raiſe any diſcontents to themſelves; but he liked well of this Match with *Madamoiſelle de Montpenſier*, her Birth and vertue rendring her worthy to be admitted into the Royal family. The Queen Mother, who could not be heartily perſwaded to love *Monſieur* the Prince did not like of the Match between his Daughter *Madamoiſelle de Bourbonne*, and *Monſieur*, though the Cabal did much drive it on: Withal *Madamoiſelle de Montpenſier* being left ſole inheritrix of her whole houſe, was extreamly rich, and would very well ſerve to make up *Monſieurs* affairs, as alſo eaſe the Exchequer of great Penſions which otherwiſe muſt of neceſſity be beſtowed on him. They of the Cabal were vexed at heart, to find things ſo carried on, but they were neceſſitated to be quiet and to hold their peaces too. Shortly after, the King declared ſome part of his thoughts to *Monſieur*, who anſwered him that if it were his Majeſties pleaſure to marry him there, he ſhould totally reſign himſelf to his Majeſties will; By which and in ſeveral other occaſion, he hath alwayes ſhewed, That Heaven did with his birth infuſe into him extraordinary reſpects for the King, which had doubtleſſe inſeperably linked him to his Majeſty, had not the mallicious devices of thoſe, in whom he placed ſome confidence diverted him. *Monſieur* ſent *M. le Coigneux* his *Chancellor* to *Madam de Guiſe*, to aſſure her of his kindneſſes, and particularly of the affection which he had to conclude the Match, between himſelf and *Madamoiſelle* her daughter, and charging him afterwards to wait upon *Madamoiſelle de Montpenſier*, he commanded him to aſſure her on his behalf, that he would be a better Husband, then he had been a Servant, He was received with a great deal of Honour, both by one and t'other, and with as many teſtimonies of joy, as the modeſty of that ſex could allow of, and the next day *Madamoiſelle de Montpenſier* going to wait on the Queen Mother, the called her Daughter, and made her ſit down neer to her. To conclude, the marriage was celebrated ſoon after to the quiet and content of the whole Kingdome: And thus the King aſſiſted by the ſage counſels of *Monſieur* the Cardinal, did diſpel all thoſe ſmall contrivances which were deſigned to oppoſe it, and brought to nothing all the Cabals which divers Princes and Lords of Court had projected upon that occaſion, both with *England*, *Spain*, *Holland* and ſome places of *Italy*, with the Hugonots, nay with the very houſhold Servants of his Majeſty, and ſome of them were ſuch as had neereſt acceſſe to his perſon.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THeMarriages of Princes of the Blood ought to be contracted with a great deal of freedome, ſeeing that liberty is an eſſential part of marriage; but they ought to be mindful, that this ſame liberty doth not conſiſt in a power of marrying whom they pleace, and when & upon what terms they think fit. Liberty in general (as *Vlpian* ſaith) conſiſteth barely of a power to do what the Laws do permitt, and ſpeaking more particularly concerning Marriages, he ſaith; That theLiberty which Lawyers do allow of, can be grounded upon no other thing then the meer power, of contracting one

ones ſelf in that manner as the Laws do approve of. And the old Law allowed of none to be legitimate, but ſuch as were conformable to the Laws of the State. Civil Liberty keeps a *medium* between thoſe two extremities of ſervitude and licentiouſneſſe, and is neither one or t'other of them; for as it hath no abſolute dependance upon Slavery; ſo is it alſo limited by Laws not to do whatever it ſhall think fit; it conſiſteth in a Liberty of doing that which is juſtifiable by the Law, whence it follows, that the Princes of the Blood in *France*, being by a fundamental Law prohibited to marry without the Kings permiſſion, they are deprived of the Liberty to conclude any match upon their own heads or power. The great *St. Baſil* ſaith in the firſt letter which he writ to *Amphilochius*, that thoſe contracts which are made by them who are not maſters of themſelves, ought to be eſteemed for void, if not confirmed by the power upon which they depend. But what may bee the reaſon hereof? It cannot be ſaid that they are not voluntary, for then they could not be termed contracts, which is ſo evidently clear, that it cannot be denied; but however it is true, they are not concluded with the Civil Freedome, that is, not guided by the Law, and for that reaſon cannot be accompted valid. The reaſon of this Cuſtome is grounded upon a Maxime of Law, which ſaith, what belongeth to us cannot be taken away without our conſents, whence it followeth that thoſe who depend upon another, and who have not any thing which doth not belong to thoſe upon whom they depend have not any lawfull power to diſpoſe of themſelves, and in caſe they ſhould do it, it were only an Act of licentiouſneſſe, and is declared void by Law. Moreover, what *St. Baſil* ſaith, ſpeaking of Contracts in general; in his firſt, he doth more particularly ſet forth, concerning his marriage in his ſecond letter, when he declareth in expreſſe terms: That ſuch marriages as are made without the Authority of thoſe upon whom they depend are abſolute Fornications, of which no other reaſon can be given then this, that they who contracted themſelves did not conſent to it with a lawfull power, and that they could not diſpoſe of themſelves, in regard of their dependency upon a ſuperior Authority. He who is not maſter of himſelf, cannot give himſelf to a wife, and it will neceſſarily follow from thence, that the marriages of the Princes of the Blood of *France*, cannot be eſteemed valid, when they are not accompanied with their Kings conſents, for that they do abſolutely depend upon their Majeſties.

## *The* Sieur de Chalais *is Impriſoned.*

I Shall not put an end to this diſcourſe in onely acquainting you with the Marſhal *de Ornano*'s impriſonment, or the arreſting of the two Brothers, with their confidents *Modene* and *Deagan*; for that ſuddenly after *Tronſon* and *Sauveterre* were removed from the Court, for having contrived many devices for hindring *Monſieurs* marriage; as alſo *Marſillac* Governour of *Sommieres*, was ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Ancennis*, for having talked too boldly concerning the ſame ſubject: But as the greateſt part of all theſe deſigns were diſcovered in the proceſſe againſt *Chalais*, preſently after the finiſhing of the marriage; ſo I think it proper to treat more particularly of it. *Chalais* had the honour to be the Maſter of the Kings Wardrobe, and to be brought up from his Infancy near his Majeſty; but his Soul being over-maſtred by ambition, he every where diſcovered a great diſcontent againſt fortune, openly ſaying, that it would be needfull for him to ſeek out a more liberal Maſter then the King, if he did intend to better his own condition; it was thought that this Paſſion was that which ingaged him in the Faction then at Court, but it is true, that the love which he bore to Madam *Cheureuſe*, did no leſſe ingage him in it. The King was informed of his Intreagues from *Paris*, and though his Majeſty had pardoned him upon the aſſurances which he had given him, and *Monſieur* the Cardinal; of his future living in loyalty, yet he did not ceaſe to re-embroyl himſelf, ſo potent are thoſe two troubleſome and giddy Paſſions, and ſo great a power have they over the Souls of thoſe, whom experience hath not well inſtructed in the affairs of the world.

It was known, that upon the first imprisonment of *Monsieur de Vendosme*, hee had dispatched a Messenger from *Blois* to *Monsieur* and the Count *de Soissons*, by which he gave them intelligence quite contrary to his Majesties interest and service. The King had good reason to be offended at it, yet his Clemency carried him on to command the Cardinal onely to tell him, that he did run counter to those protestations of Fidelity which he had formerly made, that his Contrivances were better known then he was aware off, and that he should be carefull of his Actions. *Chalais* was informed at the same time by others, that the King was angry with him, and finding himself guilty, he desired to discourse with *Monsieur* the Cardinal to disguise his faults. The Commander *de Valenhay*, was the person who accompanied him to *Beau-regard*, where the Cardinal then lay, and being come thither he attempted to surprise the Prudence of that incomparable Minister, by divers devices; but *Monsieur* the Cardinal well informed of his ill deportment, advised him to beware of himself and become more faithfull to the King his Master, giving him to understand, that he was the more obliged to do so, in regard the King being well informed of his actions, gave him so much time to look back into himself, that he might not destroy him. He seemed to be very ready to withdraw himself from those imbroyls, and also took occasions to speak unto the King, whiles he was making of him ready, to assure him that he would never be defective in his duty; yet notwithstanding all this, his turbulent Soul was not able to contain it self in this resolution; for it was known, that a certain messenger sent by some one from the Cabal, was kept private in his lodging at *Tours*, while the King stayed there, and that *Louviece* who belonged to him, being one in whom he much confided, was gone upon a private message for him, these things gave reason to beleeve. That he still persisted in his first designs, and being a person of a bold nature, and ready to run into all sorts of extremities, the King was councelled to secure him at *Nants*.

*Politique Observation.*

IN concernments of State it is dangerous to rely upon the promises of those who are over-mastred either by love or ambition. These two Passions do so hurry away the Soul, so animate it with violent ebulitions and so blind it, that they prepare it for any wickedness. We have heretofore shewed what attempts ambition maketh upon the valiant, and we have evidenced that there is no sort of wickedness which it will not perswade for the attaining of its designs. And it is not more easie to verifie the same concerning lusts, which corrupteth both the mind and understanding, which beleaguereth and burneth up the heart with a bruitish heat, and which doth so alter the nature and complexion of the most temperate, when they are once ingaged by it, that there is not any unlawfulness into which it doth not transport them; it is a fatal sore from whence arise horrours, sacriledges, wars, perfidiousness, murthers, Paricides, and cruelties, untill it leads them to the acting of such things, as both Heaven and Earth do blush at the sight of. The History of *Italy*, furnisheth us with a memorable example, to evidence that there is not any abhomination whatever, into which these two Passions are not able to precipitate a man; it is in the person of *Cæsar Borgia* Cardinal *de Valence*, whose Ambition not brooking the Popes giving the charge of General of the Church Armies to the Duke of *Candy* his elder brother, an office which he himself aimed at, and who likewise was passionately enamoured of his wife; his Sister in Law, caused him one night to be assassinated, as he rid alone through *Rome*, and his body to be cast into *Tyber*. And that we may particularly look into the wicked effects of a dishonest love, Antiquity hath afforded us a notable testimony of the disorders which he is liable to, who permits himself to be blinded with this Passion, when it saith, that *Jupiter* himself the first of their reputed Gods, could not be both wise and in love at the same time. And one of the best advices which can be given to those that attempt to raise their fortunes at Court, is, that they forbear to ingage themselves

ſelves in the love of women who are factiouſly bent; for admitting them to be ingaged in any Cabal, they have ſo powerfull an Art to perſwade what they indeavour, that it is impoſſible to defend ones ſelf from them; and as they have no ſmall Paſſions, they blindly ingage themſelves in proſecution of their malice and revenge, that a man inſenſibly finds himſelf upon precipices, from whence it is impoſſible for him to get off.

## *The Cabal of* Chalais, *puniſhed by Arreſt from the Chamber of Juſtices at* Nants.

*Chalais* being once arreſted, condemned himſelf as guilty, and deſired in order to making of his peace, that he might ſpeak with *Monſieur* the Cardinal the Duke *de Belligard*, and the Marqueſſe *de Effias*, who were placed near the Cardinal. The King was adviſed of it, who commanded them to go to him: Twice they went, and the Cardinal never ſpake to him, but in hearing of the *Sieur de Belligard*. At firſt *Chalais* deſired and indeavoured to juſtifie his innocence, but finding by the Cardinals diſcourſes that his faults were but too well known, ſo that that was not the way to do his work; he afterwards freely confeſſed to him thoſe Delinquencies which could not be excuſed, he acknowledged the advice which he had given *Monſieur* upon the impriſonment of the Duke of *Vendoſme*, and the grand Prior his brother, and confeſſed that he was then of opinion, that *Monſieur* ſhould withdraw himſelf from the Court, and diſcovered ſeveral other things of concernment. But having twice abuſed the Kings Grace, his Confeſſion now avai'd him little. The King gave Commiſſion to the Lord Keeper *Marillac*, and the *Sieur de Beauclere*, Secretary of his commands, privately to inform themſelves of the whole Plot, and his Majeſty deſired that *Monſieur* would declare in their preſence, that which he had diſcovered to him in particular, after he had been ſenſible of the little juſtice and reaſon there was to ingage him in their embroils. At firſt, he made ſome ſcruple at it, but at length having conſidered of the duty which he owed his Majeſty, and how much reaſon Princes themſelves have to chaſtiſe them who ingage them by their evil councels in deſigns againſt the State, without any other motion then their particular diſcontent and private intereſt, he reſolved upon it, and diſcourſed the whole to them in the Kings preſence. That *Monſieur de Soiſſons* was the correſpondent which he had at Court to inform him of all the news that paſſed there, that *Chalais* was the *Internuncius*, that his advice had been to gain Madam *Villars*, by means of *Monſieur* the grand Prior, to the end he might make ſure of *Haure* if occaſion ſhould be, and that he ſhould indeavour to obtain the government of *Pont de l' Arche*, for the Marqueſſe *de Cœuvres*, with hopes that the grand Prior would at *Monſieurs* requeſt deliver up that place which was upon the way to *Haure*, and might ſerve for a retreat in caſe he went thither: That *Chalais* did likewiſe perſwade him to deal with the Hugonots, and to make uſe of them for a revolt in the State, and that he had lent him *Louviere* to be ſent towards the Duke *de Lavalette*, to ingage him in the buſineſſe, and to make ſure of *Metz*; in fine, that it was he who had adviſed him, that the King had ten thouſand men about *Nants* to ſtop his going from Court. This Declaration was ſigned by the King, the Queen Mother, the Lord Keeper *Marillac*, the *Sieur de Beauclere*, *Monſieur* the Cardinal, and the Marqueſs *de Effias*; inſomuch that for the chaſtiſing theſe inſolent and raſh actions the King ſet up a Chamber of Juſtice in *Nants*.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THough Clemency be one of the worthieſt Ornaments in a Soveraign, yet it is not permitted him to make uſe of it, when it is prejudicial to the publick. That gentleneſſe which is ſhewed to the Ring-leaders of a Conſpiracy, is a dangerous cruelty to the State. *Cato* was of opinion, that they who did not hinder evil-do-

ers when they might do it, by chaſtizing them, ought themſelves to be puniſhed. For that were to encourage their abettors to follow their evil examples. It is true *Ariſtotle* ſaith, The ſubjects love is the chief foundation of Royal Authority, and that they are not eaſily induced to love Kings, unleſſe upon their owne advantage. And it is very neceſſary for them to puniſh the factions, without which they would be hourly expoſed to the dangers of civil war, which are the cauſe of the greateſt misfortunes, that can afflict a State. And the ſame Philoſopher in his Morals, eſteemeth him uncapable to command, who is never angry, but affects to ſhew himſelf merciful, on all occaſions whatſoever. To ſpeak truth, a King is bound to ſhew as much ſeverity to them, whom the publique Intereſt obligeth to be chaſtiſed, as bounty to them that keep themſelf within their duties. It is the onely means, ſaith *Tacitus* in his *Annals*, to render him as well feared by the wicked, as eſteemed and honoured by the good; who receive no leſſe ſatisfaction in the puniſhment of crimes, than in the receiving of thoſe rewards, which are due to their virtue.

## *The Sentence of death paſſed againſt the* Sieur de Chalais.

THe King comitted the tryal of *Chalais* rather to a Chamber of Juſtice than any private Court not onely becauſe he would have it expedited, it being improper to be delayed, but alſo to keep private the names of his Confiderates and their deſigns, which were dangerous to be publiſhed. His Majeſty made the Lord keeper *Marillac* Preſident, and appointed for Judges the *Sieurs de Cuſſe* and *Brie* Preſidents of the Parliament of *Britain*, The *Sieurs Fouquet* Marchant, *Chriqueville* Maſter of Requeſt, and ſix Councellors of the Parliament of *Britain*. They met ſeveral times for inſtruction of the Proceſſe. *Chalais* was often times examined, and having found by diſcourſe with ſeveral people with whom he converſed, that there was full information made of all his wicked deſigns, he confeſſed not onely what was conteined in *Monſieurs* Declaration, but withal divers other things of which *Lorrain* accuſed him, and which were teſtified by *Monſieur de Bellegarde*, *Le Sieur d'Effiat*, by the Mauſt exempt, who had the charge of his perſon, and by one of the Life-guard, to all which he made no denial being brought face to face. He diſcovered the Major part of his Aſſociates, he confeſſed that he would have carried *Monſieur* from the Court, that he would have perſwaded him to take up arms, to hold Intelligence with the Governours and Hugonots, to make himſelf Maſter of *Havre*, *Metz*, and diverſe other places of the Kingdome, and withal that being once at a Council, where the grand Prior and thoſe of his faction were preſent, he propoſed to them to take the Marſhal *d'Ornano* out of priſon, to poniard the Cardinal, and then to fly into *Flanders*; thinking that this once done, they might eaſily obtain all their deſires. There were ſeveral other charges produced againſt him, and amongſt others, certain letters from the *Sieur de Moiſon* the Kings Reſident with the Counteſſe of *Hunault* in *Germany*, and of the *Sieur de Vatembourg* his Majeſties Reſident with the Emperour, by which they gave advice of the Marſhal *d'Ornano's* conſpiracy, of certain letters which *Chalais* had writ to the Dutcheſſe *de Chevreuſe* in *Beſſey*, in which there were diſcourſes to the Kings diſhonour, and alſo certain letters in characters to the ſame Lady, the Declaration of *Monſieur* the Kings Brother, and the informations of the Vice-Seneſchal *de Moulins*.

Theſe enermous crimes rendred him guilty and worthy of death, in regard he was the Kings Domeſtique Servant, and that he had the honour to be in a charge, which obliged him to be alwayes near his Majeſties perſon. Juſtice could not ſave him, and the ſeveral relapſes, which proceeded from the fierceneſſe and ambition of his Spirit, tied up the Kings Arms from mercy. So this Chamber of Juſtice condemned him to be attainted and convicted *de crymine læſæ Majeſtatis*, and to be beheaded in the *Befroy* of *Nantes*; That his head ſhould be put upon a ſpear over the

gate of *Sanvetour*, that his body should be quartered into four parts, and hung upon the four principal places of the City, that his posterity should be ignobled and of the Yeomantry; His houses raized, and that for the farther discovery of all his Abettors, he should be put on the Rack. But the Kings clemency, seconded by the affection, which he alwayes had for him, moderated the judgment, and onely commanded his head to be cut off, and that they should shew him the Rack, but not torture him.

They, who understood not, that the whole Intreague was discovered, or that there were sufficient proofs to convict him, were astonished, that he should so freely confesse those crimes, whereof he was accused, and withal some were so bold, to report, that he had confessed his crimes thus frankly, upon the Cardinals suggestian, and perswading him to believe, that it was the onely means to obtain the Kings favour, the attainment of which he gave him great cause to hope for. But there need no other proof for conviction of this lye, than the answer which *Chalais* made to the *Sieurs des Cartes & de Lourie, Councellors* of the *Parliament*, both persons of a clear reputation, and entrusted to exame him: after judgment had passed upon him; who having told him, that a report was spread abroad, that he had confessed his crimes wherewith he was charged, partly through fear and partly through hope of life, conjured him, he being now shortly to render an account of his actions before God, to discover, if it were so or not, or if he had impeached any one in prejudice to the truth and his conscience; and had no other answer from him, but that, what he had said, was truth, excepting onely, where he had in anger spoke too hardly against *Madam de Chevreuse*, who had given him no reason for it, and that he should be very wicked and senceless to discover so many horrible crimes, to clear himself and charge innocent persons, and all for the satisfaction of another mans passion. This proof was so much the more certain, in regard it proceeded from the last passages of his life, in which he testified, that he would dispose himself by a true repentance, to obtain pardon from God of his faults. There was hereupon great reason to admire the Kings clemency, seeing that he might in justice imprison and punish diverse Grandees of the Court, whom he had accused, who were no small number; but his Majesty in stead of Publishing their design was pleased to punish all their great faults in one man onely, keeping some in prison and sending *Madam de Chevreuse* into *Lorraine*, not having ground to hope that she could live in the Court and not raise new broyles.

*Politique Observation.*

ALthough it be expedient to detect the chief contrivers of a compiracy either against the Publique quiet or their Kings person, yet wise Politicians have not thought it proper, to prey too exactly into all the complices, or the plot it self, if any great number of potent leading men have ingaged in it. It being to be feared, least either their quality or number, might draw others in, or that the pretences of their design might be so specious, that many persons might be condemned here, who never knew at all the true depth of the business. It was upon this accompt, that the Senate of *Rome*, condemned *Lucius Catilina*, and *Tarquinius* for discovering that *Cæsar* and *Crassus*, were parties in *Catilines* conspiration, being by them feared, and that with reason, least a greater number who were admirers of those two eminent persons, might betake themselves to the same party. A little dissembling upon such an occasion, will be more, than the strictest Inquisition as *Pompey* made appear, upon *Sertorius* his death, for *Perpenna* having sent him a great chest full of Letters, which the *Romans* had sent to *Sertorius*, ingaging themselves in his quarrel, he would not read one of them but cast them all into the fire, fearing least instead of one *Sertorius*, twenty might spring up in *Rome*, when they should find themselves discovered; and for his part it was not his desire to force, or oblige them by violence to unite themselves together, for their own defence. Thus *Alexander*, having intercepted some of *Darius* his letters, by which he had incouraged

couraged certain *Grecians* of his own Army to kill him, was in a great doubt, whether he should suppresse or discover them, at least to those to whom they were directed; but having asked *Parmenios* advise in the business, he was counselled not to speak of it to any one whatever, because in a multitude there are never wanting some seditious persons, who only lack a head and prop, to make the wickednes of their hearts apparent, and are naturally so base-minded, that the bare report of a Faction, is ground enough to ingage them in it.

## *Certain Broyles sprung up in the Court of* England, *by the ill Counsel of some of the Queens household.*

THe Court of *France* was not the only Scean, of Factions: *England* was no lesse pestered with imbroyles by those divisions which happened between the King and Queen, but ended by the returning into *France*, all the Queens officers, though by the Articles of marriage it had been concluded, That her Majesty should be attended by officers who were French and Catholiques. But it was most certain, the English never intended long to keep them, which they sufficiently shewed, by the entertainment, given them at *Dover*, where they could hardly get meat for their mony, and soon after their arrival, they laid hold on several occasions to put what they had concluded on in execution. It is reported that some Ecclesiastiques and women, did sow jealousies and discontents between the King and Queen, which exasperated the King very much against them, whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* designed that his Wife, Sister, and Niece, might be her Bed-chamber Women, which being contrarie to the Articles of Marriage, which did prohibit any to bear office in the Queen's Family, who were not Catholiques, it was denied him; which angered him the more, in regard he had used to dispose of all affairs in *England* with a great deal of Authority: It was indeed proposed not long after to do that Honour to his Mother, who was a Catholique, and to his Wife, who was that way inclined, but he being unsatisfied with it, did from that time forward use his utmost endeavours, to foment and revenge it. But it is on the other side reported, that *Madam de Chenureuse*, discontented in the French Court, and having got a good acquaintance in *England*, blew the Coales of this division, only to be revenged; and withal that *Buckingham*, was much blamed by the Parliament of *England*, for having admitted of divers Articles in the Treaty of Marriage, which were prejudicial, to the Religion of the Country, and threatned to be called to an accompt, for a vast summe of mony, which was pretended he had diverted to his own use.

Now to satisfie the Parliament, who are of great power in *England*, he made it his business to fall upon the Catholiques, especially the Queens officers, and all that he might testifie to the Parliament, how he would conform himself to their pleasure in every thing: But he was vexed most of all when he went into *Holland*, upon some affairs, with design to passe to the Court of *France*, and the King gave the King of *England* to understand, that he did not like of the Journy; The Earle of *Holland* too, did not a little set on those divisions, for that the French, who were neer the Queen, had hindred him from being over-seer of her Majesties Revenue, and had perswaded her to bestow that place upon the Bishop of *Mende*, which exasperated him very much, so that he made use of his power both with the King, and *Buckingham*, to drive on the business to such a height, that it was at last concluded, that all her Majesties officers should be returned into *France*, which was accordingly performed, and about the beginning of August, they were forced to crosse the Sea.

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*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is Common upon the marrying of great Princeſſes with a Forraign King, to give them officers of their own Country, but it is ſeldome ſeen, that they continue any long time neer them. It cannot be avoided, but that there will jealouſies and heart burnings ariſe between them and the Natives of the Country, concerning their enjoying thoſe offices, which they believe are due to themſelves? which jealouſie doth uſually raiſe ſuch ſtorms; that their ruine is included in it: but admit, no jealouſie did ariſe, yet the meer diverſity of their language and Cuſtomes, were enough to create differences and diviſions between them; Forraign officers cannot forbear diſcourſing together in their own language, which createth ſuſpitions in thoſe who underſtand it not. By reaſon of the diverſity of their faſhions, they laugh at one another, which commonly breeds quarrels between them; and withall, let a man be never ſo complaiſant in his humour, yet there is alwayes a jealous eye upon them, that they contrive ſome thing againſt the State. Of this, there are divers examples in all times, as particularly in the raign of *Francis* the firſt, in which *Bellay* reporteth that Affairs were very much imbroyled by ſtrangers, inſtancing, the Biſhop of *Liege*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, and *Andreas Doria*; hence *Bodin* in his Commonwealth, doeth much blame the *Venetians*, for admitting of all kind of ſtrangers amongſt them, *Lypſius* obſerveth, That as when many crickets come into a houſe, it is one aſſured ſign, of their ſodaine deſtruction, ſo when a great multitude of ſtrangers ſhall live in a Nation, it is a certain Index of ſome revolution neer at hand. Indeed, they have not uſually any great deal of affection, for the Country where they live, ſo that they do not heartily embrace the Intereſts of it, and in caſe a war ſhould break out, none would be ſo ready as they to entertain intelligence and give advices to the enemies. They are alſo eaſily provoked againſt the natural inhabitants of the Country, upon any ſuſpition, that they are leſſe eſteemed by them, then others, which induceth them to ſtick cloſe together and to raiſe Factions againſt the State; withal their bodies may not be puniſhed, though there be ſome kind of reaſon for it, leaſt they ſhould generally reſent it, and raiſe up a thouſand Broyles. Theſe are the chief reaſons why it is impoſſible to preſerve a Family of Officers, Strangers in a Queens Court. This was it which did oblige thoſe of *Sparta*, as *Xenophon* reporteth it, not to ſuffer any ſtrangers to live in their Commonwealth, which made the *Athenians* take the ſame reſolution, as *Plutarch* obſerveth in the life of *Pericles*, and which made *Suetonius* commend *Auguſtus*, that he would rarely grant to any the being free or naturals of his Kingdome, and which induced *Polydore Virgil* to ſay in his Hiſtory of *England*, That it was not the cuſtome of Engliſh to admit of many ſtrangers amongſt them, leaſt the difference of their cuſtomes and faſhions, might cauſe them, not to live in a good intelligence with the natives of the Country.

## *The King ſends the Marſhal de* Baſſompierre *into* England.

THe Queen Mother, having been acquainted with the diſorder which had hapened in the Queen of *Englands* Family, firſt ſent the *Sieur de Barre* to her, to teſtifie to her that ſhe was ſorry for her and took part in her diſcontents; and ſhortly after, there being no reaſon to put up ſuch an injurie, the Cardinal adviſed his Majeſty to diſpatch the Marſhal *de Baſſompierre* as extraordinary Ambaſſador to the King of *England*, for a redreſſe in the buſineſs.

Amongſt divers others he was more particularly made choiſe of for that employment, becauſe there had been many of his near kindred retained near the Queen, who were now all ſent back again; So that it was thought conſidering the near Intereſt of his family, that he would be the more zealouſly affectionate, in diſpatching ſuch inſtructions, as ſhould from time to time be ſent to him. He was but coldly entertained in *England*, becauſe audience had been denied to the Lord

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*Montague*, who was sent into *France* upon the return of those Officers; however he was no whit discouraged, at it, knowing that any Ambassador, ought to shut his eyes, at all little difficulties and obstructions, so he may carry on his Masters work to a good issue. The King of *England* appointed Commissioners to treat with him upon that affair, who being met together, he represented to them, in order to his instructions, that amongst other things comprehended in the Articles of Marriage, it had been concluded and agreed on, That the Queen of *England* should have free excercise of her Religion, that she should have a Bishop and a certain number of Priests, to exercise the Offices of her Religion, That all her household should be Catholiques and French, and that all the English Catholiques should in general receive greater priviledges, then had been granted them, if the Treaty with *Spain* had been effected: That the late King *James*, and the present King *Charls* his son then Prince of *Wales*, had confirmed it by oath, and that King *James* had commanded his Officers, not to trouble or molest the Catholiques any more, whereupon that the King his Master, had conceived great hopes of prosperity and happiness, for the Queen his Sister, neither could he believe that the King of *England* his Brother in Law, would break his word given upon the consideration of Royal Marriage, who until then had amongst other virtues the reputation of being Just to his promises. That this new Alliance instead of reuniting their persons and Interests would now rather, breed great divisions between them; and at such a time, when they had most need of being in amity with one another, both for assisting of their Allyes, and their own particular preservation. And that notwithstanding all these premises, the King of *England* had sent back all those Officers, of the Queen, contrarie to the Treaty, which had been confirmed by oath; that he placed about her, Officers who were English, and of a Religion contrary to hers; and besides all this that the Catholiques in General, were every where troubled and ill treated for their Religion sake. So that the King his Master, unable to abandon the Queen his Sisters Interest, had sent him to his Majesty of Great *Britain*, to put him in mind of his promises, and to perswade him. That her Majesties Catholique Officers might be re-admitted to her, as also that his Catholique subjects might be more favourably dealt withal, The English Commissioners could not deny what had been concluded in the Treaty; but they would lay the fault of the Officers return, upon their own shoulders, pretending that they had raised troubles in the Kingdome, in his Majesties own Family, and that of his dear consort the Queen, but they did not produce any sufficient proofs upon the business: And as to that which concerned the English Catholiques, they pleaded, that it had only been granted for formalities sake, and to satisfie the Pope. But the Marshal producing before them the late Kings Oaths, confirmed too by another of the present King, then Prince of *Wales*, they could no longer tell what to say to the business, but fled to other complaints, not material or any wayes relating to the matter in question. The Marshal replyed and that very tartly, that he could not sufficiently admire that the Articles of Marriage, and confirmed by Oath, were not observed: That the Queens Officers were sent back, under pretence, that they troubled the State, without giving the King his Master any notice of it, and without acquainting him in the least with those crimes which were presented to be committed, That presently thereupon, English Officers and those Protestants, should be placed in their rooms, That indeed those accusations were to be esteemed as frivolous, and admitting them for just, yet ought they to be chastised only, and others French and Catholique put into their places, by the rules of the Treaty. But that indeed those pretended quarrels or Jarrs raised by the Queens French Officers, were so far from being the true cause of their return, that on the contrary, the Lord *Montague* had been at *Nantes*, not many dayes before their being sent over to congratulate the King and Queen Mother, concerning the good understanding, which was between their Majesties of Great *Britain*, and concerning the great satisfaction which the King received at the Queen his wifes behaviour. That of the suddain and unlookt for discharge of her Officers happening so immediately upon

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the neck of this joy, could not but appear ſtrange, and that as it did much wound the King of *Englands* Reputation, ſo it likewiſe injured the King his Maſter in Generoſity, who was not reſolved to put up ſuch a wrong; who after he had tried all fair means to get ſatisfaction done to him, would, if not granted, uſe all lawfull means (of what kind ſoever) to procure it. Theſe replies were ſo juſt and reſolute, that in reaſon they ſhould have produced thoſe effects which were expected. But the before recited Paſſages had ſo exaſperated *Buckingham*, that he obſtructed the procuring of that ſatisfaction, which *France* did ſo earneſtly expect.

*Politick Obſervation.*

IT is very unſeemly that a Kings Officers ſhould perſwade him to be worſe then his word, onely to ſatisfie their own Paſſions. It were the ready way to ſubjugate the glory of the Maſter, to the Will of the ſervant, and to ſuffer the leaſt Stars to eclipſe the ſplendor of the Sun, who have no light, but what they borrow from his rayes. Private affections have ever been hurtfull to publick conſultations, as *Titus Livy* recordeth, neither was his judgement to be queſtioned, when he ſaid, there are cereain Clouds which do darken the Soul, and make it like a diſtempered eye, which ſeeth all things far different from what they really are. The word of a Prince is a ſacred pledge, and his glory is linked with it. The Miniſter who is to ſee it performed, is obliged to effect it with inviolable reſpect, much leſſe, not to abuſe it for his own particular anger and Paſſion. How can it ſeem lawfull for a Miniſter to obſtruct it by ſo prophane an abuſe, when it is not permitted to a King himſelf to recede from it, though the good of his State were never ſo deeply concerned in it. Good Princes, as *Traian* ſaith, are more bound to perform what they promiſe, then to effect what themſelves deſire, ſo that it is not permitted them in a Treaty to be worſe then their words, under pretence of the publick good; or to ſay their Counſel doth imagine the contrary to be more proper, or that the neceſſity of their affairs doth require it. If once a Prince ſhould do ſo, he would ever paſſe for a Prince without Faith, which is the greateſt misfortune can betide them, and thus *Mimus Publicanus* ſaith, he who hath once forfeited his Faith, hath nothing elſe to loſe, becauſe all the Goods and Honour of a man depend thereupon. It is indeed fit to conſider of Treaties with deliberation before they are entred into, but when once a Prince ſhall have paſſed his word to obſerve them, there cannot then be any ſtarting hole to creep out at. It is a ſhamefull excuſe for them to alledge they did not think of it. *Bias* ſaith, they cannot make no lawfull excuſe, for he that loſeth the credit and glory of being eſteemed faithfull, hath a more conſiderable damage, then if he loſt the thing which he promiſed. After *Cinna* had ſent for *Marius*, he made a queſtion whether or no he ſhould receive him; but *Sertorius* underſtanding he had ſent for him, told him it would be unfit to propoſe it to him; for (quoth he) the obligation of Faith, doth not allow of the conſideration of what is once promiſed. But certainly it is a very great abuſe to the Majeſty of a King to break his Oath, for by it he doth ſeem to mock God, whom he invoketh as a witneſſe of his promiſe. *Cicero* ſaith in his Offices, that an Oath never ought to be broken, and the Egyptians puniſhed Perjury with death, becauſe they who were guilty of it, did not onely violate the worſhip of God, but broke faith which is the greateſt and ſtrongeſt tie of humane ſociety.

## *The Traffique at Sea eſtabliſhed.*

DUring all theſe civil and forraign broyls, the Cardinal was intent upon repairing thoſe loſſes which *France* had ſuſtained in the late Wars, and upon ſetling ſuch an Order in the three States, that happineſſe might ſucceed their miſeries and abundance thoſe wants which they had undergone; in this, he imitated the wiſe Phyſitian, who having recovered his Patient, maketh it his work to reſtore his former ſtrength. There onely wanted this one thing to the compleating of it. That

they upon whom the executing of his designs did depend, would lend their assisting hands to it. Now Commerce at Sea, being one of the chief Fountains of a Nations riches, he made it his first care to settle that in a safe course, which his Majesty having assented to, he gave notice of it to the Undertakers, and that he should be glad to see them enter into Companies and Partnerships; assuring them, that they should have all possible assistance from him, and that he doubted not but they might in time, receive as great advantages by it, as the Hollanders did by that which is setled amongst them, or as the Spaniards did from the Mines of *Peru*. There wanted not divers who were ready to adventure on such a design, *Montmor* in the name of one hundred others, presented to the Councel, Articles of establishment for a Company, to Traffique both into the East and West, by Sea and Land. He proffered in their behalf to raise a stock of six hundred thousand Livres, and that the moyety of the profits thereof, should ihl go towards the increasing of the said stock: That he would expend the sum of six hundred thousand Livres in building of ships and setling the ground-works of their Trade. These Proposals were very advantagious; his Majesty approved of them, and commanded the Cardinal to conclude upon the Articles with the Company. So they had divers Priviledges and Liberties granted to them, in regard of Forraign Wars, and the Wealth which followeth Traffique, as also in consideration of the accruement of power and shipping by Sea, which was no slight matter, for that the Spaniards, English, and Hollanders had become very potent at Sea, by this means, and have often thereupon fallen in upon our Coasts at their own pleasures. The Cardinal withall, perswaded his Majesty, at the same time, to lay out a great sum of money, to buy Ships both at *Amsterdam*, *Denmark*, and other places of *France*, to defend themselves from the like incursions.

*Politick Observation.*

TWo things chiefly are necessary to render a Kingdome flourishing, Government and Commerce, and as without the former it is impossible that it should long subsist, so without the latter, we find it want many things important to the life of man, and that the Nation cannot attain unto any great riches. Those Politicians have deceived themselves, who measure happinesse by vertue alone, and think that all their cares and dangers whereunto they expose themselves, are to no purpose. We are not now in those times, when men lived on Acorns dropping from Oaks, or when the Fruits of the Earth were the greatest delicacies without art or labour. Many more things are now require to entertain life then heretofore, and the neglect of Commerce were to deprive ones self of them by lazinesse. And admitting it were not so, have not sundry Philosophers used Traffique as a means to attain the experience of many excellent things. *Solon* amongst the Athenians rendred himself capable of giving Laws to his Country. *Thales* one of the Sages of *Greece*, made no difficulty to imploy part of his time therein, and *Plato* himself did the same thing to get the charges of his voyage into *Egypt*, by carrying Oyls thither to sell, that he might purchase knowledge. Withall, we live not now so much by the Commerce of Elements, as by that of Gold and Silver, those are the great Springs which move all the rest, and without them, Kingdomes can neither be Potent in War, or flourish in Peace. Politicians acknowledge them for the Sinews of War, and as for Peace, never any poor State was yet considerable, or ever came to any great height, and what brings greater riches then Commerce? *France* aboundeth in many sorts of Grain, but wanteth Gold and Silver. Now the onely means which it hath to come by it, is to send abroad to its neighbours who want many of those commodities, what it can well spare by way of Commerce, a means so powerfull, that sending onely what is superfluous, it may bring in the greatest part of their wealth.

*Monsieur*

*Monſieur the Cardinal is made by the King, grand Maſter and Super-intendent of the Traffique and Commerce of* France.

IT was neceſſary upon ſetling the Company of Trade, to appoint them a head, who might have a full power amongſt them, and whoſe reputation and knowledge might countenance their undertakings, it being moſt certain, that ſuch deſigns as are out of the common road fall to nothing, if not upheld by ſome particular favour or an extraordinary underſtanding. To the Admirals care it could not be committed, unleſſe their ſpeedy ruine had been intended, for that he aſſumed of late ſo great a power over all Traders, that inſtead of aſſiſting, he undid them. The onely difficulty was, that it being fit the head of this Company ſhould be abſolute, there would every day ariſe ſome diſputes between the Admiral and him; but the King to avoid this inconvenience, was of opinion, rather to ceaſe the Admiralty, then to break off the ſetling of Trade; for that the Admirals were no leſſe chargeable to the State then to the Merchants, they drawing at leaſt one hundred thouſand Livres out of the Treaſury every year, without any advantage by it. Hereupon the King reſolved about the beginning of the year, to take the Admiralty out of *Montmorency*'s hands, who ſeemed willing enough to part with it, by his readineſſe to treat thereupon, and in concluſion, he had a good round ſum paid him for it. This reſolution was of ſuch concernment, that without it, not onely the Trading of *France* had been quite broke, but the Kings Subjects had been lyable to dayly Inroads and Pillagings, for that of late years, above four thouſand Chriſtians, had been been made Slaves by the Turks, above one hundred Veſſels taken, ſunk, and burned, by which means a great many families were brought to Beggery.

The King too good, juſt, and generous to ſuffer ſuch injuries, which by diminiſhing his Peoples goods, did no leſſe take off from his reputation and glory, reſolved to contrive ſome remedy for it. It was ordered that the Admiralty ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and that a chief, grand Maſter, and ſuper-intendent of Commerce of *France* ſhould be ſet up inſtead of it, endowing him with full power to execute the Office of Admiral, in ſuch caſes as might advantage the benefit of Trade, or the Kingdom, and cutting off all other power which might prejudice either of them. There was now onely wanting a perſon of quality to execute this charge who ought to be reſolute and clear from all private Intereſt, in regard of honour, or the publick good. The Cardinal had made it apparent that theſe qualifications are eminent in himſelf, ſo his Majeſty made choice of him, who accepted of it, but in receiving the Office, he would not take thoſe Allowances and Pays which had formerly been due to the Admiralty, for that his Majeſty had ſuppreſſed that Office, partly to ſave the expence of it, ſo that inſtead of contracting any charge in this new Office, his Majeſty ſaved above one hundred thouſand Livres *per annum*, heretofore aſſigned to the Admiralty, beſides he had now the power of commanding his Fleets whereſoever he pleaſed, but before the command of them was annexed to the Admirals, though they were not indued with qualifications neceſſary for ſuch a charge, and which is moſt to be obſerved, that though the Cardinal might as eaſily have obtained the Office of Admiral, and executed it with the ſame advantage for the King, the benefit of *France*, and Trade, as that of ſuper-intendent of the Sea, yet he waved that honour and contented himſelf with the means to ſerve him in a condition leſſe honourable, and leſſe ſubject to emulation.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is great diſcretion in a Miniſter to wave thoſe Titles, which onely ſerve by reaſon of their noiſe, to expoſe him unto Envy. They are but low Souls which affect ayry Titles, neither do they conſider how that by ambition they do provoke

Fortune, and instead of making their authority respected, they do most commonly render themselves ridiculous in the eyes of all wise men. Modesty is the thing which makes greatness honoured, whereas ostentation offending every one, atracts the hatred of all the World, and becomes insupportable. Who so is advanced to any eminent pitch of Honour ought to imitate great Rivers, which glide a long, with little murmuring, though great profit to the people; whereas torrents being lesse profitable do perpetually vex the head with their noise. Great men ought more especially to shun such titles of Honour, as may render them odious. *Scipio Affricanus*, a man who wanted neither courage nor discretion, gave us a notable example of this particular, as *Titus Livy* hath observed, when as the Spaniards called him King, and he refused that little, which he knew would be dis-relished by the Commonwealth, and told them that that of General of the Army was the greatest Honour, he did aspire to, That having indeed a royall soul he should not much take it amisse if they thought him worthy of that Honour; but he beseeched them to forbear the other, least that might breed a jealousie upon his Person.

Did not *Augustus* in the same manner testifie a great deal of Prudence, when in taking upon him the Emperial Crown, he refused to be called Emperours, and contented himself with the name of Prince, which could not exasperate the Roman people, it being a name in use amongst them, and a fashion to create a Prince of the Senate? his discretion told him, That the Romans would easilier undergo slavery it self, then the name of it: and therefore he would prudently sweeten the displeasure which they might apprehend at their being brought under his command by a Title full of modesty, He also aimed at the names of Consul, Father of his Country, Tribune, and High Priests, only because the people did not mislike them, designing rather to add a new power to an old Title, then to assume upon himself such odious qualifications as would only render his power feared and redoubted.

## *An Assembly at* Paris, *to redress disorders of State.*

THe setlement of Trade was sufficient to bring great profit to the Kingdom, but it was likewise necessary, to use divers other means, for the raising of it to it's height and greatness. The King had long before concluded on it, but finding himself unfurnished of a Minister, to put it in execution, the affairs had still continued in some lameness, until at last seeing himself assisted by the Cardinal he resolved to assemble the Chief Officers of his Kingdom, especially those who had acquired most experience and shewed best conduct in affairs. And for the better resolving upon the means, he appointed them to attend him a *Paris*, where being met together, his Majesty himself opened the reasons of their Assembling, upon the second of *December* in the *Thuilleries*; He was pleased to tell them, That he had called them together to provide some remedies against the disorders of the State, and that the Lord Chancellor should farther acquaint them with the rest of his desires; and the Lord Chancellor beginning his speech, represented to them, the great disorders that had crept into the Kingdom, whilst the King was imployed abroad to repel his enemies, and the great expences he was at for the keeping up of his Armies: and then told them that his Majesty was resolved for the establishing of the Kingdom in its ancient splendour, to employ powerful redresses, and so to regulate his Treasuries, that there might alwayes be a sufficient foundation to supply the occasions of the State, without being forced to overcharge the people as of late: He gave them to understand, that the King was contriving to lessen the expences of his house, and even those which he was at for the paying of several Garrisons in places of no importance which he was resolved to dismantle: To settle Trade with all possible advantages, for the enriching of his subjects: So to govern his Souldiers both in garrison and the field, that his subjects might be no more oppressed; upon which it chiefly was, that his Majesty had desired their advices. When he had concluded, the Cadinal made a most excellent speech, in which his eloquence was no lesse to be admired at then his prudence. He laid before that

Illustrious

Illuſtrious Aſſembly, how viſibly God had made uſe of his Majeſty to atchieve that in a little time for the publique good, which many thought impoſſible to have been effected in an age. He gave them to underſtand, that as there had been great charges and expences, ſo the King and Queen had received very great advantages by it, in relation to that Honour and Glory which is due to them; and that if any good ſucceſſe had at any time happened, it was only the dawning of thoſe reſolutions which his Majeſty had taken, for the eaſing of his people, and reſtating the Kingdom in its former Splendor. That as only God can make ſomething out of nothing, ſo it was neceſſary to lay a good foundation in the Treaſury, and to that end, to cut off from the extravagant expenſes, and add to the receipts, or indeed to do both at once. He ſhewed them, how that every one, regarding the advancement of his own private Intereſt, it might poſſibly provoke ſome to anger, if their expences were moderated; but he added withal, that no one could juſtly complain at it, ſince nothing was to be preferred before the Publique good, and that the King and Queen Mother, were both reſolved to give a good example, by contracting the expences of their families.

He told them, that if in great tempeſts there was ſometimes a neceſſary to part with the goods, to eaſe the veſſel and defend her from ſhipwrack, prudence did direct the like thing in a State; Which ought not to be caſt away for the preſervation of any ones particular good, and that they themſelves were bound in reaſon to conform themſelves to the reſolution thereof, for that it is impoſſible private and particular mens plenty and Riches, ſhould long laſt, when the State is poor and needy, in fine, he told them, that ſetling a good government in the Affairs and Treaſuries, they would in a very few years find, both the King and Kingdom raiſed to a greater pitch of glory, then ever it had formerly been, but he added, it would not be ſo neceſſary to order ſuch things unleſſe they were really put in execution; That the glory of ſetling the Nation being reſerved for his Majeſty, they who were deputies ought to eſteem it a great Honour done them, in that he gave them part of it, and that for his own particular, he ſhould eſteem himſelf moſt happy to dye in the proſecution of ſo glorious a deſign.

After this firſt overture, the King ſent divers propoſals to the Aſſembly by his Solicitor General, upon all which ſuch courſes were reſolved, as were thought moſt neceſſary for the ſetlement of the State. But it was firſt of all concluded, what order ſhould be obſerved in the levying of men, as alſo for the maintaining of them, in ſuch order, that the Country man might not be injured by them. It was thought fit to keep two Armies in readineſs of between eighteen and twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand Horſe, as well to ſecure the Publique Peace, as to ſupport the Kings Authority, and alſo to keep Forreigners in a due reſpect. It is true, there were ſufficient means found out to prevent the peoples damage, but it was to be doubted, that the Souldiers would not ſo readily obſerve thoſe commands which his Majeſty had been ſo careful to order. Next of all it was conſidered, what unneceſſary expences of the State ſhould be cut off, as well to pay off two and fifty Millions of Livers, which the Exchequer was indebt, as alſo to acquit the charges of the Nation without increaſing the taxes. In order to which it was thought fit to contract the expences of the King and Queens Families, according to the reſolution taken before the late Kings death: Not to exceed the ſum of two Millions in Penſions, which was the ſum appointed by the late King *Henry* the Great for that buſineſs, and laſtly the Aſſembly propoſed to his Majeſty, the diſmantelling of a great number of ſtrong places, which being in the heart of the Kingdom, or at leaſt remote from the Frontiers, did only ſerve to countenance Rebellions, and conſume a vaſt ſum of mony for payment of the Garriſon Souldiers, and building unneceſſary Fortifications. There was alſo care taken, (with reference to his Majeſties good pleaſure) for the relief of divers poor Gentlemen, Captains and Souldiers, wounded in his Majeſties ſervice; And at laſt the Aſſembly made earneſt requeſt to his Majeſty, that he would for the future prevent, thoſe revolts of the Grandees, which were commonly made every year to the great trouble of

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the State, and that he would puniſh ſome for example ſake, who had the Boldneſſe, to take up Arms againſt his Authority, or to divide the State into Factions. They alſo propoſed to his Majeſty to admit into his Council, a certain number of Gentlemen, to bring them up to do him the more ſervice, by the knowledge which they might get in State affairs, and in concluſion, they gave his Majeſty moſt Prudent Counſel concerning the ordering and decreaſing of the taxes, for the ſuppreſſing of divers uſeleſs Officers, for the redemption of his Lands which were in Mortgage, by paying them in whoſe hands they were; the monies lent upon them, or full Intereſt, out of the account of the Revenne, to ſettle an order in the Treaſury to prevent all future relapſes for the ſettlement of Commerce both by Sea and Land, for the diſtribution of charges as well millitary as others, which have dependance on the Chief Officers of the Crown, it being improper that they ſhould be beſtowed by any but the King himſelf. And theſe were the Chief things then brought into debate before them, and reſolved on. So their was a Paper drawn up of thoſe things which they propoſed to his Majeſty, the moſt part of which, appeared ſo reaſonable and judicious, that they have ever ſince ſerved for *Maximes* and a Rule for the Goverment of the State; The Cardinal having put them in practiſe one after another, as faſt as ever the Civil warres, the Factions at Court, and the attempts of the houſe of *Auſtria* upon *France* and it's Allyes would give way for it.

*Politique Obſervation.*

HE who would ſettle a diſcompoſed Kingdom muſt reſolve upon the courſe whereby to do it, with the advice of the States, or at leaſt of them, who have gotten a great reputation of by experience in Affairs, by their qualities and conditions or the great underſtanding they are Maſters of. On ſuch an occaſion, divers have had recourſe to an Aſſembly of States: which becauſe they are ordinarily accompanied with confuſion by reaſon of the multitude, beſides the great expence which they draw on, I ſhould think it much more proper to make uſe of a ſelected Aſſembly, who are the only perſons, whoſe opinions ſerve for guides to the reſt, now no one can doubt but that their advices will be very neceſſary for a State on ſuch an occaſion, for that thoſe great perſons are like ſo many twinkling ſtarres, whoſe counſels are repleniſhed with ſo much light, that they ſoon make their Judgments of with is fit to be done, to ſhine forth. Not to need Counſel, is to be more then man, and not to make uſe of Counſel in affairs of concern, is to be leſſe then man. God is not contented only with overuling the Elementary World and to make it fruitful in all kind of Science, by the influences and light of the Sun, but he hath imparted ſome ſhare of his Luſter to the other ſtarres, and hath aſigned ſo conſiderable a proportion of work to them that every one reputeth them in part to be the univerſal cauſes of all ſublunary things; ſo it may ſafely be ſaid too, that God creating a Miniſter in a Kingdom, whoſe Souls he repleniſheth with any extraordinary part of underſtanding, doth not however forbear to beſtow ſome light upon others too, though peradventure inferiour both for ſufficiency and quality, that they may contribute with him to the General good, by the particular knowledge which he may infuſe into them, and by the Counſels wherewith he may inſpire them. And if their advices may be of uſe in a Kingdom, they cannot be leſſe advantageous, unto a Miniſter, on ſuch an occaſion, in which the angring of divers perſons, cannot poſſibly be avoided. There never yet was any reformation for the publique good, but many particular private perſons were angred at it. They who Judg of all things by their own private Intereſt, are ever diſcontented, and conceive no little ill will, againſt that Miniſter who is guided only by his own will, and direction: Whereas if it were done by thoſe, whoſe wiſdom is eſteemed, and whoſe Prudence is reſpected, it would ſilence all men, and make that ſweet and eaſie, which elſe would be bitter and inſupportable. It is very dangerous it, for a Miniſter to undertake great enterpriſes upon, his own head only?

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For good ſucceſſe is not inherent in any man, ſeeing all are ſubject to Deficiencies in Actions and inconſtancy; withall it is not to be doubted, but that the greateſt part judging of things by the event, would charge him home with blame if any misfortune ſhould happen. How many great men who promiſed themſelves high matters, have ſeen the ſucceſſe fall contrary to their expectations, and have been expoſed to the diſgraces of their King and People for their ill ſucceſſe, which might have been ſecured too, had they but propoſed their deſigns, and taken good advice upon them in a Counſel of the moſt conſiderable Grandees in the State? Hee who attempts nothing without good advice, ſecures himſelf from any ill accident whatever. *Tiberius* thought it no derogation from his honour, to acquaint the Senate with every affair, though never ſo little conſiderable. *Auſtin* the Debonair never took any thing in hand either in Peace or War, which he did not firſt communicate to ſeveral wiſe men, proteſting that it was more reaſonable to accommodate his opinion to their advices then to oblige them to follow his Will.

## *The* Sieur de Baradas *removed from Court.*

ABout this time was *Baradas* removed from the Court, a perſon who had been much in favour with the King: He had been the firſt Gentleman of his Chamber, and chief Querry of his Majeſties little Stable. And as great favours puff up the mind, and deſtroy the judgement of many, if not qualified with a great underſtanding, he did ſo much forget himſelf, that he would oftentimes make himſelf Maſter of the Kings Will, and interpoſe in matters of concernment, in which he had neither ability or authority. His Majeſty was much grieved at it, being a Prince who did not delight to ſee that they whom he favoured ſhould abuſe themſelves, and be defective in that reſpect which is due unto him; but it one day fell out, that he being too importunate to perſwade his Majeſty to beſtow a very great place upon a certain Kinſman of his, who muſt of neceſſity be dayly attending upon his Majeſty, being a perſon too whom his Majeſty did miſlike, his Majeſty reſolved to deprive him, not onely of his Offices or Charge which he held neer his perſon but of that extraordinary familiarity wherewith he had formerly honoured him, and accordingly commanded him to retire to his employment in little *Bourbon* of chief Querry, an Office of no ſmall advantage. But as nothing is ſo diſpleaſing to Favourites as to find themſelves caſt off, he was ſo tranſported by it, that he ſuffered himſelf to be deprived by deſpair, of that little judgement which he had: There need no other indiſcretion be alledged, but that one thing which he did in his Majeſties Chamber, when the Governour of *Sonvre* came in thither, whom he ſuppoſed one of the cauſers of his diſcredit, he began to quarrel with him, and told him that he ſhould be very glad to meet him with his Sword in his hand: Which ſo inſolent diſcourſe being before his Majeſty, he told him, that he did not remember the place where he was, and that he deſerved to be ſent to the *Baſtile*, there to be puniſhed according to the Act for Duels, but he only commanded him to get him gone, from which time forward hee was no more ſeen at Court.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THere are but few Favourites who know how to moderate themſelves, and ſo to manage their Affairs, that they may preſerve their Maſters good affection. A man ought to be of an excellent temper, well to digeſt any very great favour. It is moſt certainly true, that as exceſſe of meat ſtuffeth up the ſtomack, and choaketh the natural heat, ſo an extraordinary favour depriveth moſt men of their judgement, intoxicateth them, and makes them looſe the exerciſe of their reaſon And for this cauſe it is, that they injoy thoſe favours of fortune to their Graves, as it hath in all ages been ſeen, that the moſt part having been led in Triumph as it were unto the higheſt point of Glory, have precipitated themſelves into the greateſt gulfs

gulfs of misery, and have so bruised themselves against the favour which they possessed, as if it had been purposely turned into a Rock for their ruine. The wise man considereth that an indifferent favour is much more certain then those great ones, and contenteth himself with what his Master bestoweth; Fortune doth no sooner raise him up but his discretion presently tells him, that her smiles are inconstant, and that nothing can so much contribute to his preservation, as to use them with moderation. He oftentimes reflecteth on that memorable passage of *Sesostratus*, who being drawn in his Triumphant Chariot by four Kings, entertained himself with observing the motion of the Wheels, how that which was now uppermost presently became lowest, and being asked the reason of his contemplation, answered, that he delighted to remark the turning of his Wheels, and was by it put in mind of the inconstancy of humane Affairs, and that the same Fortune which had raised him to that height of prosperity above those four Kings, then subjugaged to him, might shortly bring him to the same condition. The wise Favourite fixing his mind upon the inconstancy of Fortune, as upon a sure maxime, never permitteth her to blind his mind with vanity, but keeps himself upon his Guard, not putting himself on in matters of State, but as his Master calls him, and payeth him the greater respects, as his obligations increase. He is industriously carefull not to abuse his Masters favour, by assuming too great a power on himself, remembring how *Calisthenes* lost *Alexanders* good will, by reason of his too great presumption, and the vanities which he did commit in the Emperors presence: nothing doth so much destroy Favourites, as their affecting too great an Authority, and taking upon them too much power over their Masters: He likewise knoweth, that it is with them as with the Moon, who hideth her self when ever she approacheth near the Sun, it being from him that she receiveth her light, and that so Favourites ought not to exercise any kind of authority when they are near Kings, but are rather bound to shew them in their requests all imaginable respects whatsoever: it is his care not to intermeddle in the administration, nor doth he ever attempt to adde the power of governing the State, to that of his Masters good affection: But on the contrary, he takes so much the lesse upon him, when the Testimonies which he receiveth of his Masters Favour seem to give him most power, and it is his dayly fear to be raised to too eminent a degree, least he should by it be exposed to too great a fall which might totally destroy him.

### *Differences between the Bishop of* Verdun, *and the Officers of the City.*

ABout the end of this year, great differences did arise, between the Bishop and the Officers of *Verdun*. This being a Frontier Town was then looked upon as somewhat considerable, in regard *Monsieur de Lorrain*, seemed to be active and able to attempt something upon *France*, which obliged the King to go on with the design which he had long before resolved of, building a Cittadel there. The Abbey of *St. Vannes* was ever reputed the most proper place of all the City for that purpose, whence it happened, that in the Charter of the said Abbey, as was to be seen, there had been divers Articles concluded between the Bishop of *Verdun*, to whom that place hath ever belonged, in which they bound themselves to build their Church in some other place, if it should be found necessary to make use of some part of it for the raising of a Cittadel. However the Lines were so contrived, that the Church was saved, but that of the Capucines was forced to be taken down, which was afterwards done, and rebuilt in another place.

Now the Bishop of *Verdun*, being a Kinsman of *Monsieur de Lorrain*, had no other motion but what came from him, so that not considering what dependance he had upon the King, suffered himself to be ingaged by the Duke to prevent with his utmost power, the building of the Cittadel. His Temporal power was but weak to manage his design, so he had recourse to his spiritual; and accordingly on the 1st of *December*, he published a *Monitorium*, fixed upon all publick places, against all such as should labour about it. But as the spiritual power hath no authority

over

over the Temporal to deprive it of its rights, ſo this procedure was looked on as a ſtrange thing by the Kings Officers, who wanted neither courage nor loyalty in this affair. The *Sieur Guillet* Lievtenant at the Royal Siege in the Town, preſently called a Councel of his Majeſties Officers of the Town, to conſider of what was to be done, where it was concluded to tear down ſuch Papers as had been any where Poſted up, and to ſet others in their places of a contrary tenour in the Kings behalf, which was preſently put in execution: The Biſhop was much offended at it, and to be revenged for it he thundred out an Excommunication the next day againſt *Giller*, which he faſtned in divers places, and having given Orders to his great Vicars not to act any thing in prejudice of his pretended Authority, he departed from *Verdun*, and rid Poſt to *Cologne*. In the mean while the *Sieur Charpentier*, his Majeſties Preſident in *Mets*, *Thoul* and *Verdun* being acquainted with the whole proceeding, and conſidering how Derogatory it was from the Power who was Soveraign of the Town, and conſequentially, had abſolute authority to fortifie it, as himſelf ſhould think fit, as alſo to give ſuch aſſurances to his Officers who ſhould execute his royal commands, as might ſecure them from any Biſhops Excommunication, onely for doing their duties, he declared the ſaid *Monitorium* to be abuſive and ſcandalous, and commanded it to be torn and burned by the Hangman: That for reparation of ſuch a proceeding, the ſaid Biſhop ſhould be ſent Priſoner under a ſafe conduct to *Paris*: That his Benefices ſhould in the mean time remain in his Majeſties hands; and that he ſhould pay ten thouſand Livres fine for his ſaid fault. The Judgement was put in execution with the uſual form, excepting onely, as to the Biſhops being ſent to *Paris*, ſo that he reſolving not to ſuffer himſelf to be thus deſpoiled of his Goods, thought his beſt courſe to ſend to the King to paciſie him for his raſhneſſe, as alſo he gave order to one of his Vicars to abſolve the *Sieur Guillet*, and to licenſe the going on of the Fortifications.

*Politique Obſervation.*

AMongſt the ſundry Priviledges, which our Kings beſtow on thoſe whom they call to their ſervice, one of the moſt juſt and ancient is, that they may not be Excommunicated by the Prelates for ſuch actions as they do in diſcharge of their duties. There need no other evidence of it but reaſon it ſelf, and the order eſtabliſhed by God between the Spiritual and Temporal Power, which is ſuch, that either reſerving himſelf within his preſcribed bounds, ought not to attempt upon the others Power. And doth not Hiſtory furniſh us with divers examples, which are as ſo many proofs in this particular. I have ſeen an Act reſolved by an Aſſembly, ſelected in *Normandy*, dated the year twelve hundred and five, which containeth, that no Arch-Biſhop or Biſhop, may Excommunicate any Barons, Bayliffs or Serjeants without his Majeſties permiſſion; and the Arch-Biſhop of *Roüen*, thereupon promiſed his Majeſty in the year twelve hundred and ſeventeen, not to excommunicate any of his Officers without his conſent. The Biſhop of *Chartres* in the year thirteen hundred ſixty nine, having attempted to Excommunicate the Kings Officers at *Mante*, was condemned by a Judgement to recall the Excommunication, or loſe his Temporal Goods which were taken into Cuſtody. The Official of *Roüen* in the ſame manner too, having thundred out an Excommunication againſt one of the Kings Bayliffs, in the year thirteen hundred and ſeventy, who refuſed to deliver a Clerk to him whom he had taken Priſoner in coloured cloaths, was condemned by a judgement of the ſame nature to take off his Excommunication. And was not a Cardinal Biſhop of *Mans* condemned by an Arreſt in the year one thouſand four hundred ſixty and five, to abſolve thoſe Officers of his Majeſty, whom he had attempted to excommunicate with an inhibition, not to attempt the like any more hereafter. The Parliament of *Grenoble*, approving of the Cardinal *de Clermonts* power, who was the Popes Legate in *Avignon*, in the year fifteen hundred and ſixteen, declared, That the Kings Officers who were in his juriſdiction, ſhould not be any ways liable to Eccleſiaſtical cenſures or interdictions. And when the

Biſhop of *Caſtres* excommunicated two Councellours of *Tholouſe*, in the year one thouſand five hundred ſixty ſix, was he not adjudged to pay ten thouſand Livres fine, and to repeal his Excommunication beſides. And of latter time, when the Cardinal *de Sourdis*, attempted to excommunicate certain Counſellours of the Parliament, *Anno* one thouſand ſix hundred and ſix, his Temporalties were ſeized on, and himſelf condemned by Arreſt of the ſaid Parliament to call in his Excommunication. It were eaſie to alledge many more like examples. But beſides (though there are proofs enough to convince that this priviledge doth really belong unto the Kings Officers.) It is expreſly ſaid in the Arreſt againſt the Biſhop of *Chartres*, made on the year thirteen hundred ſixty nine, and in thoſe Articles propoſed to the Aſſembly, *Anno*, fiteen hundred eighty three, at *St. German en Lay*, that they have injoyed it time out of mind.

Neither is this priviledge particular to them alone, for *Matthew Paris* ſaith, in the life of *Henry* the ſecond King of *England*, that the King of *Englands* Officers could not be excommunicated, unleſſe the Prelates had firſt obtained his Majeſties leave for it.

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# *Anno* 1627.

## *The Inſolent Revolt of the* Rochelois.

EVERY one verily beleeved, conſidering the Peace concluded with the Spaniards and Hugonots: That *France* which had a long while like a floating Veſſel been Weather-beaten, would now caſt Anchor in a quiet ſetled Harbour: It was every mans hope, now to injoy the fruits of ſo many labours, and that the Clouds paſſing away would make room for Serene Calms: But juſt as it was going to this Port, the Hugonots and moſt of the neighbour Princes, appeared on the ſhore to prevent its ſettlement on Land: They raiſed new ſtirs, they caſt up Shelves of ſand upon one another, and beat the Waves with ſuch violence and fury, that the end of one ſtorm was but the beginning of another, and that a greater then the former. Thoſe of *Rochel* having been of late accuſtomed to live in an inſolent licentiouſneſſe, could not indure to ſee the Articles of Peace which the King had accorded to them put in execution; and Rebellion had taken ſo deep rooting in their minds, that the yoke of Obedience was become inſupportable to them; they could not permit, that the Rules of Commerce, obſerved over all *France*, ſhould be taken notice of amongſt them. The cutting off of that abſolute authority which they had made uſe of, in the Iſles of *Ree* and *Oleron*, and other places bordering upon their City was looked on, as an outrage; the exercíſe of the Catholique Religion being ſettled amongſt them, was eſteemed as a great ſlavery, and as a rigorous conſtraint impoſed upon that whereof they made profeſſion. They complained of thoſe Souldiers in Fort *Lewis*, and the Iſles of *Ree* and *Oleron*, left there only to prevent their relapſing into their former inſolencies, as a moſt inſufferable tyranny. They reſented his Majeſties Commiſſaries Acts in order to the execution of the Treaty, as ſo many unjuſt attempts upon their Liberties, and would needs have it be believed, that the continuation of Fort *Lewis*, was a breach of thoſe promiſes, which had been made to them. Theſe were the Chief complaints which they every where ſpred abroad; Theſe were the Griefs which filled their Manifeſts; Theſe were the Motives which they made uſe of to perſwade the reſt of the Hugonot Towns, to revolt, to form themſelves into a Commonwealth, and to obtain that by force from his Majeſty, which with Juſtice they could not expect: But theſe complaints were made

made with little reason for that subjects, cannot pretend any thing for their attempting on their Kings authority: and accordingly the answer which they could have, when they had the boldness to present them either to his Majesty or his Minister was, That being born subjects to his Majesty, they neither ought or could pretend to any exemption from the Laws of obedience; That their complaints of violencies offered to their Religion, was groundless; for, that they had a full liberty of conscience under his Majesties protection and that all such, as troubled them in it, were chastised as disturbers, of the publique Peace: That true it was, by the Treaty of *Monpellier*, Fort *Lewis* ought to have been demollished but with all, That they had made themselves unworthy of it, by their refusal, to execute several Articles of the Treaty, and amongst others, to establish, the exercise of the Catholique Religion, in their Citty as they had engaged to his Majesty: and moreover, that the honest men of the Citty, the most sufficient, and such as had most to loose, having represented to his Majesty, that in case the Fort were slighted, They should be exposed to the mercy of the Rascality, who would put a thousand outrages and affronts upon them, he could not deny their so just a request: Besides the sixth Article of Peace granted them in February last year did expressly say, that his Majesty would not assent to the destroying of that Fort: They were also told, That being subjects of his Majesty, they had no cause to complain, of the Commissaries being there, especially seeing one of them too, was of their own Religion, and that they had not been then there, but for those delayes which were by them made, in the execution of the Treaty: As to the quartering of Troops about their City and the adjacent Isles, it was answered; That they had no reason at all to complain of it, for that they gave the occasion, by their daily mutenies, by their slow proceedings in the demolishing of Fort *Tadon*, and which they did so slightly too, that it was an easie matter to repair it; and that last of all, those Troops living very civilly, they enjoyed the self same liberty which his Majesties subjects did in any other Town, where there was a garison and that they could not think it strange, his Majesty should so watch them, who had so often revoked after several protestations of obedience to procure his pardon for their faults. But nothing would satisfie them, so that finding they could not procure their desires, they concluded to prosecute it, with Arms, and to form themselves into a Commonwealth.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is neither safe nor Just for a City, born under a Regal power, to shake off that obedience and become a Commonwealth. The injustice of them who should attempt so to do cannot be defended, seeing Kings are the Lively Images of the God head, Livenants of his power, and that he hath subjected people in such dependancies, that no one but himself alone, can revoke their Commission. I advise thee, saith the Wiseman, to have a care of the Kings mouth, and to keep the oath, that thou hast sworn unto him: beware that thou withdraw not thy self from his power or slight his commands, for otherwise he will deal with thee as he listeth and no one can say unto him, What doest thou? And as this Procedure is very unjust, so it is not safe for them who would ingage in it, for that no Government is so bad as a Popular. There is indeed a certain kind of apparent liberty, which charmeth, and worketh upon the Souls of them, who do not under stand it, but it is most sure, that it is a liberty which exposeth a City, to the greatest misfortunes, that can befall to it. All Kings propose Honour and the Publique good for the end of their Government knowing all their glory depends thereupon; whereas in a Popular State, every one proposeth his own particular advantage, and by that he measureth the Weal Publique, and then comes Honour in the very rear of all other thoughts. Wise discreet Counsels are so little esteemed in Popular States, that they cannot remedie any inconvenience though accompanied with a very little difficulty. For though in State affairs most voyces ought to be considered, yet is

is not to be thought in point of number, but the Prudence of them who Judge: whereas admitting the people to be Maſter, moſt voyces carrieth it clear from the reſt though better grounded, by fat. The Senate of *Rome* choſe rather to allot Tribunes to the people, by whoſe mouths they might deliver their opinion, then to leave them in a Licentious power, concluding, that though the Authority of thoſe Tribunes would be in ſome ſort ſuperlative, yet that it would be much more ſupportable, then that of the people, that many headed beaſt which having no Judgment, loveth change, and mooveth more by impetuoſity then reaſon. This Beaſt, nouriſheth it ſelf with a thouſand vain hopes, its deſigns are accompanied with fury, when the danger is fartheſt off: but ſoon looſeth his courage when brought upon peril; and as it hath but a ſmall portion of abilities, ſo it knoweth not who are men of underſtanding, or who do them good ſervice. Whence it doeth ordinarily well reward, ſuch as do them ill ſervice, and ill reward ſuch as do them good ſervice. Was it not heretofore ſeen that the *Athenians* baniſhed *Miltiades*, ordered him to pay a great fine, and kept him in durance until he had paid it, as a reward for having with ten thouſand men ſaved their City from a dangerous ſiedge, and beaten one hundred and ten thouſand *Perſians*, by his good Conduct? The like they did to *Themiſtocles*, *Ariſtides*, *Alcibiades* and divers other Captains, who had ſerved them, very eminently without any regard had to their ſervices. He that would eſteem a Popular Authority, ought not to know what it is: And *Ageſilaus* did wiſely anſwer one who would have changed the Government of Parthia into a democracy, when he adviſed him only to ſet up a Democraty in his own Dominion, which would diſcover to him, the raſhneſs and diſorder of a Popular Government.

## *The Deſigns of the Duke of* Rohan *in* Languedoc.

THe Duke of *Rohan*, diſcontented for that he had made no advantage by the Peace at leaſt to render himſelf the more conſiderable, did not a little foment thoſe Mutinies of the *Rochelois*, to which end, he under hand ſowed diviſions among the Conſuls of the Chief Hugonot Towns in *Languedoc*, and ſome he made for his own party; that they might lead the people to rebel, when ever he ſhould hold up his finger; but finding that his deſign did not abſolutely take in thoſe parts, he reſolved to accept of thoſe proffers, which the King of Great *Britain* had made to the Duke of *Sonbize* his Brother, and the deputies of thoſe of his party, preſently after the Treaty of Peace which had been then newly concluded, about the end of the laſt year. They could not away with the putting off the Treaty in execution, as to many particular Articles, which the diſcreereſt men among them, had perſwaded them to agree unto; They diſpatched certain Deputies, towards the King of *England*, to beſeech him that he would uſe his power and Authority with the King his Brother in Law, to perſwade him, to demoliſh Fort St. *Lewis* which kept them in a wonderful ſubjection; who being preſented to him by the Duke *de Sombize*, who retired himſelf into *England* in the year one thouſand ſix hundred twenty and five, they were well received and had promiſes given them of a ſtrong aſſiſtance. Now the Duke of *Rohan* not to loſe theſe hopes, ſent amongſt the Deputies the *Sieur de Blancard* a perſon of quality, to procure a quick diſpatch, they had many fair promiſes made them, and a confirmation of whatever had formerly been reſolved on, ſo that the Revolt was now concluded on; It was ſo much the eaſier to obtain thoſe ſuccours, for that of late, *England* had conceived ſome ill deſigns againſt *France*. It much troubled them, to ſee the Hugonot Party, and thoſe of *Rochel*, reduced to greater weakneſſes then ever, and they took ſo great a ſhare in their Intereſt that one of the Chief Miniſters of State there, ſaid in full Counſel, that it was leſs conſiderable to his Majeſty to loſe *Ireland*, then to ſuffer *Rochel* to be taken by the King of *France*. Withal *Buckingham's* particular Spleen, which carried himſelf and ſwayed moſt of the great ones there, did not a little encreaſe it, who were all mad to be dealing with *France*, ſo much

do

do Courtiers follow the inclinations of Favorites. We have in the former year laid down the causes of his particular hatred, I shall now only add the resentment which he took, at his Majesties denial to let him come into *France*, was that, and only that which incensed him to that height: But the Cardinal foreseeing what effects, that refusal would in reason produce advised his Majesty to permit him to come to the Court, assuring him, that it would be easie to raise some advantages, out of that earnest passion which he had to come thither, and that at last he could only end as *Icarus* did, who perished for aspiring too high. Yet however the Queen Mother seconding the Kings resolution for his non-admittance, she became Mistres of the Counsel, which so exasperated *Buckingham*, that he vowed shortly to come into *France* so well attended, that they should not be able to deny him entrance. *Madam de Chevreuse*, who was discontented too, and then in *Lorrain*, did not a little blow the Coales of his passion, and serve to nourish his anger; but as it would have been more to his discredit then Honour, to have openly declared it, so he wanted some pretences to cloak it. He pretended that the King of *England* his Master had been surety for the performance of those promises which the King and his Ministers had made to the Hugonots upon the conclusion of the Peace. Now the Chancellor having told their Deputies, in presence of the English Ambassadours, that though the King could not be induced, to assent unto the demolition of Fort *Lewis*, yet that they might hope for it from his Bounty in Time, in case they lived within the bounds of a due obedience. These hopes would he needs have passe for absolute promises, and for Articles agreed on with Ambassadours, and in prosecution of them, he would fain have it be believed that the King his Master, was bound, by way of caution to see the demolishing of it put in execution. He had likewise the boldness to let the King know from his Master of Great *Britain*, by his Ambassador, that he was likewise ingaged to see the performance, of a certain Declaration made to the Hugonots by the Earle of *Holland* and the Lord *Charlton*, Extraordinary Ambassadours then at that Treaty, in which they had construed the Chancellour *Haligres* words in that sence, as was most agreeable to the Hugonots, and all, that they might ingage them the more unto their Interests, and not want a pretence to imbroyle things when ever they had a mind to it. But it was absolutely denied, that the King of *England* did ever become engaged to see those promises made to them of *Rochel*, performed, or that he had been treated with, or his Ambassadours, in any sort whatever; But on the contrary, it was represented to them, how it was not forgotten, what message his Majesty then sent to the Earle of *Holland* and the Lord *Charleton*, by the Duke of *Chevreuse* and the Bishop of *Mande* which was, that in case, they should pretend to intermeddle in the Treaty, the King would not give his consent to any thing, but if upon condition that the King of *England* would engage to assist him with a strong Fleet to compel the *Rochelois*, if they should fall back from their duties. This had been told them once and again, and that plainly enough, as also confirmed by *Monsieur* the Cardinal, so that their pretences of the King of Great *Britains*, being Pledge for Performance of those Articles granted to the *Rochelois*, were groundless: as also that frivolous pretext; of making use of the Earle of *Hollands* and the Lord *Charlerons* Declaration, which being a thing of their own drawing, and done as best pleased themselves was of no value. However it was one of the chiefest Arguments they made use of, in their Declaration to justifie their Arms, when they entred upon *Ree*; And the Duke of *Buckingham* manifested to all people, that his only design was to protect the *Rochelois* and reformed Churches of *France*, though it was not unknown, that his private Spleen, was the true cause of his design; yet he was cunning enough to dissemble it to the King of *England*, and pretend assisting of the *Rochelois*, and withal to assure him that the whole party of the Hugonots, would revolt and upon the arrival of his Fleet put such and such Towns into his hands, that he might set on foot his old pretences upon *France*, and enter upon it with security and advantage. Upon these scores the King of *England*, laboured very industriously for the rigging out of his Fleet, all *April*, *May* and *June*; not at all discovering his

design

deſign though both his Majeſty and the Cardinal, were not ſo ill informed but that they perfectly knew it was prepared for *France*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

KIngs when they have a mind to make a war, never want pretences to diſguiſe the injuſtice of it; however it is an abſurd raſhneſs to ingage in any, without urgent neceſſity. I like well of *T. Livius* Judgment who ſaith war is then Juſt, when it is neceſſary; and that Arms are never attended with Juſtice, but when there are no other hopes but from them. And who can think otherwiſe of it, ſeeing war is followed by all ſorts of miſeries? War it is which uſhers in diſorders, and evil cuſtomes, which taketh away the lives of the Innocent, which bringeth the Rich into want, and which generally baniſheth all the pleaſures of life to ſet up troubles and afflictions; So that a man can hardly fancy any thing more to be deplored then war, from whence it followeth, that who ſo begins it, without abſolute neceſſity, may be well compared to thoſe Chymiſts, who adminiſter ſuch potions to their patients, that they thence ſuffer more griefs and pains then from their ſickneſſes and diſeaſes. A wiſe man will abſtain from war, ſaith *Xenophon*, though he have ſome reaſon for it. *Creſus* did ever prefer peace before war, if onely for this reaſon, becauſe in war Fathers did burie their Children againſt the Laws of Nature. The He Wolf is ſo ravenous according to *Pliny*, that having ſeized upon one Prey, and diſcovering another, he preſently leaveth his firſt and purſueth his ſecond game, though he be uncertain of taking it: He who would undertake a war without being abſolutely neceſſitated to it, doth not he do the ſame thing? doth he not hazard the pleaſures and certainties of Peace, to obtain victories by his Arms, which by the opinions of all Wiſe men, depend rather upon Fortune then Valour? He who deſigns another's ruine, is himſelf often included in it, and that Prince who would blemiſh his Neighbours reputation, doeth often find his own expoſed to thoſe diſgraces which he had provided for others: He doth not only exhauſt his own Treaſures, but maketh himſelf hated by his ſubjects, in drawing from them contributions, for the carrying on of his war, in leading them to ſlaughter, and expoſing his Country to ruine; for that the divine Providence is well pleaſed to chaſtice arrogances and Publique in Juſtice, and raiſeth ſuch a flame as may deſtroy perchance his own Country, inſtead of his Neighbours. The flames of war are not ſo eaſily extinguiſhed as lighted, and many Grand Monarchs deſigning to employ them, for the ſubverſion of others, have only raiſed them, for the laſt piles of their own glory and Honours. It is no leſſe unjuſt to raiſe a war, not neceſſitated to it, then infamous to remain within dores, when the Publique Intereſts oblige the undertaking of it.

## *The King animated by the ſave Counſels of the Cardinal, reſolves on the ſiege of* Rochel.

THe Cardinal muſt of neceſſity have had leſſe courage and zeal for his Majeſties ſervice, then hitherto he had expreſſed, longer to have permitted the *Rochelois* to go away unpuniſhed, for their inſolent mutinies; So this Grand Miniſter who was eminently endued with thoſe two admirable qualities, openly told the King, (who chanced to diſcourſe with him upon that affair) that there was not any reaſon longer to put up their indignities, and that he thought it expedient for him to make uſe of his Arms, for the curbing in of the Inſolence of thoſe Rebels, who hourly diſturbed the Repoſe of his Country. He briefly repreſented to him, the ſeveral inſurrections which the Hugonots had of late years, raiſed up in the Kingdom. That of all the Towns, *Rochel* was the ſupport, of their Revolts, as alſo the fierbrand, which Forrain Princes made uſe of to enflame the Kingdom with war. That that one City was an obſtacle to the undertaking of any great deſigns, That it

it was a ſhame to ſee thoſe Edicts how juſt or neceſſary ſoever, not regarded or obſerved in their City. That it ſerved for a Road to diſcontents, and a retreat for Rebels: That Peace could never be certainly eſtabliſhed, in the Kingdom nor abroad, whilſt that place was in a condition to ſecond a Faction: That *France* could not be in ſecurity from ſtrangers, whilſt that place was in its own power to ſet open their Gates: and on the contrarie, that there was reaſon to hope; for a happy and proſperous Peace, that place being once diſarmed and their Forts reduced to nothing, by which they would be forced to live in their obedience. This diſcourſe once ended, it was no hard matter to reſolve his Majeſties inclinations, for the reducing them to the rules of obedience by a potent ſiege, eſpecially ſeeing he was not of ſo little courage as to ſuffer ſuch obſtacles and indignities unpuniſhed any longer: But though it were regretful longer to ſuffer it, yet it was no leſſe, difficult to prevent it. The reaſon he had to puniſh them, was apparently viſible, but the means how to do it, not eaſily found out; But as difficulties ſerve only to augment great courages, who are carried on by any extraordinary ſenſe of glory, ſo the King animated by the generous Counſels of the Cardinal, fixed upon the Reſolution of making ſtrong preparations for the ſiege of it.

I ſhall moreover ſay, That the Cardinal knowing that no one ought to ſhut his eyes in dangers, but rather to look upon them, exactly to conſider them, and if poſſibly apply preventive remedies to overcome them, ſo he did not diſguiſe any thing to the King which might happen in the ſiedg. He repreſented to them, the ſtrength of the Hugonot party, grounded upon many ſtrong places, fortified with intelligence from abroad, cemented by the Intereſts of divers Grandees of the Kingdom; and ſupported by their own Forces; that whatever the Precedent Kings had gained in many Battailes, and a long tract of various war, ſerved only to make Treaties of Peace, which are as ſo many marks, of their uncomptrouled inſurrections. He deſired him to remember the Ambition of Grandees, the Paſſion of Miniſters, the inſolencies of them of this Faction; their Plots, Cabals and animoſities, and he clearly told him, That it was the more neceſſary to remove all theſe obſtacles, with his very utmoſt power, in regard if he did not, inſtead of healing it would feſter the wound, and diminiſh inſtead of making his Arms more conſiderable. But withal he aſſured him that in caſe his Majeſty, thought fit to do his utmoſt upon this rebellious place, there was reaſon to hope for a good ſucceſſe, ſeeing he had Peace with *Germany* and no enemy to divert him, the Engliſh only excepted, who at that time were not ſtrong enough to be much feared; That in caſe any one ſhould attempt upon *France*, there might however be means found out to put off or hinder their deſigns; which being ſo, he did not find any difficulties, but whatwere under his own power. That the Sea Port of this City might be blocked up, if he would go to the Charge of it, and that making a line about it with Forts and Redours, all hopes either of men or victuals would be cut off from them. That bringing good ſtore of veſſels which might be drawn out from ſeveral ports of *France*, the Engliſh attempts in caſe their Fleet ſhould arrive, would be to no purpoſe ſeeing his Majeſties Ships would be all under the ſhelter of his Forts and Batteries, which might be raiſed at the mouth of the *Channel*; by which means *Rochel* would in a little while be reduced to neceſſity, forced to deliver upon mercy and then ſo ordered, that they ſhould never be in a condition, but of obeying for the Future. The ſe conſiderations were laid down with ſo much diſcretion and propoſed with ſuch clearneſs, that his Majeſty could not be ignorant of the juſt grounds he had to hope for a good ſucceſſe in his deſign upon this City. So he reſolved about the beginning of the year to go on with it, and his whole thoughts were bent upon the preparations for the ſiedg, though it were very ſecretly carried that they might have no ſuſpition of it, before all things were ready for to aſſault the place.

The Cardinal cauſed almoſt exact Plat-form of *Rochel* to be drawn out, and of all the adjacent places. He ſaw all their Forts, their Form height and bigneſs, the breadth and depth of their ditches, and whatever was ſtrong or weak in the whole

Forti-

Fortification. The wayes and paſſages of the whole Country were not omitted, nor the length and largneſs of the Channel, the places where Batteries might be raiſed, with Forts for defence of the Port, and oftentimes conſidering this Map with the Marſhal *de Schomberg* and other able Ingeniers for ſuch exploits, he framed ſo perfect an Idea of all that could happen in the ſiege fore-ſeeing effects in their cauſes, That he did no longer doubt of the victory; And having diſcourſed more at large with his Majeſty concerning it, he told him, that he could now almoſt aſſure his Majeſty of a good ſucceſſe in this deſign, if it pleaſed God to Proſper it with his bleſſing, as there was great reaſon to hope, ſeeing he acted for the good of the Church, and the glory of his own name. The King was overjoyed at it, and from that time forwards preparations were made in all the adjacent Provinces, of warlik amunitions, great ſtore of Cannon were ſent before hand towards the place that they might be in a readineſs when time ſhould ſerve; divers means were thought on, to block up the Channel, and to begin with thoſe of leſſe charge, to prevent greater expences, in caſe they might do the work; a private computation was made of what horſe and foot, would be requiſite to inveſt the place, and ſecure the neighbouring Iſles, and to be ſhort, every thing was diſpoſed to the beſt advantage for the carrying on of the ſiedg.

*Politique Obſervation.*

HEE who ſhutteth his eyes at thoſe difficulties which he ſhall meet with in war, deceiveth himſelf: Commonly they that do ſo, are quickly reduced to an impoſſibility of executing their deſigns, If there be any one Action which ought maturely to be deliberated, in its beginning, progreſſe and end, without doubt war is chiefly the thing, it being as *Scipio* ſaith, abſolutely important, not to begin it, unleſs Fortune preſents a favourable occaſion, with advantage: but when the means neceſſary for it's continuation are certain, and when there is a ſure way to come off with Honour. Though Fortune ſhould be croſſe, yet after ſo many conſiderations, it can hardly end in a bad ſucceſſe, whereas with blinded eyes and no conſiderations had of the means to overcome ſuch obſtacles may ariſe as nothing, but confuſion and diſorder and ruine can follow: *Tiberius* is very much commended in *Tacitus*, for having ſo great knowledge of his enemies Plots, deſigns, and reſolutions, in ſo much, that thoſe very ſubtilties which they propoſed for to get a victory, he made uſe of for their deſtruction: And *T. Livy* ſaith of *Hannibal*, that one of the principal cauſes which gave him many advantages in war, was, the knowing his enemies Counſels as well as he did his own reſolutions. A diſcreet Pilot foreſees a ſtorm and ſecureth himſelf, neither doth a Grand Miniſter of State attempt any thing of concern, but he foreſees the difficulties which may happen in it. It is for Fencers, not Princes to reſolve on a ſuddain. A wiſe man, never brings himſelf within danger of repentance, and as he knows his deſigns may be countermined, ſo he is accordingly carefull not only to provide all ſuch means as may carry his buſineſs to a happy iſſue, but alſo ſuch remedies as may overcome any obſtacles which may chance to be made in oppoſition of it. He never lets his courage be quelled with difficulties, but makes them only ſerve to fix his reſolution the more ſtrongly againſt all reſiſtances; by this means he will ſee all things fall out according to his own forecaſt, and he will force Fortune her ſelf to become favourable to him.

*The Duke of* Lorrain *comes to the King at* Paris, *to complain of his Majeſties Actions towards the Biſhop of* Verdun, *and to do him Homage for the Dutchee of* Bar.

GReat enterpriſes are not to be ended in a moment, ſo that ſome months had paſſed before the Engliſh were in a condition to make good their promiſe to the

the *Rochelois*; during which time, divers remarkable things intervened. The Duke of *Lorrain* about the beginning of the year came to his Majesty at *Paris*, and made great complaints of his Majesties Officers Actions against the Bishop of *Verdun* his Kinsman, how that they had seized on all his Goods, translated the charge of his Offices to other persons, that they had Posted up Papers against him, and had resolved to have seized on his Person, if it had been in their power: But as he had not to do with such Ministers, who had either fear or weakness, or knew not how or when to maintain their Masters Interests, so he was quickly answered. That Bishops of what condition soever, being his Majesties subjects, owe as much respect and obedience to him, as others of his degree, that when they fall off from their duties, it is then the more just to punish their faults, their Delinquency being an ill example, to which most people are apt to follow: That injoying their Temporal States onely in order to the Oath of Allegiance, which they all swear to his Majesty, they do most especially deserve to be deprived of them, when they break their said oath; That his Majesty was more especially obliged to maintain his Right in *Verdun*, which was a Fontier Town, and in regard too, that the Bishop had attempted against his Royal Authority in hindring the building of the Cittadel, though it were a thing only relating to the Soverainty, and in which he was not all concerned: These answers were so Just and grounded upon such sollid reasons, that nothing could be replied against them, so the Duke had recourse, to his entreaties and beseeched his Majesty for his sake, to wink at with was past, to order restitution of his seizures, and to command the Bishop Officers to be re-established in their former charges. He was very urgent in his behalf, and because at the same time the Emperour having writ to his Majesty in his favour, the King had returned him answer, That at his desire, he should willingly grant him any reasonable favour, the Duke obtained his request but upon condition however, That the Bishop should first send a Commission to one of his Vicars, to revoke the Censures which had been given out against his Majesties Officers, and them who worked on the Cittadel, and that in future he should comport himself with more respect and moderation. The Duke did willingly become bound for his performance, and having sent the Commission the King discharged the seizures and setled all things in their former state. But notwithstanding all the Duks seeming affection & forwardness in this affair, yet that was not the chief end of his Journey. He had been newly put into possession of the States of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, by vertue of *Reynard* the second King of *Sicilies* will, and by the resignment of his Father, the Count of *Vaudmont* pretending to hold them of his Liege in his own proper name, though the late Duke of *Lorrain* his Predecessor had, and that with reason declared, by giving him his eldest Daughter to wife, that she should be the true Inheretrix of his States, and that he should only enjoy them in her right.

He also made his entry into *Nancy*, with Balls and publique rejoycings in his Court, and all that he might celebrate with the more Honour his arrival to the Crown of *Lorrain*, hereupon he pretended to do Homage to the King in his own name, for the Dutche of *Bar*, as appertaining to him in Fee, and not in right of his wife, but he therein met with greater obstacles then in that of the Bishop of *Verdun*.

It was presently given him to understand, that he had not a little offended his Majesty, in that he had upon his own head assumed upon himself the Investiture of *Bar*, and not expected his Majesties introduction, to whom the Soverainty did belong. That he had expedited all letters Patents in his own name, without mentioning that of the Dutchess his wife, for that no vassal hath any thing by descent in his Fee, until he be invested by his Soverain to whom he doth Homage; That he gave a just ground to be dissesed of it, if he should possesse himself thereof, before he were lawfully introduced; That he had also committed no small fault when as he attempted to alter the quality of Tenure of *Bar*, and so create it Masculine, whereas the Chief Soveraign could only alter the nature of Fees, and dispence with Customes. The inconsiderate and lofty humour of this Prince, was such, that he

could have wiſhed he had not been dependant on any other, and gave him not leave to conſider the Juſtice of theſe reaſons; he anſwered thoſe Miniſters with whom he treated, that it being indifferent to his Majeſty, whether the Homage of *Bar* were Maſculine or Feminine, he imagined that *Renard* King of *Sicily* his great Grandfather, had lawfully conſtituted it upon the Males, in excluſion of the Females; and that in conſequence it was become his own right, that he was ready to pay unto his Majeſty that homage which is due unto him; and laſtly he added, that in his judgement he had no power to annul the right which he had acquired. He made uſe of the Duke *de Chevreuſe*, who made many journies too and fro, to make his argument paſſe amongſt the Miniſters for good, and ſome others too, which being inconſiderable I ſhall paſſe by. But he was ever told that his Majeſty had reaſon enough and intereſt withall, to oppoſe that an Homage dependant upon his Crown might be altered in quality; that the Cuſtomes of Countries and ſucceſſion of States, were not at all altered, ſeeing ſuch changes are reſerved in his onely power and in no other whatever: That he ought to know the Cuſtomes of *Bar* were never changeable but by his Majeſties permiſſion; and moreover, on condition that they were confirmed by the Parliament of *Paris*: That he could not be ignorant how the cuſtom of both *Bar*, and all thoſe lands bordering upon the *Rhine* did grant the ſucceſſion to daughters, in excluſion of any Males deſcended from a ſecond Brother, they being daughters of the eldeſt, and that he had ſo much the leſſe reaſon to change this cuſtom without the Kings Authority, in regard this one Article was of greater concern then all the reſt; that ſuch a change was contrary to the fundamental Laws of *Lorrain*, and that he debarred the Dutcheſſe his wife, of the right which indubitably belonged to her. Now as he could not poſſibly make any ſatisfactory anſwer to theſe objections, ſo he was forced to return without doing any thing at all in it, onely he procured ſome time to make out his pretenſions, and to furniſh himſelf with Titles and Reaſons to ſecond and uphold them.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THE wiſeſt Politicians have thought it dangerous to the good of the State, to alter any Laws without urgent occaſion, or unleſſe the change carry ſome great advantage with it. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, it makes ſubjects ſlight rules and powers, and doth much diminiſh their Authority: *Thucydides* hath gone a little further, thinking it ſafer and more proper inviolably to continue the Laws of a Country though ill ordered, rather then ſet up new ones and better in their place. *St. Auſtin* ſaith, that as in ſickneſſe it is good to continue the uſe of thoſe medicines, which till then the ſick perſon had uſed; ſo likewiſe, it is the effect of a great diſcretion, to preſerve the obſervation of thoſe Laws which had formerly enough in them to remedy any inconveniences in the State: Which if true, of Laws in general, is then, much more neceſſary in Fundamentals, which have been the eſtabliſhers of a State, ſeeing they are no leſſe conducing to its preſervation, then the Foundation of a houſe for the ſubſiſtence of it. To ſpeak ingeniouſly, ſuch Laws are the Pillars which uphold Authority, and as a building, if the Foundation be undermined and ſhaken, ſoon falls to the earth; ſo a State too quickly comes to ruine, if thoſe Laws upon which it is eſtabliſhed once come to deſtruction or alteration. For this reaſon, *Adrian* ordained that no one ſhould intraduce any new Cuſtomes into *Rome*. *Plato* in his Common-wealth, prohibiteth the changing of any thing in it, even Childrens-play; for novelties alter manners, and bring antiquity into diſeſteem, a thing of great conſequence. I ſhould like well of the alteration of ſome rules of Juſtice, becauſe the manners of men are variable, and the puniſhing of Crimes too may admit of change, according to the diſpoſition of men and times. But it is not the ſame thing in fundamentals, which rule the government, and which ſettle the election which God hath made of a Soveraign, which do authorize the order eſtabliſhed by former Princes, for the ordering of the people, and which are the known rules for the preſervation of the common good; indeed ſuch ought no more to be changed

changed then the Laws of nature, for both are equally founded upon Gods Law: He it is who divideth the earth amongst Nations, who establisheth Kings families and inheritances, so that without his will no alteration may be introduced to change those Customes which have been anciently in use.

### *The Dutchess of* Orleans *death, upon her lying in of a Daughter.*

THE King was much troubled soon after the Duke of *Lorrain*'s departure for the Dutchess of *Orleans* his Sister in Law. We have in the former yeare related, how many broils the marrying of this Princess did raise at Court, and how most of the Princes of Christendome indeavoured to hinder it. Now we are come to wonder at the blindnesse of Creatures, who turmoil themselves in extremity, who move heaven and earth by their broils, and all for those things, which death, and the inconstancy of humane affairs cause to vanish in a moment. The marriage was concluded but more for direction than love in his part, yet God so blessed it, that Love had quickly united both their affections very strongly; notwithstanding all the indeavours or devices of *Monsieurs* Favourites and Creatures, to make him disesteem her, and her not to love him; the particular merit of this Princess gave great reason to beleeve, that *Monsieur* could come to be sensible of it, and would by his esteem and affection give her a great power over his Soul: Now his Favourites finding if things went in that way, it would be a great prejudice to their affairs, and lessen the power which they pretended to have in his house, left no stone unturned, that they might ingage his affections elsewhere, at least lessen his kindness to the Princesse; but *Monsieurs* good nature animated by the vertue of this Princesse, was above the malice of those Factions Interests: So that love having joined their wills in a true affection, death could not separate them, but to their great griefs. The Princesse growing big in a few moneths after her marriage, was about the end of *May* brought to bed of a daughter, but so misfortunately that there was little hopes of saving her life. *Monsieur* was every hour with her, so that it could not be concealed from him, and he unable to dissemble the greatnesse of his affection, she was forced to comfort him, by testifying her readinesse to submit to whatever God should ordain. In the interim, the Physitians imployed their utmost Art but to little purpose, so that after she had disposed her self to leave this world, by all religious actions which might make her fit for heaven, she died and by her death taught all great men, that in greatnesse nothing is more certain then inconstancy, and that greatnesse ought to be considered onely as a game of Fortune, which after a fair flourish, brings all to nothing in a moment. The King who did no lesse honour her virtue then *Monsieur*, was much affected at it; but above all the house of *Guise*. They saw all their hopes and the great designs which they had projected upon her Marriage, to be brought to nothing, which made them continue a long while in their discomforts.

### *Politique Observation.*

HE spoke very wisely concerning worldly greatnesses, who said they are obtained with much peril, kept with no lesse vexation and inconstancy, and lost with as great pain. What ever lustre and dazeling the Sun makes in our eyes yet we see him set every day, and though men attain to never so great glory, yet must they be laid in the dust. The same cause which gives us life, leads us on to death, yet as the same Sun which ushers in the morning light leaveth us in darkness at his departure. The same Sun going out of the first degree *Aries*, resteth not until his return; and we too, once borne, are hurried on to death. Nothing is here beneath more certain then incertainty, more constant then inconstancy. Though Fortune be so favourable as to let us enjoy greatnesse some little time, yet there comes death and snatcheth all away, forcing us to pay that duty which we owe; what ever resistance we make against its assaults, it will at last force us to stoop

under its Laws; its dart is unavoydable, ſo that there can be no greater wiſedom then to reſolve of being overcome, and to enjoy that without regret which Fortune prepareth for us. In our expectation of deaths comming to deprive us of all we ought to attend it, with the greater care in regard the Limites of man's life are ſo uncertain, and when it comes, we ought not to think it hath made too much haſt, ſince no death is precipitated upon us: and conſidering the uncertainty of the time, when it will come, we ought however to be aſſured, that one day it will come, and carry us out of this World. Let the World flatter it ſelf with all it's glories, yet death will cut all down: After the earth hath been enameld with Flowers, repleniſhed with a thouſand ſweets, arrayed with infinite plants, and laden with rich Harveſts, yet a few months, and her beauty withers, ſhe becomes covered with ſnows, hayles and ſtorms, ſhe is glued up with froſts and drowned in raines. So ſhall the greateſt Princes find their luſter and glory terminated by death in the grave. Their Splender ſhall fade like Flowers, their proſperities melt like ſnow, and though like Torrents they have aſtoniſhed the world by their noiſe, at laſt they ſhall paſſe away like a flaſh of lightning.

## *A Duel between the Marquis* de Praſlin, *and the Sieur* de Bouteville *ſeverely puniſhed.*

THough the King had made ſo ſtrict an Edict againſt Duels, yet ſuch was the blind fury which had ſeized on the ſouls of the Nobility, that ſome of them could not refrain fighting. This Errour which had built glory upon Revenge, and cauſed Duels to paſſe for a teſte of courage, had taken ſuch deep roots in moſt of their thoughts, that it was impoſſible totally to extirpate it: and as heretofore among the *Macedonians*, he was accounted an unworthy fellow, who had not ſlain ſome of his Countries enemies, ſo in *France*, he who had not killed one or more in Duelling, could not be thought valiant. The King had made rigorous Edicts againſt this lamentable evil, which had untimely raviſhed a number of Brave men out of *France* ſince *Henry* the ſecond's time. But as it is to ſmall purpoſe to make laws unleſſe they who violate them, be puniſhed accordingly, ſo his Majeſty was very ſtrict in chaſtiſing thoſe Gentlemen which ſhould offend in that particular: The Marquis *de Praſlin*, ſon to the late Marſhal, had the boldneſs to fight with the Baron *du Bar*; for his puniſhment he was deprived of his Livetenant Generals place in Champagne, and forced to live ſome years away from the Court. About the ſame time there was ſome ſuſpition upon the *Sieur de Liancourt*, for having challenged the *Sieur de Creſſia* from the *Duc d'Alvin*, and though there were only conjectures of it, yet the King forbid them the Court: and alſo reſolved to diſpoſe of the place of firſt Gentleman of his Bedchamber, which belonged to the *Sieur de Lian Court*, and had accordingly done it, but that ſome perſons of quality, who ſerved them in that affair teſtified that there had not any challenge paſt in it. This was ſo exemplary a puniſhment that every one began to hope, the Nobility would at length, be undeceived, of that belief which they had, that the Laws of Honour were contrary to thoſe of vertue and Chriſtianity. But raſhneſs hath no bounds, The *Sieurs de Bouteville* and *des Chapelles* carried themſelves to ſuch exceſſe, that his Majeſty was forced to make uſe of his Juſtice to puniſh them, with more then ordinary ſeverity, being unable to pardon them, without giving way and countenancing the neglects of his Crown, and a madneſs which cryed for Juſtice from Heaven and Earth.

The *Sieur de Bouteville* was indeed to be commended for his good courage, as his very enemies would confeſſe, but it not being guided with diſcretion, it depraved into ſuch a fury, that there was hardly any one at Court reputed for a ſtout man, but he muſt needs meet him with his Sword in his hand; Not a day how holy ſoever, but he would profane by his Duels, no place how publique ſoever which he would not bath with the blood of ſome one or other, ſo little reckoning did

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he make of the Kings Prohibition; after the comming out of the Edict, he had fought with the Count *de Thorigny* and slain him: about the end of the foregoing year, and the begining of this he had another Duel with *la Frete*, where his second was killed, which quarrels of his were so much the less to be connived at, in regard those of the best quality were still parties in it. So the King resolved to punish him, which he having notice of withdrew himself into *Flanders*, where he found means to perswade the Archdutchess to Interest her self in his affairs upon the score of the *Damoizelle de Montmorency* her favorite, who writ to his Majesty to beg his pardon. The King took advice of his Confessor, and as there was no reason to forgive such offences, so he counselled him not to grant it, and made it evident to him, that he could not do it, with a safe conscience; but that his Majesty might not seem totally to deny the *Infanta*, he sent her word that at her request he should not be questioned for what was past, provided he came not either to *Paris* or the Court. This was as much as a Just Mercy could well do; But the same fury which had for merly ingaged *Bouteville* in those quarrels, did so provoke him upon his Majesties denial of a total pardon, that he openly vowed he would ere long fight in *Paris*, nay, and in the Place Royal it self; accordingly not long after thither he came, and having given notice of it to the Marquis *de Beuvron*, with whom he had a quarrel, that he was ready to give him satisfaction for those differences between them, which he had not the liberty to do in *Flanders*, whither *Beuvron* had come to find him out by reason of the promise which he had ingaged to the *Infanta*, not to fight on any of her Territories: So they made choise of the Place Royal for their combats, where being met three against three, *Bouteville*, *des Chapelles* and *La Berte*, against *Beuvron Bussi*, *d'Amboyse* and *Bouquet*, they fought and *Beuvron* was killed out right, by *Chapelles*, *La Barte* desperately wounded by *Bouquet*, and *Bouteville* with *Beruuron* close grapling together, with a good will to be at it with their daggers, but having cast away their Swords, it is reported how in this equality of advantage they mutually asked one anothers life, to go part their friends. This was all that could be got from their neglecting the Kings will, and the fury which led them to entertain such detestiable offences. The King heard of it, and soon after that, *Bussy's* Mother had arrested *Bouteville*, by a Gentleman of hers, and *des Chapelles at Vitry*, from whence they were conducted to safe Custodie to *Paris* and there delivered over to the Parliament, to be proceeded against, his Majesty having absolutely refused to shew them any favour, though their kindred made great requests for it, and at last their heads were struck off at the *Greve*, by order of the Parliament.

*Politique Observation.*

HE who defendeth the wicked, and he who offendeth the good, are both in equal abomination before the Lord, as *Salomon* saith in his Proverb's, I should therefore submit to that of St. *Chrisostome* who saith, That as Justice without Mercy is not Justice, but cruelty: So Mercy without Justice, is not Mercy but extream rashness. It were not lesse improper, to pardon all Crimes, then to use on all occasions the extremity of Justice. Both ought to be moderated by discretion, without which there are as many inconveniences which will follow gentleness as severity. *Philip* advised his son *Alexander* to be very courteous to his subjects, whilst he was not King, for it would not be fit for him to use so great indulgence towards them, when as he should arrive to the Throne; Judging with great wisdome, that it is impossible for him who ruleth, to treat all with clemency; not only because the Interest of his subjects doth sometimes compel him to be severe, but also because unlesse he punish the wicked, it will be a diminution of his own authority: The *Heathens* say, *Jupiter* himself cannot raign without Justice. And *Plutarch* in the Life of *Demetrius* saith, nothing is more becoming a Prince, then the exercise of this vertue; and doth not *Solomon*, who is much more authentique, say, The Throne of a King is established by Justice. St. *Cyprian* in his Tract of the twelve abuses, saith

saith the Justice of the King, is the Peace of the people, the Nurse of Children, the defence of the Country, the comfort of the poor, and himself the hope of Heaven to come. And if a Soveraign ever may make use of it, he ought not to let it lye idle, when it sends to the purging of his Court from such seditious companions, as engage his nobles daily to cut one anothers throats.

It is a Crime more then *Brutal*; for the instinct of nature, forbideth beasts to fall upon one another. It is reported that *Neurians* are Wolves one six mouths of the year, & men t'other six mouths, but I should with more Justice imagine their swash bucklers, not to be men at all, but that by their greedines of spilling mans blood, that are beasts Wolves and Tigres, all their lives. Their courage is not courage but a fury, which hurrieth them on to dip their hands in their brothers blood, not a courage but a Rage which maketh them madly expose their bodies to death, and their souls to damnation. It is not any just Law of Arms which obligeth that to be thus barbarous, but a Devilish Charm which deprives them, of their reason. The foolish passion of an imaginary honour which animateth them, is a monster begot by vanity, brought up by fury and nourished by blood; as it is said of that in *Habucus*, the greatest, the noblest and most courageous serve it for a prey. What apparency of reason can there be alledged, for renuing the old Butchery of *Haman* flesh, before the images, not of a *Moloc*, a *Saturn*, but a vain fantasie of honour? What Justice to tollerate that, which God hath so expressly forbid and condemned to be punished with death, which heaven abhors, which the Laws detest and which is only worthy of Hell fier? But above all things, it ought not to be permitted, when committed in diision of the Regal authority, for once admitting a Kings power to be trampled on, the next thing which follows, will be the peoples revolt, and a general confusion in the whole Kingdom.

## *The King of* England's *and divers other Princes endeavours to divert the King from his resolution against* Rochel.

THough the design of besieging *Rochel* were kept very secret, yet some little suspitions there were of it which allarumd all the neighbouring Princes. The English who had already concluded upon their entring into *France*, resolved to redouble the Forces which had been alloted to take shipping, and others too were no lesse jealous of it. They knew how much it behooved them, to uphold the Hugonot party in *France*, which would disunite the Force of the Kingdom, and so employ the King whenever they had a mind to it, that he should not be able to march out of his own Frontiers, to oppose any designs of theirs, or attempt any thing upon them: They well knew *France* was not a little to be feared, when as it was at it's full liberty, and no *remora* at home to hinder, the going out of their powers. That it hath pretensions upon all her neighbours, and that if the Hugonots were but once quashed, and *Rochel* their strongest support destroyed, his Majesty would then be at full liberty, to prosecute his pretences. So every one preferring his own Interests before Justice and Religion, sought for opportunities to divert his Majesties Arms and force him, instead of assaulting others, to defend himself, they consulted together by means of their Ambassadours, and made a league to assault *France* in divers places at one and the same time. The King of Great *Britain* being Chief of the league took care to send from one place to another, to resolve particularly what should be done.

### *Politick Observation.*

POlicie obligeth Kings to foment the beginnings of division amongst their neighbours, but it ought to be accompanied with Justice, else it cannot passe for a vertue? and is to be used onely towards enemies. The Laws both of nature and Christianity forbideth the doing of that to others, which we would not have done

done to our selves, they who deal otherwise do invert the rules of humane society. *Bajazet* the Turkish Emperour was to be pardoned for that answer of his to *Sigismonds* Ambassadours, (who remonstrated to him that having no right or Title to *Bulgaria*, he was bound in Justice to withdraw his Arms from it) that he had such Guns in his Arcenal, as gave him a right not only to *Bulgaria*, but as much as he could finger too, in any other place. An answer I say excusable in a Tyrant, who openly professeth to trample all Equity under foot, but not so in Christian Princes, whose victories ought alwayes to be bounded in with Justice. That which *Antigonus* the Great, replyed to one, who would needs perswade him, that whatever Kings had a mind to, was lawful, was much more praise worthy, he told him true, it was so, but amongst Barbarian Kings, not them who professe Justice, and to whom all injustice is an abomination. God hath in the Scriptures apointed distinct Laws both for Princes and private men; and as particular persons may not do any thing against the Common good, so Princes cannot attempt any thing of injustice without offence. *Plutarch* blameth *Marius* very much, for not executing Justice, but when it was advantageous, and because he alwayes took profit to be honest, not regarding truth so he might be stronger; but measured the worth of the one by the value of t'other, and attempted the executing of that by craft which he could not obtain by Force. God, saith *Isaiah*, reproveth the counsels of them which are not conformable to his Laws, and Princes do but in vain hope to bring their designs to a good passe, when as there is no resistance of Gods decrees.

### *Prosecution of the Historie.*

THe *Abbot* of Scaglia was one of the Prime men in this confederacie, by the Duke of *Savoys* means, who desirous to reveng himself, because the Treaty of Mouson had been concluded without his knowledge; made choise of him, as a person capable to embroyle things, who went about it the more passionately, because he was offended with the Cardinal, for having driven him out of *France*, for making of cabals, against the State. His first voyage was into *Holland*, to see how they stood inclined, and to draw them into the league. But meeting with some there who negotiated his Majesties affairs, he could make but little progress in it, his reasons not being seconded with that mony which theirs was. Thence he went for *England* where finding their minds according to his own desire, he still used his best endeavours to drive on the quarrel; which being once concluded, The King of *England* sent about the month of *April*, the Lord *Mountagu*, to take particular orders for execution of it, both in *Savoy* and *Lorrain*, and with the Duke of *Rohan*. It was needful to have some pretence to disquite *Montagues Journy*, and no one was thought more fit, then for him to pretend he was desperately in love with *Madam de Cheurcuse* then in *Lorrain*, with whom he was to discourse, that he might be fully informed of all the Factions at the French Court, the Chief of which kept a strict correspondence with her. So he began his Treaty with the nearest State first and that was *Lorrain*; besides *Buckingham* had a particular intercourse with *Monsieur de Lorrain* by *Madam de Cheurcuses* means, and all that he might fully know the State of the Intreagues of *France*, He having found the Duke much exasperated, and that he only wanted an oportunity to let the King feel effects of his anger, he ingaged to him to enter upon *France*, at the same time that the English Fleet should land there: The Duke also gave him hopes, that his attempts should be the more considerable, in regard the Emperour, who he was assured did blow the coals of the French Faction, would send him Forces for his assistance being at last fully instructed, and having disposed the Duke of *Lorrain* to the doing whatever he could demand, he went into *Languedoc*, where meeting the Duke of *Rohan*, he gave him an accompt of their whole design, who being thus filled with hopes of potent succours from *England*, *Savoy* and *Lorrain*, he resolved to rise at the same time with the rest. Thence he went to *Savoy* where

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the Duke animated againſt *France*, and particularly againſt the Cardinal, his only work there was to receive the Dukes aſſurances, of entring upon *Dauphine* as ſoon as the Engliſh put to Sea, to which purpoſe part of his Forces, were already upon their march: He preſently diſpatched one to the Duke of *Rohan*, to aſſure him of the aſſiſtance of ſix thouſand foot, and five hundred Horſe, exhorting him to be careful and courageous, for that their buſineſs was in a good condition. They fancied to themſelves, that they did all ready caſt that thunder bolt with which they ruined the whole Kingdom of *France*. *Mountagu* ſhortly after returns through *France* to *Lorrain*, but the King was not ignorant of his Intreagues, having had a continual watch upon him foure months together, that he might ſnap him upon his return, and learn more particularly, by the contents of his Papers, the quality of his negotiations; and accordingly he was very fortunatly taken upon the Borders of the Kingdom by the *Marquis de Bourbonne*, whom his Majeſty had commanded to apprehend him. About him was found a little cabinet of papers which contained the depth of his employment, and it was the happier for *France*, that he was ſo improvident to carry ſuch papers about him, which could only ſerve to cauſe him be taken and put to great trouble, It was about the end of *September* that he was arreſted and at firſt carried into *Coſſie*. The Duke of *Orleans* hearing of it, took his part, made a great noiſe, about it, and fancying to himſelf that the Engliſh were landed in the Ile of *Ré*, that they and the Marſhal *de Thoyras* were cloſe ingaged together, he diſpatched the *Sieurs de Ville* and *de Leven-Court*, one in the neck of t'other to the Queen Mother, then at *Paris* in his Majeſty abſence, to demand *Mountagu* of her; and in caſe ſhe did refuſe it, to let him know it within foure and twenty howers time, proteſting withal, that he well knew how to carve his own ſatisfaction, for this injurie which he pretended had been done him, becauſe he ſaid *Mountagu* had been taken in his territories. He had at that time his Arms in his hand to ſecond the Engliſh and Duke of *Savoy*, and at the ſame time that he ſend to the Queen Mother he reſolved to beſiedg *Coſſie*, where *Mountagu* was then Priſoner, as alſo to aſſault divers other Frontier Towns, whilſt his Majeſty was buſied in reſiſting the Engliſh: But the dilligence uſed in removing of *Mountagu* from *Coiffie* to *Paris*, together with the defeat given the Engliſh at *Ree*, as ſhall anon be declared, made him and the Duke of *Savoy* too, change their reſolutions for that they found the King in a condition able to deal with both of them at once.

They were likewiſe told that in caſe they would oblige his Majeſty to come out of *Poictou*, they might both of them pay the charges of his Journey: So the Duke of *Savoy* turned his deſign upon *Genoua*, which he thought to ſurpriſe, by a Stratugem which had been contrived, and the Duke of *Lorrain* was contented to be quiet upon aſſurance given him, that *Mountagu* ſhould be ſet at liberty, ſoon after his Majeſties return to *Paris*.

His anger was like ſtorms which after much noiſe, are quelled in a moment ſhe reſolved without any great intreaty, to expect the Kings return to *Paris*, whither he ſoon after arrived: *Mountaigu's* Perſon not being ſo conſiderable as his Papers, from which there had been diſcovered as much as was deſired, his Majeſty brought him out of the Baſtile and delivered him up unto him reſerving that puniſhment for another time which he had reſolved for the Duke of *Lorrain*, and which he had deſerved by his engaging in ſuch intreagues. In the mean time the King was very glad to ſee in theſe Papers, that the Duke of *Savoy* knew of the Engliſh deſign to land in *Ree*, that he had promiſed to aſſiſt them; That he had perſwade the Duke of *Rohan* to revolt; that he had aſſiſted him with ſuccours; That he had ingaged to fall upon the *Dauphine* with ſix thouſand foot, and twelve hundred Horſe. There was by them likewiſe diſcovered the deſign which the Engliſh had projected againſt *Toulon*, for the ſending certain Ships pretending to trade in the *Levant*, and how the Duke of *Savoy* engaged to aſſiſt them with men and Gallies; That the ſame Duke had a hand too in that attempt which was afterwards made againſt *Montpelier*; That he had intended to have ſurpriſed *Brecon* and *Valence*, and beſides all this

this there were amongſt them divers bloudy Manifeſts againſt the King, his Miniſters of State, and the Government of his affairs.

*Politique Obſervation.*

TO be imployed without good cauſe for the troubling of a Forrain Princes State, is a Commiſſion, as little happy as honourable. If it tend to the Arming of his ſubjects againſt him, It hath ever had ſuch ill ſucceſſe, that one may ſay of him who arms them, that in ſhaking the Pillars of the State, Juſtice, and obedience, he only burries them in their own ruines. If it be for the making of confederacies with neighbouring Princes to make a war upon another, they laſt ſo little, that there is not any hopes of more expectation from them: Either of the Chiefs would have more power in the Army then his companion. Then comes diſtruct between them, no one obtains any glory, which t'other doth not envy, nay and hinder too if he can; Great deſigns raiſed upon ſuch weak grounds fall to ruine, like ſtructures built upon a foundation of ſand. War is of it ſelf ſo uncertain, that he who begins it, is not ſure to gain any thing by it. A Command miſ-apprehended, an Order ill executed, an enterpriſe not well timed, an inconſiderate raſhneſs, and in ſhort one poor ſingle word may ſometimes put a whole Army to the rout; Beſides negotiations being often conſidered, by their Events, all the blame will be aſſuredly laid in his diſh, who firſt perſwaded to the deſign. On the other ſide, God favoureth Juſt Arms, and vallour ſignifies nothing ſaith *Belliſarius*, without Juſtice, ſo that he who ingageth any, without a lawful cauſe, may expect nothing but mis-fortune and confuſion.

But to what dangers doth he expoſe himſelf whilſt he paſſeth thorough his States, againſt whom he attempteth to make a war? Not to ſtop him, were a madneſs in any Prince, and a greater, not to puniſh him for his raſhneſs. But admit he eſcape that mis-fortune, his very Commiſſion is contemptible ſeeing it uſually brings trouble and charge to his Country. I have ever much eſteemed of *Phocions* words in *Plutarch*, to *Leoſthenes*, who in an Oration endeavoured to engage the *Ethenians* in the *Lamian* war after *Alexanders* death; Thy ſpeech quoth he is like a Cypres large and full, but beareth no fruit, for juſt thus thou makeſt the people conceive victories and thy words puff them up with ſignal advantages, but indeed there is not any juſt ground to hope for any certain fruit, from ſuch a war tending to the States good, ſo inconſtant misfortunate and expenſive are all wars whatever. What did all thoſe turbulent Souls carry away but blame and misfortune, who employed their whole time, provoked to it, only by their particular paſſions any unjuſt reaſons, to raiſe wars amongſt Princes. The Count de St. *Paul* may ſerve for a notable example in this kinde. After he had ſpent all his dayes in Broyles and turmoyles, his glory vaniſhed like ſmoak, and at laſt he payd for thoſe Treacheries by death which he had put upon *Lewis* the Eleventh. In the ſame manner *Savanorolla* had paſſed for a Saint amongſt the Florentines, but for that ſeditious Spirit, which animated him againſt the houſe of *Medicis*, and excited him to make a war even againſt his own Cittizens; but the blame he reaped by it, ſullyed all his glory, and in my opinion whoever engageth himſelf in ſuch a Commiſſion may not expect any greater honour by it.

## *Turbulent Spirits clapt up in the* Baſtille.

THeſe Forrain deſigns were not a lone to be feared, there were divers other Grandees of the Kingdom ſediouſly diſpoſed who had ſome notice of the intended ſiege of *Rochel*, The Major part of them foreſaw that in caſe *Rochelle*, were taken, they muſt then of neceſſity live in an exact obedience, That it would carry with it an abſolute ruine to all the Hugonot party; and that there would be no more means left them to riſe up againſt the Kings authority in future, when they had a mind to procure any thing by force: neither were they a little ſtartled at the

aſſurance of the deſign his Majeſty had reſolutely taken, of carrying the place. The Grandees have alwayes thought the encreaſe of the Royal Power, a diminution to their own private authorities, and they of *France* were not ignorant, that in caſe the Hugonot party were deſtroyed, they had then no game left to play but that of ſubmiſſion. This induced ſome of the moſt factious to caſt out ſuch diſcourſes, as could only be deemed the Symptoms of a Revolt, though as yet there had not been any apparence of a formal contrived deſign. The King had learn't from ſome of the old Court, that that which hindred the taking of *Rochel*, when as *Charles* the ninth beſieged it, was only, the little inclination which many of the Grandees then at the ſiege had, that it ſhould be taken as the Marſhal *de Montlue* teſtified on the place by divers letters: So that he reſolved to prevent this inconveniency; neither was it leſſe needful to prevent the growing of this cabal, leaſt they ſhould by joyning themſelves with the Hugonots and ſtrangers force his Majeſty to draw off his Armies and to attend their motions. The wiſe and diſcreet reſolution which his Majeſtie took, to give an aſſured remedie hereunto, was, to clap up in the *Baſtille* ſeveral ſedicious turbulent perſons, who began to ſpeak aloud ſuch things, as neither the Laws of obedience or reſpect could allow of, but with order that they ſhould be well treated and want nothing, it being his Majeſties deſire only to prevent them from doing any hurt. The Marquis *de Ronillat de Bounivet*, *de Montpinſon & d' Oy*, were firſt of all ſecured, and ſhortly after *Fancan* and *La Millettiere*, with other inferiours to keep them Company, which made them perceive, who had the good Fortune not to be interreſſed in any of theſe Broyles; that the King was no more to be dallyed with and that it would become them to live within their limits, and that they could not avoyd lodging in the ſame place, if they gave any cauſe of ſuſpition by their behaviour: Thus every one for love or fear was quiet, and the King had the freedome to continue his preparations for the ſiege of *Rochelle*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

A King is no leſſe obliged to ſearch after thoſe who are able to trouble the repoſe of his State, then thoſe who are able to ſerve him; It is needful for him to have certain marks both for one and t'other that he may judg of either. Now amongſt them who are able to ingage in a Faction, he ought to make little account of ſuch who have great ſtirring Spirits, but little Prudence, for they of his Temper are uſually wicked, ambitious, Lovers of Novelties, inſurrections and all ſorts of intreagues. *Grobus* would needs have us eſteem *Alcibiades* for a perſon of this condition, when he repreſented him to be as exquiſite in his vices as his virtues, and *T. Livy* puts *Hannibal* amongſt the ſame number, when after a recital of his vertues he addeth that his vices were full as eminent. On the other ſide, he ought to be vigilant over thoſe, who are ready to undergo any meanneſſes, upon hopes of getting any advantage or greatneſſe; as *Cæſar* did according to *Dions* report, who condeſcended to beſtow imbraces beneath the quality of his perſon, on mean and baſe men, if he found them any ways conducing to the advancing of his Power. In this laſt age *Monſieur de Guiſe* hath done the ſame thing, in the eyes of all men, but was ſlain at *Blois* in his attempt of making himſelf Maſter of the French Crown. Withall, he ought no leſſe diſtruſt thoſe perſons of quality who are grown poor, or who have been laid by from imployments and affairs. For *Tacitus* on the life of *Otho* ſaith, there is not any one thing which perſons of Courage and Quality do ſuffer with more regret then that of poverty, do we not read that poverty was it which gave ſo much boldneſſe to *Sylla* in his attempts. That *Cneus Piſo* was ingaged in all his undertakings, by his being reduced to extream neceſſity, and of doing thoſe things which were unworthy of his Birth: Then hee ought to be no leſſe watchfull of thoſe who comporting themſelves to the preſent times, change their Faſhions when they pleaſe, who of Lyons turn to be Lambs, and from Lambs become Lyons again, and this with much facility, all to make advantage of whatſo-

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ever comes uppermoſt, to ſwim with the ſtream, and to join their Intereſts with thoſe onely from whom they have expectations of gain and advantage: He had need be jealous of thoſe who under pretence of their own private Affairs paſſe from one Country to another, without any apparent reaſons for it, of ſuch as onely converſe with turbulent minds; of ſuch as ſeem to be diſcontented at affairs, of ſuch as are in debt, or have received ſome diſtaſts in their private intereſts. I could produce examples to fortifie the reaſonableneſſe of all theſe ſeveral propoſitions, and how that all theſe ſorts of perſons ought to be ſuſpected, if the brevity of theſe Maxims would give way to it. But making profeſſion of being ſhort, I ſhall onely for concluſion ſay, that both Prudence and Juſtice oblige to make ſure of ſuch perſons, eſpecially on the leaſt occaſion given to ſuſpect, that they are diſpoſed to ingage themſelves in any Intreague. The leaſt delay which ſhall be given them, will onely fix them ſo much the more, whereas the diſpatch in ſecuring of them rather ſooner then later, is a kind of Pitty, for that it warranteth them from a more ſevere chaſtiſement, by preventing them from falling into greater Crimes. Ambition, Covetouſneſſe, Revenge, and Poverty, meeting in a turbulent Factious Soul, never let him be at reſt, or free from ſome embroyl or other, if he be not curb'd in either by force or neceſſity. And when it ſhall ſo happen that he may be of himſelf perſwaded to keep within his duties, yet it will be leſſe inconvenient to make ſure of him by a juſt rigour, then to leave him in a licentiouſneſſe of ill-doing by too imprudent a compaſſion.

### *Differences between the Duke of* Eſpernon *and the Parliament of* Bourdeaux, *reconciled by the diſcreet fore-ſight of the Cardinal.*

THere was about the ſame time, ground enough to ſuſpect leſt the bitterneſſe which had about a year ſince diſunited the Duke of *Eſpernon*, Governour of *Guyenne*, and the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, might prejudice his Majeſties ſervice in this juncture, where it was needfull that all his Arms and Juſtice might concenter to ſtifle rebellion in its birth, and to keep the people in their duty. *Monſieur* the Cardinal ſpake to his Majeſty, and perſwaded him to ſend the *Sieur de Leon* Councellour of State to *Bourdeaux*, to indeavour their reconcilement, and ſuch a correſpondency as might befit his Majeſties affairs. The ground of their difference was this, the Duke of *Eſpernon* had cauſed the Edict of Peace, granted by the King to the Hugonots, to be proclaimed by the Jurats of the City before it had been regiſtred in the Parliament. Whereupon the Parliament had turned one *Minuelle* out of his Office of chief Jurat, fining him 1500 Liures, and ordered the reſt to appear in Court, and ſuffer ſuch puniſhments as ſhould be impoſed upon them. The Duke of *Eſpernon* would not put up the buſineſſe, but puliſhed an Ordinance to prohibit the execution of the Parliaments Arreſt, and confirmed *Minuelle* in his Office, grounding himſelf upon certain pretenſions in publication of Treaties of Peace. The Parliament hereupon condemned the ſaid Ordinance as an attempt contrary to the Kings Authority intruſted with him; but the Duke of *Eſpernon* being not of an humour eaſily to ſubmit to any others will, then that of the Kings, perſiſted to prohibit by another Ordinance the execution of the ſecond Arreſt. The Parliament made a third; ſo did he too to hinder *Minuelle*'s diſplacing, and that the Jurats ſhould not aſſiſt at the publication of the Peace, which was then made by the Parliaments Authority. In fine, an extream feud riſe between them, and the Parliament came to that point, that they ceaſed to perform their Offices in the adjudging private cauſes, yet not without taking care for all that concerned the Kings ſervice. This quarrel made a great noiſe in *Guienne*, and had it continued untill the Hugonots next revolt, they had doubtleſſe taken advantage of it, it being certain that every one lives as himſelf pleaſeth, when Magiſtrates are together by the ears in their particular quarrel. The King finding of what conſequence it might prove, diſpatched the *Sieur de Leon* to *Bourdeaux*, to diſpoſe the Duke to give the

Parliament ſatisfaction, and to continue the correſpondence which they ought to hold together for the publick good. The *Sieur de Leon* came thither, and finding the Parliament reſolute, that the Duke ſhould give them ſatisfaction for his fault, could gain nothing more of the Duke then onely this, that he would go to the Parliament and pay them ſome complements of honour and reſpect. The Parliament was not contented with it, ſo their accommodation was deferred, till at laſt the news being come, that the Engliſh Fleet was at Sea, every one addreſſed himſelf to ſerve the King, and to hinder their landing in *Guienne*: And then the Cardinal *de Sourdis*, Arch Biſhop of *Bourdeaux* interpoſing between them, perſwaded the Parliament to be ſatisfied with thoſe reſpects of honour and complements which the Duke of *Eſpernon* would pay unto them. At laſt unto the Parliament he came, and having complemented them with great civility; they anſwered him in the like, without the leaſt mention of any thing paſt, and thus this great ſtorm was allayed.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is not dangerous ſometimes for his Majeſties ſervice, to permit Parliaments and Governours to fall out amongſt themſelves; for they diſcovering one anothers defects by their diviſion, give occaſion to redreſs them, and withall, each one feareth to offend, that he may not give advantage to the other to impeach him. It keepeth affairs in an equal ballance, and produceth the ſame effects, as a weight equally divided in two Scales, which hindreth the over-ballancing of either part. If they alwaies ſhould continue in a ſtrict intelligence, each of them would do that without contradiction which beſt pleaſed himſelf, and their Soveraign never the wiſer. Thus ſaid *Cato* to them, who thought the quarrel between *Pompey* and *Ceſar* had ruined the Common-wealth. It is true, it did not a little contribute to that diſorder which was then on foot, but the friendſhip which had formerly been between them, was the firſt and chief cauſe. Their good intelligence gave *Ceſar* means to grow the greater, who afterwards finding it begin to break by the deceaſes of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, their wives which ſerved to preſerve it, there fell out great broyls between them concerning the Government; *Ceſar* being unwilling that *Pompey* ſhould have more authority then himſelf, and *Pompey* that *Ceſer* ſhould be his equall. The Senate finding that divers Magiſtrates of *Rome* neglected their duties, and that every thing went to decay, choſe *Pompey* ſole Conſul, giving him an extraordinary Authority to ballance the power of the Magiſtrates, and to redreſs thoſe Delinquencies which they might or had committed. *Seneca* with great reaſon compared this diviſion among chief Magiſtrates to the Stones in a Vault, which do ſo much conduce to the ſtrengthening of it, that the more weight is laid on it, the ſtronger it bears it up; whereas it would eaſily be broken, if made of one ſtone alone. In fine, this little emulation is much conducing to the diſcovery of abuſes, to the looking more ſtrictly into things, and the keeping every one in his duty. It is to be wiſhed that Parliaments and Governours were firmly united toward his Majeſties ſervice, and that there were no way but this for the well governing of a Province; but it is not poſſible long to preſerve that temperative in their authority no more then in the four humours of mans body; and it is more expedient to ſearch for means of advantage from their diſorder then to ſtudy waies to ſettle them in an immutable intelligence. One of the chief is, when a Parliament pretends to aſſume too great an Authority, to oppoſe the power of a Governour, and if a Governor abuſe his power, to prevent him by the Authority of a Parliament: And thus was it according to *Tacitus*, that the Roman common people, ballancing the Nobilities power, did along while prefer their liberty. Yet above all, it would be neceſſary to hinder ſuch diſſentions from too much claſhing, and that the Parliament and Governours be not left alone to flie out into extremities, from whence ſtrange accidents might follow. If heat or any other quality of mans body ſuper-abound, either death follows, or at leaſt great ſickneſſe; and doubtleſſe ſuch conteſts hap-

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ning among Governours, either in Kingdomes or Common wealths are sufficient to destroy them, or at least breed great disorders amongst them. The divisions which so often grew hot between the Roman people, and the Senate, caused great evils; and when the quarrels of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Pompey* and *Cæsar* did break out, every one siding with some party, took up Arms, from whence followed strange murthers, and Tragedies, and the Peoples Liberty became inslaved to the Emperours Will.

*The King going from* Paris *towards* Rochel, *falls sick at* Villeroy, *after the first day of his setting out.*

WHilest these different affairs happened within the Kingdome, the King was not ignorant of those great preparations made by the English to invade *France*. The happy addresse wherewith Heaven had blessed *Monsieur* the Cardinal, enabling him to discover the most secret of Forraign Affairs, gave him to understand all the particulars of their designs; his Majesty thus informed of their resolution, suddenly hoised Sail and resolved to go from *Paris* to *Rochel*, that he might incourage his Souldiers, to whom nothing is invincible when he is in presence. But God who over-ruleth the designs of all men, did not permit the effecting of it, so soon as his Majesty desired. It pleased his Providence to visit him with sicknesse from the first day of his departure from *Paris*, which encreasing, forced him to stay at *Villeroy*: His fits were so violent that his recovery was questioned. The Physitians imagining that the sense of Affairs did increase his Feaver, beseeched his Majesty to dis-burthen his thoughts of it; and experience having told him, that it was but reasonable, he committed all to the Queen Mothers and the Cardinals management. But the Queen Mother was so troubled at this accident, that her sadnesse would not give her leave to think on any thing. The whole burthen then lay upon the Cardinal. Not but that grief too had made a great impression upon his Soul, as well as upon the Queen Mothers; but as great spirits quit not the helm at the violence of the storm; so he behaved himself in the giving such Orders as were necessary and conducing to prevent the English Fleets attempt, together with the Rebellion of the *Rochelois*, that it seemed Heaven had preserved all his sences to him to increase his glory. It cannot be denied, but that this was one of the most considerable affairs that had a long time happened to the Kingdome. It was a parting blow, upon which depended the settlement of the publick quiet, and which particularly concerned the glory of his Master. So he gave himself up to imploy his utmost industry in it, and his prudence effected such things, which cannot passe but for miracles.

Indeed it was so much the easier for him so to do, since the King had commanded him to ease himself, as much as possible he could for his health sake, which did not well agree with the continual cares of this Grand Minister: He had induced his Majesty to think good, that he should take for his share, the care of what related to his Majesties glory, or the conduct of his State. This moderation of his was to be admired at, and such as few are indued with. In that he represented to his Majesty that having intrusted the Seals with *Marillac*, who was a person Active, Lively, and full of Understanding, he might absolutely depend upon him for the Justice, and on the Marquesse *de Effiat* in matters of the Treasuries of which he had made him super-intendent, which being thus, he could apply all his care to the government of the State, and give a happy dispatch to all his Majesties commands. And lastly, that he did not think it either proper or profitable for *France*, or any other State, that one man alone should have the over-seeing of all manner of affairs, for that imploying one part of his mind on those of Justice and the Treasury, hee must have so much the lesse ability to look after the rest of the Kingdome, which in *France* too would take up one mans whole care and time. His Majesty did not a little

little eſteem both his judgement and modeſty; far different from the Ambition of divers other Miniſters, who are never ſatisfied untill they rule all, ſo he was pleaſed to admit of his requeſt, which he did the more readily grant, in regard hee thought it might much conduce to his health, which could not long ſubſiſt under the care of all things, though he knew he had a Soul able to govern the whole world. From that time forward, he medled onely in matters of State, and left all the reſt to the other Miniſters.

*Politique Obſervation.*

A Prudent Miniſter who knows the work of well-governing a Kingdome, never burthens himſelf with the care of all manner of Affairs. He who pretends to a ſuper-intendency of all buſineſſes, is a raſh inconſiderate man, and he will find nothing but confuſion in his Government, and hatred upon his perſon. The Soul of man of what quality ſoever he be, is like a River whoſe courſe runs but weakly and ſlowly when exhauſted into ſeveral little Brooks; and true it is, who ſo divideth the ſtrength of his *Genius*, in the management of all affairs, can act but feebly in thoſe of great weight, and by conſequence to the detriment of the publick good. It is with Souls as with Appetites, they who ſuffer themſelves to bee drawn along by ſawces and delicate meats, over-charge themſelves, and convert the greateſt part of their nouriſhment into ill humours, thus thoſe minds which would govern all, leave all in diſorder. *Plutarch* ſpeaking of the Government of a Kingdome, ſaith, that the Prince ought to be like a hand, which ſhould imploy ſeveral Miniſters under his Authority; the hand hath divers fingers to work. There need no other proof of this truth, then that knowledge and prudence which is required in the Conduct of a State; beſides the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the ſuperintendency of the Treaſuries. A chief Miniſter ought to have his eye not onely upon all things, affairs, and perſons of concernment in the Kingdome; but likewiſe upon all the bordering Princes and Allies; yes, and upon their Miniſters too, to diſcover if poſſible their deſigns, and either by policy or force to break ſuch, as may be any way prejudicial to his Maſter.

He ought to have his Engines on work, to dive into the Counſels of the Pope, the Emperour, the Spaniard, and all other neighbour Princes. He ought from time to time to acquaint himſelf with their humours, their inclinations, paſſion, exerciſes, and all that may conduce to the Government. In caſe any of them attempt a deſign which may make them too potent, he is bound to oppoſe it. If his Allies be ſet upon, he muſt be as careful to defend & protect them, as the out-guards of his Kingdome. As for that which is conſiderable at home, the King his Maſter will take up a great deal of his time, either in his applications to preſerve his favour, or to diſſipate ſuch jealouſies as his enemies may have infuſed into him, or to propoſe to his Majeſty ſuch expedients and counſels, as may be proper and profitable together. The Princes of the blood too, will find him ſome work to keep them in ſuch a condition as they may not trouble the publick Peace; but that they may however live in ſome kind of ſatisfaction, it being true, that either the good or bad Fortune of a Kingdome, doth moſt commonly depend upon them: He ought alſo to have an eye upon the Clergy and Prelates, to keep them in ſuch *decorum*, that they claſh not by any miſ-underſtandings to the bringing of Religion into contempt: That they do not ſo greedily ſwallow down the reſpects which are paid unto them as to abuſe that power of Souls which is intruſted with them, in prejudice of the Kings royal authority. What care ought he to have to maintain the chief Officers of the Crown, the Governours of Provinces and Towns, and generally all the Grandees of the Kingdome in their duties, doth it not concern him to know what ever conſiderable thing is done amongſt them, their deſigns, Cabals, Intereſts, Abilities, and their very inclinations, that he may take order with them according to their diſpoſitions, and the common good, and to divert ſuch Mutinies as they may in time raiſe? ought not his duty lead him to look into the Commerce and Trade,

Trade, that it be preserved in it's greatness as the Fountain of the Kingdomes wealth? The Common Rabble will call upon his thoughts sometimes to be resetled in the duties they owe their King and Country: But what proportion of his time then will the affairs of war take up, when there is a necessity of raising Forces? Will it not behoove him to give all necessary dispatches, either for quarterings or marching of Regiments, or to lead them on to fight with courage either for amunition, or the exact observation of militarie discipline? It would need a long discours particularly so set down the great duties of a principal Minister, but the Briefness which I have proposed to follow, gives me not leave to describe them. These are enough to guesse that he will have somewhat to do to go through with them, and that upon these considerations a Chief Minister ought to be satisfied and totally to acquiet himself, of the Burthens which accompany both the Justice and Treasuries.

## *The English Fleets arrival before* Ree.

During his Majesties sickness about six in the morning upon the 28 of *July* the English Fleet appeared about *Olonne* between 18 and 20 Ships. At first it was supposed they were Dunkerkers, who might have perchance some design upon the Dutch Fleet, then in the Road. But when they were perceived to draw neer the Ile of *Ree*, that their number encreased, and the Hollanders not affraid of them, it was easily concluded that they were the English Fleet, of which there was quickly a greater assurance, when they saw all their Ships at anchor at the mouth of *Breton* neer the Cape *d'Ars*. The rest drew neer one of the Forts in the Ile of *Ree* called *La Pree*, against which they shot very much all day long, and the next day too until night in so much that the Ships encompassed the Point of *Sablanceau*, within half musket shot of the Land, and some of them adventured within Pistol shot: Which made the *Sieur de Thoyras*, then Governour of the Cittadel St. *Martin* in the Ile of *Ree*, Judg that they intended to there abouts, so he drew out as many of his men as he could well spare to prevent their designs, and carried them as neer as possibly he could to that place, that he might fall on them in their disbarking. But their Landing being favoured by above two thousand peeces which shot continually. They had the oportunity to set on shoar about ten thousand men. The *Sieur de Thoyras* had not with him above two hundred Horse and eight hundred foot, yet it being for his Majesties Honour to welcome them at their first footing, he resolved to assault them, notwithstanding the incredible violence of the Cannon, which beat down every thing that did but appear upon the shore. He hoped for a good successe from the Justness of his cause, and that his Souldiers would force Fortune to be favourable unto them. He divided his Horse into seven parties, five of which were commanded to give the Charge, and break the English ranks, and the foot had order to follow on; the two other parties were to keep off for a reserve, upon the first signal of the Fight, The first went on in good order, but were forced to Gallop off again, for that the English Cannon put them in such confusion, that the most part of them were routed before ever they came to engage, some killed, some wounded and others unhorsed; but their courage who were in a condition to march on, stood firm, so they advanced up to the English Battalions, and there did what ever could be expected from high resolutions. The English astonished to see the French come thundring in that manner upon them thorough the midst of the Flames and Cannon shot, were put into such disorder, that many of them swam to their Ships. The French now finding they were not pursued, and seeing that they were not in condition to fight, they rallied together and charged them once more, before ever the foot came up; but at last they came and fell in, doing more then could be expected; but the violence of the Cannon was such, that it was fit to sound the retreat, and to expect a more favourable occasion to fight with them. *Rostaincler* the *Sieur de Thoyras* his Brother, the Baron of *Chastail*, *Navailles* and divers other Gentlemen and light Horse, and about one hundred

hundred and fifty Souldiers were ſlain in the excounter; moſt part of the Officers being wounded: neither had the Engliſh a leſſe loſs. Fifteen Officers of their Army were killed beſides divers Livetenants and Enſigns. They likewiſe loſt one of their Collours, and upon a vew taken they found between five and ſix hundred killed and wounded. So they had but little ſtomack for that preſent to advance any farther into the Ilaud: but in 3 dages time they fortefied themſelves on the ſhore ſide, keeping under ſhelter of their Ships, neither would they ſtir one foot, till they were informed that the French intended to defend the Cittadel of St. *Martin*, and not meet them any more in the field.

*Politique Obſervation.*

I Think it impoſſible to prevent a ſtrong Fleet from landing in an *Iland*, where they may come on ſhore in ſundry places unfortefied. The night alone is enough to favour their landing, and admitting there were Forces enough to meet them in all places, yet the Canon would make ſuch havock, that at laſt there would be a neceſſity of giving them leave to come on ſhore. Thus hath Machiavel, and the wiſeſt Politions obſerved, That it ſeldome happened, that ever any Fleet eſpecially if accompanied with a good Army, was hindered from opening any paſſage if undefended by a good Caſtle. When *Francis* the firſt undertook the war in *Italy*, The Spaniards being on t'other ſide the River *Beuchamby*, with very great Forces to hinder his paſſage, were forced to make way for him, when they ſaw *Monſieur de Guiſe*, with his Sword in his hand followed by all the Troops to take water that they might come fight with them. In the like manner *Philip de Valois* having commanded *Godemar du Fay* to keep the Paſſage of the River *Somme* at *Blanchetacque* with a thouſand men at Armes beſides the *Bowman* of *Genoa*, and ſix thouſand foot did quickly notwithſtanding all this ſee the Engliſh Army force the paſſe, and in leſſe then ſix howers, to be all over, whilſt the Sea flowed back again. It were eaſie to produce many the like examples. But I rather think the wiſeſt courſe which can be taken on ſuch occaſions is to make them pay dearly for their Landing by cutting good ſtore of them in peeces, and to adventure on them at their firſt footing with courage and reſolution. The firſt attempts are they which make way for all the reſt. An Enemy finds himſelf aſtoniſhed at the death of ſome of his party, and at the great reſiſtance which he meeteth. The difficulties which are forſeen in obtaining of victories diſheartens all thoſe who have but a little courage: and it hath been often found that an enemy will more willingly retier himſelf, then run the hazard of a ſecond rout. Cruelty is allowable in ſuch occaſions, to ſtrick terrour into an enemy, to ſhake their reſolutions, and to affright them, for many from fearfall to deſpair of victorie, whilſt they judg, conſidering the ſtrong reſiſtance made in defence of a paſs, it muſt needs be a mark of the aſſured reſolution they have taken to defend themſelves in a place when once they are beſieged.

*Proſecution of the Hiſtorie.*

THE newes of the Engliſh Fleets arrival was ſoon brought to the Court, but the Cardinals Prudence was ſuch that he would not let the King be acquainted with it, leaſt it might encreaſe his Fever, neverthleſſe his Great *Genius*, who findeth remedies for all things, did take wonderful care by his orders to repel them. The King had already, upon Intelligence that the Engliſh were ſetting out, commanded many Regiments of Foot and Troops of light Horſe and diſpatched ſeveral Commiſſions to raiſe more Forces with order to all Officers, to come to the randevous at *Poictou*, and there to be in a readineſs, for ſuch imployments as occaſion ſhould require: He had alſo given the charge of this Army to the Duke of *Angouleſme*, who at his firſt comming, gave all neceſſary orders, for the ſafetie of Brouage, and the Iles of *Oleron*, relying entierly as to the Ile of *Ree*, on the courage and Loyalty of the *Sieur de Thoyras*, *Monſieur d'Angouleſme* had alſo put into

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Fort *Lewis*, all kinds of Ammunition with great diligence, whereby to repel the Engliſh, if they ſhould come to aſſault it and he made uſe of a Stratagem, which was the probable cauſe of ſtaying the Engliſh at the Ile of *Ree*, as alſo of preventing them from coming on the *Mainland*. His deviſe was this; He gave order, upon his firſt comming to the Quarter Maſter General of the Army to go to all the Boroughs and Villages there abouts, to provide Quarters for an Army between fifteen and twenty thouſand men, though he had not in all; above the half of that number.

The *Rochelois* hereupon ſwallowing this fiction for a truth, preſently adviſed the Engliſh of it, who apprehending the encounter of ſo great Forces, went to the Ile of *Ree*. He alſo obſerved the order given him by the Cardinal, not to provoke the *Rochelois*, nor give them the leaſt jealouſie of any thought to beſiege them. This Great Miniſter well knew, That the people are eaſily tranſported to all extremities, when they fear any ſevere puniſhment to fall upon them, and particularly that the *Rochelois* having called in the Engliſh to vindicate their Liberty, would never be induced totally to give themſelves up to them, whilſt they did not fear a ſiege, and that therefore it would be proper, not to give them any ſuſpition. And for the ſame reaſon it was, that the Duke of *Angoulſme*, did ſo favourably receive their Deputies, aſſuring them, that the King intended nothing elſe, but to let them enjoy their priviledges, on condition they deſerved it by their ſubmiſſion; he alſo ſuffered them to gather in their harveſts, thinking it leſſe inconvenient to let them make that proviſion, which at beſt could not much prolong the ſiege, then to give them occaſion, by declaring their deſign to deliver up themſelves to the Engliſh.

This diſpoſal of his was accompanied with great Prudence, yet not ſufficient to drive the Engliſh out of the Ile of *Ree*, or hinder them being Maſters thereof to go on the *Mainland*. *Monſieur* the Cardinal, who had the Charge under the Authority of the King and Queen Mother, to provide againſt this neceſſity, employed more effectual means, for the procuring thoſe happy ſucceſſes, which forced the World to believe, that the King could bring ſuch things to paſſe, as his predeceſſours could not aſpire to; He uſed extraordinary deligence to haſten the Levies, and to draw together good ſtore of ſhipping, to ſuccour *Ree* as alſo to hinder the Engliſh from entring into the Channel of *Rochel*, in caſe they ſhould attempt it, one of his Chief cares was to prohibit by an Edict all ſorts of Maritine commerce; and at the ſame time he ſent into parts, to man thoſe veſſels formerly employed, and with all ſpeed to bring them neer *Rochel*; he ſent to *Havre de Grace* and *Diepe* Commiſſions and mony, for the diſpatching of the Ships which he had there prepared, and unto *Oleron*, *Brouage* and *Guyenne*, to have victuals and ammunition in a readineſs. He gave Charge to the Abbot of *Marſillac*, to paſſe by the Coaſt of *Olonne* to raiſe Marriners, and to the *Sieur de Beaumont* Chief Comptroler of the Kings houſe, intimate friend of *Monſieur de Thoyras*, to emyloy his utmoſt care and induſtry to put proviſions into the Cittadel of *Ree*. Withal, *Touredes* was diſpatched to St. *Mallos* to rig out three great Ships, and *Beaulieur Courcelles*, with *Cantalona*, Sea Captains unto *Olonne*, to contrive away how to clap victuals into *Ree*. *Beaulieu Perſac* was ſent to execuſe a deſign he had propoſed to ſet fire on ſome of the Engliſh Ships, and to throw himſelf into the Cittadel of St. *Martin*, but he could not effect it. *La Rinterre*, after *Greffier* was ſent along the Coaſt to preſſe all the Shallops, that went with oare, he ſent *Magnac* to the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, and ſeveral Couriers, to the Towns upon the *Garronne*, to draw together all the Barks, Galliots, and ſmall veſſels which might be ſerviceable. He ſent poſt into *Holland* to the Commander *de Gouttes*, who commanded the Kings Ships to come away with all ſpeed, and at the ſame time underſtanding that the *Hollanders* were ſollicited by the Engliſh to aſſiſt them with their ſhipping, he ſet a Treaty of renuing alliance on foot by his Majeſties Ambaſſadour there, whereby to divert them. Which was ſoon agreed upon by giving them certain monyes, and ſo the Articles were ſigned; amongſt which this was one, that they ſhould aſſiſt the King

with their slipping, if need were. This Grand Minister excercised with admirable Prudence the advice of an Ancient, who counselled him that had two enemies, that he should compound with one of them, the better to make war with t'other: He likewise employed the Bishop of *Nismez*, *Monsieur de Thoyras* his Brother, and *Monsieur Desplan* one of his best friends, to advance those succours with all diligence. He made divers promises of ten thousand Crowns to them who should convey victuals into *Ree*, in short from *July* to the end of *August* there was nothing to be seen but Couriers of all qualities poasting up and down the Country, and others to advance the succours which at last arrived as we shall hereafter declare, and relieved *Ree*, to the shame of the English and the Kings immortal Glory.

*Politique Observation.*

PRudence is a Helmet which secureth a Kingdom from all sinister accidents which may betide it. It is the Eye of a Minister, of State which helpeth him to see all that is needful to be done, as his valour is the hand which serves him to put it in execution. Without it, he were more feeble then a Blind man; and might expect nothing but confusion from the resistances which he shall make against the enemies of the State; whereas with Prudence every thing is possible. *Antiquity* hath said that a Wise man is Fortunes Master, and that there is not any thing in the power of that blind Goddess, but is subjected to the Laws of vertue; and which may not be diverted by the prudent Counsel of a Wise man. *Plutarch* on the life of *Fabius* saith, God only gives good successe to mens actions, according to their being measured by vertue and Prudence; and the Example of the Emperour *Antonius* the *Debonnaire*, may serve to Illustrate this truth; He had so many good successes in all his undertakings, it is said he never repented of any his resolutions, and that he saw all his designs come to passe according as he contrived them; Now a certain Roman Senator taking the boldness, to aske him the reason of it, after he had testified how much he esteemed his conduct, and with what wonder he was possessed to see so happy an end crown all his endeavours; he was answered that he did as much as was possible, foresee all those accidents which might fall out and thereupon he prepared proper remedies for them: That he spared neither his care nor discretion, to bring his designs to passe, and that he committed the executing of them to person fit for it: This is the Rule of Prudence, and true it is that as the light of the Sun shews the way to any place where a man would go; so this vertue when possessed in any eminent degree, inlightens the Soul of a Minister with so much Splendor, that it gives him a means to obtain whatever he can propose to himself. It discovereth to him infallible wayes to arrive unto the ends of his undertakings, guideth his motions, ordereth his Counsels, regulateth his affections, composeth his Actions, Governeth his wisdome, appointeth his orders, and discovereth to him, whatever is able to stop the course of his designs: And as it teacheth never to attempt impossibilities so it is a most certain way to arrive unto whatever is within compasse of being brought to passe. And thus it may safely be said, that by Prudence it is, that God doth prepare the wayes of happiness and good successe for mankind.

## Buckingham *stormeth the Cittadel of St.* Martin.

NO one but God alone moveth in an instant. The succours could not be put into *Ree* on a sudden, and the English finding no body come to trouble them, in the fortifications upon the shore, resolved to besiege the Cittadel of St. *Martin*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, conceived such great hopes of making himself Master of the place, that he writ to his Master of Great *Britain*, that in eight days he would set up his Colours in it, and his Majesty published a Declaration inviting his subjects to go and inhabit the Island of *Ree*, promising them great priviledges and freedoms, and

and that he would take care to hunt out all the French. That which made *Buckingham* thus confident was, he found himself on the Island very ſtrong, and knew there were but few French in the Cittadel, and his Engineers aſſured him of making ſuch devices, that it ſhould be impoſſible for his Majeſty to relieve it. To which purpoſe, he made his approaches upon the Cittadel on the ſixth day after his arrival, and on the ſeventh commanded ſix peece of Cannon to be planted upon the Port of *St. Martin*, who began to batter the place from day break with ſuch effect, that beating all down where the Mills ſtood, they wanteſt but little of bearing them clear away; but the beſieged laboured with that dexterioufneſſe and diligence that they covered, and ſo ſaved them; and withall their Battery ſhot at that of the Engliſh, ſo luckily, that they ſoon diſmounted all their Cannon. This diſcredit madded the Engliſh, who the next day raiſed another Battery to be revenged of it, and drew their Trenches about the Cittadel, that they might make their nearer approach.

Now the *Sieur de Thoyras* not acquainted with letting his enemies make their avenues, without going out to meet them, fell upon them in their works; and the Engliſh were no ſooner at their labour, but he ſallied out upon them with great violence and courage. But above all, on the very firſt day he made uſe of one for to ſecure a Haven where ſuch Barques as came to releeve him, might land in ſafety, and raiſed a work round about it upon the ſhore-ſide, which he kept as carefully as the Cittadel it ſelf, and from thence it was that he received thoſe ſuccours which afterwards delivered him out of trouble. The enemies Trenches were not ſuch, but that he had intelligence with thoſe of the Iſland, eſpecially the Catholiques, who were a good number, and ſuch as might furniſh him with many neceſſaries for the Cittadel; which the Duke of *Buckingham* perceiving, ſent them all away in Boats, ſo that there was now no other hopes of relief but from the main land. The Engliſh in the mean time trifled out a moneth more, without doing any thing, but at laſt growing impatient, they reſolved to aſſault a Half Moon, not quite finiſhed, and by favour of the night fell upon it; but being got on the top of the Wall, they were knocked off again by the Halberds, and ſo ill-handled, that after the loſſe of about one hundred and fifty men, they drew off again, whereas we had onely four ſouldiers hurt. This vexed them indeed, and made them reſolve to try once more what good they could do upon the ſame Half Moon, but they were then alſo beaten off with good ſucceſſe. The *Sieurs Montant*, *Praron*, *Montandre*, *Caiſac*, and *Saint Previl* received the aſſault with a great deal of courage; of the French party *Beaulieu* onely miſcarried, and the greateſt hurt which the Engliſh did, was this, they poyſoned a certain Well near the Half Moon, that they might the more incommodate the beſieged, who to ſay truth, did very much want water, and thereupon they reſolved not to ſtir any more, but to force the place by Famine, and to put them to all imaginable inconveniences, which might compell them to ſurrender.

*Politick Obſervation.*

A Paſſe being once forced, it is diſcretion in him who is repelled to retreat unto ſome ſtrong hold, eſpecially if he be too weak to keep the Field. *Pericles* when he ſaw his Country aſſaulted by the *Lacedemonians*, did thus for though they burnt and pillaged the whole State, yet would he not ſtir out to fight them; chooſing rather with ſafety to preſerve, then hazard thoſe few Forces which he had. In the defence of a Place four things ought to bee obſerved, The Governour, the Souldiers, The Fortifications, and the Ammunitions. As for that which concerneth the Commander in Chief, he ought to be a perſon of an unqueſtionable fidelity, not to be corrupted by mony, one whoſe courage is invincible, and who knoweth not what fear is; His vigilance ought to be extream great, and uncapable of ſurpriſe, he ought to have a body enured to labour, and uſed to undergo the Inconveniencies of a town and ill diet; to have a confidence in his Souldiers that he may lead

them on whether ever he pleaſeth. The choiſe of Souldiers is no leſſe obſervable, and it were a madneſſe to make uſe of new raiſed Troops, unacquainted with trouble or the buſineſs of war; None but old experienced Souldiers ought to be put in a place of concernment; For this reaſon was it that the Romans alwayes diſpoſed ſuch old Soldiers as could no longer keep the field, into Garriſon: For all Fortifications how ſtrong ſo ever, are to little purpoſe, if they be not animated by the courage and vallour of the Souldiers within them. Courage is a thing ſo potent, that by it we have ſeen many places defended againſt moſt great Armies; Fortifications however ought not to be neglected, but on the contrary, in caſe they be not regular and in good order, when a place is firſt beſieged, then he who is overſeer of them ought to work day and night with extraordinary care and dilligence until they be brought to a condition, of not fearing any aſſault. It is impoſſible whole to defend them from the violence of the Cannon, but the Governour ought alwayes to have in readineſs good ſtore of Baskets Faggots, ſacks of wool, and Hogsheads filled with earth to make up any Breaches, which ſhall be made. Now as to that which relateth to Munitions of war and victuals. The care of them is not leſſe conſiderable, for that the Souldiers who are to defend a place muſt both eat and fight, and he who is Governour of them muſt make ſure of ſuch proviſions, as may ſuffice to endure the ſiedg to the very utmoſt. No exact meaſure can be ſet down, but they ought to be proportioned to the places themſelves, ſo that if the place be Tenable for a long ſiedg there ought then to be a greater quantity of proviſion made, and if it be lyable to a ſurprile by aſſault then the leſſe will ſerve turn. If in caſe there ſhould be any defect in making of neceſſary proviſion, he is then obliged to uſe his utmoſt care and endeavour for the bringing of it to the place, his ruine being unavoidable, if he want means to prevent it; and that he may ſecure away to receive ſuch proviſions he muſt as much as poſſibly he may make ſure of the Avenues of the Port, if it be a Sea Town, and if it be an Inland place then thoſe paſſes which lye next to it. Thus did *Corbulus*, when he was beſieged as *Tacitus* relateth it by King *Tyridates*, he contrived away to make ſure of thoſe paſſages by which he received his Proviſions and Recruits from the Pontique Sea and the City of *Trabeſond*, by building a certain Fort upon an adjoyning *Mountain*, by which means he had all neceſſaries brought to him, ſo that his enemies attempts prooved all to no purpoſe.

## *Proſecution of the Hiſtory.*

THis procedure of the Engliſh brought the beſieged in the Citadel of St. *Martin* to great neceſſity. When the ſiedge firſt began, they were furniſhed with ſtore of victuals butter, and wine, but there were for many Gentlemen volunteers to be fed, ſo many footmen and Officers beſides the R giment and a grea- many Catholick inhabitants of the Iland that in a ſhort time they were reduced to bread and water. Their greateſt trouble was to be ſix weeks without hearing any thing from the Main Land; all the boats which had attempted to come to them, to aſſure them of a ſtrong ſuccour, had been ſtopt by the enemy, excepting one only which brought them ſome victuals upon the thirteenth day of *Auguſt*, ſo that they knew not what to hope for. That which moſt of all perplexed them was, that the Engliſh made ſeveral inventions, to ſtop up the mouth of the haven, and to prevent the means of their ſuccours; they firſt of all built a certain Fort upon three or four great Ships faſt tied together, upon which they planted eight or ten piece of Cannon, to hit between wind and water any boats that ſhould attempt to paſſe: they made a certain raing of Ships before the place, which ſhut up the paſſage: Withall they tied great Cabals from one veſſel to another, upon which they hung certain barrels to keep them up above water, and hinder any releif. The Sea indeed and the winds laugh'd at their deviſes, overwhelming them in the water, ſo that the Engliſh were forced to unty their Cables, ſeeing in what danger their Ships were, when the wind began to riſe and the Sea to be troubled; But however, they having blocked

blocked up the paſſage, ſo that it was impoſſible for the beſieged to ſend or receive any boats to or from the many Land, it the much troubled them, and diverſe Soldiers of the Cittadel annoyed with hunger and other neceſſities found means to get out and ſurrender themſelves to the enemy, diſcovering the ſtraits to which the beſieged were reduced: Whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham*, that he might make uſe of this advantage, writ to the *Sieur de Thoyras*, where after he had highly commended his courage, he invited him to ſurrender himſelf and deliver up and place upon honourable conditions, that he might withdraw himſelf from that imminent peril to which he was like to be expoſed, by the evil treatment, which if vanquiſhed, he would force upon himſelf. The *Sieur de Thoyras* endured this neceſſity with delight, becauſe it was accompanied with glory, nor was he at all moved at the receipt of the Letter; but he returned anſwer to the Duke, that neither the deſpair of relief, nor the fear of being ill treated, though to the greateſt extremity, ſhould ever be able to make him quit his deſign of defending the place; That he confeſſed himſelf obliged to him for his civil propoſal, but that he ſhould think himſelf unworthy of any of his favours, ſhould he omit any one point of his duty in this occaſion, the ſucceſſe of which could not but be very honourable unto him, However, that he might take off from the impatience of the Engliſh, he thought it proper, and that by the Councel of his friends to pretend a Treaty with them, which he continued with ſuch addreſſe, that his enemies verily believed that his thoughts were enclined rather to ſurrender than to gain time in hopes of relief: The Duke of *Buckingham*, ſuppoſing it impoſſible that they ſhould be relieved, conſidering his engines, and the great number of his Ships, which lay in the Roade before the place, fought rather to face the beſieged by famine than to run new hazards by aſſaulting them after his firſt ill ſucceſſe. In the mean while as neceſſity doth quicken induſtry, ſo the *Sieur de Thoyras* found means to ſend three Soldiers to the Main Land by ſwimming, to give his Majeſty notice of the condition in which he was, & to haſten away relief. One of them called *Le Pierre* paſſed the Sea, forcing its waves to yeild to his reſolution. He came to the Army before *Rochel* and delivered the Letters which he had for the King, and others the *Sieur de Thoyras* his friends. The Duke of *Angouleſme* diſpatched that to his Majeſty, then at *Villeroy*, and his cares for ſending the relief were doubled; ſo that the *Sieur de Thoyras* his friends, knowing in what condition he was, and how important it was to the Kings honour to aſſiſt him, did uſe their utmoſt endeavours to heaſten away his relief.

*Politique Obſervation.*

ONe of the greateſt difficulties, to which a man can be brought in ordinary ſeiges is the inability of ſending intelligence to them, from whom he doth expect relief; and one of them greateſt cares of the who beſiege a place, is to ſtop all wayes that nothing way paſſe in or out. Some have made uſe of the night for this purpoſe as the Goths did, when they would ſend news to *Vitigez*, being beſieged in *Ormuz* by *Belligarius*; they made a great noiſe at one of the Gates, pretending as if they would ſally out upon their enemies, to the intent that *Belliſarius* might draw all his Forces theither and leave but a few at that quarter, by which they deſigned to ſend away their Meſſenger. A Stratagem indeed very advantagious, when managed with prudence. The ſame Goths, as *Procopus* reports, uſed another deviſe upon the ſame occaſion to ſend news to *Vitigez*, which was, They corrupted ſome ſentinels for mony, an invention eaſy to be practiſed in civil wars, where both parties are acquainted with one another. But that which is the moſt certain way, which they who are beſieged may make uſe of, to ſend a broad intelligence, ought to be guided by diſcretion, according as occaſions preſent themſelves, and executed them with all poſſible addreſſe; for it is an art, not to be laid down by certain Rules, neither can it be learned by precepts; but natural induſtry infuſeth it by diverſe inſtincts, and experience teacheth it in war. I ſhall onely add that there

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are ſundry and divers means to be met with in Hiſtory, which great Captains have uſed on this occaſion. The Campany being beſiged by the Romans, ſent a man, who counterfeyted himſelf mad, with letters for the *Carthaginians* in his girdle, *Hircius Conſul*, writ to *Decius Brutus* then beſieged in *Modena* by *Antonius*, and ſent his Letters made up in lead, faſtned to the Arms of thoſe who ſwam over the River. The ſame man did ſome times keep up Pidgeons in the dark without giving them to eat, and then finding them almoſt famiſhed, carried them as near the place as poſſibly he could, then let them go; which flying to the houſes with their letters about their necks, were either taken down or killed by *Brutus*. *Juſtine* reports that *Harpagus*, that he might conveigh Letters to *Cyrus*, put them up in the belly of an hare and ſent them by a faithful Servant, who paſſed through King *Arbactius* guardes for an Huntſman.

Others have uſed as many different deviſed, as their wits and opportunities could attaine to. That which ought to be obſerved, is this, that ſuch Letters ought not to be writ in Characters or ſuch cyphers which are legible. We are not now in *Cæſars* dayes, who deſigning to ſend *Cicero* word that he was at hand to relieve him, writ to him onely in Greek: At this time there are no cyphers, which are not eaſily found out. It were fit that they were like the Characters of Chineníes, which ſignifie things not Letters, who writing as many different Characters as there are things, it muſt needs be an hard matter to decypher them. Theſe Characters, too for the greater ſecurity ſhould be writ with the juyce of Limmons or Onyons between the Lines of Letters, in which there is nothing of concern, becauſe that which is writ with this juyce cannot be read, but by water or fire. It were not amiſſe too, if he who is Governour, before the ſiedg, agree with him to whom he would ſend intelligences of the manner he would write to him, and there might be onely certain words in each line, which compoſed together ſhould diſcover his thoughts, and yet taken with the reſt, would be thought to treat of other buſineſſe than that which is really intended.

## *The Ile of* Ree *relieved.*

THE Relief of the Iſland was due to the Cardinal after his great or rather extream care. One of the cheifeſt means he uſed to effect it was this, He ſent to *Bayonne* for 15 flat veſſels, called Primaces, built both to ſail and row and withal very fleet, and able to endure a ſtorm, He judged by his prudence, that the Engliſh having none of this faſhion, they might eaſily get to *Ree* in the night, without being diſcovered. The order was diſpatched to the Count *de Grand-Mont* with command to put them under the conduct of the *Sieur de Chalar* Captain of one of the Kings Ships, then in *Spain*, and in caſe he ſhould not be come back, then to whom he thought fit. The Count provided the 15 Primaces with all haſte, he armed then with Muſquets and piks the beſt he could, in each of them he put 20 ſeamen, and took care if nothing was wanting. The *Sieur de Chalar* not being returned, he committed the conduct of them to Captain *Baſlin*, one of the moſt experienced and ſtouteſt Sea Captain in thoſe Parts. About the end of *Auguſt*, he came with his Primaces to the Sands of *Oſonne*, where the Abbot of *Marſillac* received him with great joy, and his veſſels being well ſtored with victuals add ammunition, he lent him ſix ſcore men of the Regiment *de Champany* with ſome Voluntiers, to put off upon the firſt occaſion. Upon the fifth of *September*, he ſet ſail in the head of his little Fleet about 6 of the clock at night. Soon after he knew that he was near the Enemies Fleet, he ſpead abroad his great ſailes, and was preſently diſcovered. But the Primaces going very ſwift could not be ſtopped by the Engliſh Veſſels; they went without loſſe, onely ſome ſails and one or two Maſts were ſhattered, and one ſhot through with a bullet. *Baſlin* having thus paſſed the Enemies, fell upon the *Baracado* which they had made, to hunder relief, which conſiſted of great Maſts linked together with iron chains and tied with Cabels faſtned to great Anchors; however many of the Primances by reaſon, of their lightneſs

neſs and ſwiftneſs paſſed over, the reſt as it pleaſed God did light upon a certain place, where the foregoing night a tempeſt had broken part of their *Baracado*, through which they paſſed without difficulty; ſo that about two in the night they ran aſhore near one of the *Baſtilions* of the Cittadel, a place where the Engliſh could not hurt them. The relief was great both for their reputation and aſſiſtance; It came ſo opportunely, that it gave them new courage, who were till then hardly able to breath, and it may ſafely be ſaid that this one action was the deciding of the controverſie. The paſſage was afterward clear, The beſieged perſwaded themſelves that they ſhould now want nothing, and the Engliſh were ſo aſtoniſhed at it, that they ſent to his Majeſties *Haburin* the Duke of *Buckinghams* Kinſman, to ſee if he would make any propoſitions of Peace; but he was ſent back as he went, without ſpeaking with the King, who could no more reſolve to ſee him, than to ſuffer the Engliſh to go away without treating them as they deſerved, that they might have no great will to come another time.

Diverſe other veſſels attempted to paſſe unto the *Iſland*, but being heavier than the Pinnaces, they were forced to go off, ſome one way and ſome another through the Engliſh Fleet. It was then reſolved, that 10 other Pinnaces ſhould be got from *Bayonne*, which the Count *de Grant-Mont* rigged out and ſent under the Command of Captain *Audoun*, upon the 4 of *October* they came upon the Sands of *Olonne*, They were ſoon laded and accompanied with 25 other little Veſſels, 300 Soldiers went abroad them and 60 choice Gentlemen. Upon the 6 of *October* they put off. The *Sieur de Cuſar*, and Captain *Audouin* were Commanders of the Squadron. But the wind changing, as ſoon as ever they were at Sea, two dayes paſt before they came to *Re*, and that by day too. The Engliſh Fleet ſoon diſcovered them, and engaged them in a rough fight. Muſquet and Canon ſhot were not ſpared, but their courage ſurmounting their danger, 29 of the Veſſels got clear to the Cittadel, where they run aſhore on Friday morning the 8 of *October*; five of their Veſſels were forced to give back: One onely in which were the *Sieurs de Beaulieu* and *Ruzilly*, was taken by the Enemy. The Engliſh were ſo incenſed at it, that they made in 24 hours above 2000 great ſhot upon the Port St. *Martin* ſo that there were onely 5 Pinnaces and one Traverſin in condition to ſail; but the veſſels were unladed, and the Gentlemen and Souldiers happily landed in the Cittadel.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THE Relieving of a place is of ſuch importance, that without it no place is able to hold out, when the beſiegers appear to be reſolute before it. He who relieves them, is acknowledges for their deliver, and does conſiderable ſervice to his Prince. Although Sea-Ports are more eaſily aſſiſted than Inland Towns, eſpecially with a ſtrong Fleet, becauſe it is hard, if the winds, which with their inconſtancy have an abſolute Empire over the Sea, ſhould not at ſome one time or other preſent a favourable occaſion to break through all the obſtacles, which their enemies Ships can make; yet it is not the ſame thing when there is a want of great Ships to fight with thoſe of the Enemy. When it happens thus, Prudence joyned with Fortune muſt ſurpaſſe all thoſe difficulties, which oppoſe the relief of the place. There muſt of neceſſity be an expectation till Fortune preſents a favourable wind, without which, what were it but raſhly to run into danger? But when the wind ſits right, the opportunity ought not to be loſt, and then a wiſe Pilot guided by his induſtry, may hope for a good ſucceſſe from his enterpriſe.

The Chief points, which he ought to obſerve, are, to provide ſtore of light veſſels, which may paſſe the quicker. For beſides that deligence, the Mother of good ſucceſſe, it is particularly needful, when a ſtrong Fleet is to be broke through; and it gives great advantages, in regard the Enemies great Ships cannot ſail ſo nimbly. It is true the light ones may be ſtopped by the Enemies which are of the ſame buſk, but it is an hard matter, if carrying a great number for the ſuc-

cour,

cour, ſome ſhould not eſcape, eſpecially, becauſe the ſmaller veſſels of the enemy are uſually diſperſed abroad upon the guard and cannot ſo quickly come into the fight; for that wind which is good to ſome, is contrary to others, and the ſuccours having no great number of Ships for fight, one part advanceth through, whiles the others bears the brunt.

Beſides, it were neceſſary to be very ſecret in providing the Convoy, and lading the Barques; and if it be poſſible to prevent the Enemies knowledge of it, they will not be ſo ſtrict in their watch, a diſperſing their ſmall veſſels abroad. Withal an Enemy taken unprepared is not ſo terrible as when adviſed, and in readineſſe. The night gives a great help, and ought chiefly be made choiſe of, as well for its darkneſs, which hinders their being diſcovered, as becauſe then great Ships dare not be too bold leſt they run on ground, ſo that the little ones are they which muſt purſue the fight. But above all the Command ought to be given to a couragious prudent Captain, followed by choiſe Soldiers, Victory being obtained more by vallour then multitude. Such men ought to be choſen, who neither fear Muſquet nor Canon, but are reſolved to run the hazard. Canons indeed are not much to be feared in the night, becauſe they can hardly be levelled a right by reaſon of the darkneſs, and the ſwiftneſs of the veſſels motion.

*Proſecution of the Subject.*

THe King unable to come to *Rochel* ſo ſuddenly, as his courage perſwaded him, reſolved to ſend thither *Monſieur* the Duke of *Orleans* his brother; thoſe ſuccours conducted by *Audouin*, were an effect of his care and vigilance to ſerve the King on this occaſion; for having ſeen that the firſt Pinnaces guided by *Baſlin* had happly arrived at the *Iſland*, he thought it would not be amiſſe to procure others to ſend a freſh ſupply, and therefore he diſpatched away a Servant of his, one Sainct *Florent* to the Count *de Grant-mont* to entreat him to make ready ten others, and to ſend them by ſome Captain, of whom he had a particular knowledge: The Gentleman departing the 14 of *September*, arrived the 4 of *October* with them to the Sands of *Olonne*. To ſpeak ſome thing of the power which *Monſieur* had before *Rochel*, it was an effect of the Kings Prudence and the Cardinals councel, who was not ignorant how that certain perſons, whom he confided in, had craft enough to raiſe ſome diſcontent in him, if he had not been employed in the war; And the King thinking it neceſſary to ſend a Chieftain in his abſence of ſuch quality, whoſe preſence might animate the Souldiers, and whoſe condition might oblige the Grandees to obey him without jealouſie, choſe *Monſieur* and ſent him full power as Livetenant General of the Camp at *Rochel*, of his Forces in *Poiction*, *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois* and *Aulnis*. *Monſieur* ſhewed in ſeveral encounters that he had no leſſe Vallour or conduct, than thoſe who had ſpent all their time in Arms: Inſomuch that he once engaged his Perſon in a skirmiſh with the *Rochelois*, where they had much a do to bring him off. He was extream careſull for the bringing up of the Forces to the Camp, and oftentimes attempted the relief of the Iſle of *Ré*, and to keep the Army in diſcipline. The King arrived at *Rochel*, and teſtified a great ſatisfaction at his extraordinary conduct by *Careſſes*, ſufficient to have obliged him, to have expected the iſſue of ſuch glorions deſigns in his Majeſties company, had not his confidence diverted him from it and perſwaded him after the defeat of the Engliſh to return to *Paris*. They made him believe that the Cardinal had all the authority and that himſelf had onely the name, although this Grand Miniſter was never deficient in paying him all reſpects. Theſe ſeditious Spirits were ſo pricked with envy to ſee him act ſuch glorious things. It is true they likewiſe found that the Cardinals deſign was, by thus employing *Monſieur* in an affair whereby he was obliged to be every hour with the King, to make a good underſtanding between them; a thing no whit deſired by them, who rather endeavoured continually to ſow diſtruſts between them, which would render themſelves the more conſiderable by their ſeeming to be loyall and uſefull. This procedure

dure is ordinary with them, who ſerve great Princes for their private Intereſts; they ſtill fear, leſt their Maſter ſhould confide more in others then themſelves, and there is no device which they make not uſe of to prevent it. This was the true reaſon, which carried *Monſieur* back to *Paris*, his Highneſs having given more credit to their councels, which he thought were accompanied with faithfulneſs, than to his own paſſion, which carried him on to the wars, when he might teſtify his courage to be no way inferiour to his birth.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is neceſſary for the good of a State ſo to employ the Princes of the blood, eſpecially him who is Heir apparent to the crown, that they live contented, but withal that they affirm not too great authority in affairs. *Alexander* his procedure was very barbarous, when paſſing into *Aſia*, he killed all his kindred, excepting one of his Baſtard brothers, of whom he had no ſuſpition: A Barbarouſneſs onely received among Turks, where it paſſeth for a piece of Policy. I cannot leſſe blame the Kings of *Orinus*, who before they were beaten by the Portugals, took away the lives of moſt of their kindred. The Kings of *China* too are no leſſe to be blamed, who ſhut them up in a place, from whence they never are permitted to come out, excepting onely him, who is to ſucceed in the Empire: Chriſtianity hath Laws more moderate, and approveth not of this rigorous tyranny, but it well liketh thoſe prudent counſels, which Kings take, ſo to treat them that they may not have any grounds of diſcontent which might carry them to broyles, and that they become not too powerfull in the State. It is wiſedome to be kind unto them, to deal favourably with them as occaſion ſhall ſerve, to employ them in the Court with honour and in ſuch Offices, which have more credit than power, not to give them the Authority of a great province, of any ſtrong places, or the command of an Army, at leaſt for no long time, without a faithful Lyetenant, who by his credit with the Souldiers may hinder them from abuſing their power. If but a little be added to the greatneſs of their birth, they become too potent and aſſume too great authority. The deſire of Command, which their birth hath given them, doth blind their minds, when they find themſelves with their Swords in their hands. Command ſaith *Titus Livy*, takes off from the Loyalty of the neareſt relations, and makes their Counſels prejudicial to the publique good.

*Artaxerxes* had no ſooner cauſed his ſon to be choſen King but he was in danger, of being killed by him. So *Selimus* being made partner of the Government by his father *Bajazet* ſlew him, that he alone might have the ſole command. And *Don Charles* would have had done as much to his Father *Philip* King of *Spain*, not being able to ſtay until his natural death ſhould make way for his coming to the Crown? Hardly an Age paſſeth, but ſome examples of this kind have appeared, which have made it evident, that great power in the Princes Royal, is incompatible with the Publique Quiet, or the ſafety of a Soveraign.

## *The King after his Recovery comes to* Rochel *to beat the Engliſh out of* Ree.

THE firſt ſuccours, which had been ſent to *Ree*, had been to little purpoſe, if the King had not come in perſon, and ſent over an Army to drive out the Engliſh; It was an enterpriſe ful of hazard to expoſe all the Forces which his Majeſty had on foot at *Poictou*, to the mercy of the Sea, to diſ garriſon all the Ports of the Main Land, to relieve a Fort half loſt, and to land in an *Iſland* in ſight of a potent Army; ſeeing eſpecially that in ſo doing, *Rochel* would be in ſome ſort left as a prey to ſtrangers. However neceſſity perſwaded to wink at all hazards; it was impoſſible to overcome them but in the Kings preſence, at whoſe ſight there is not any difficulty, which the courage of the French would not ſurmount. His Majeſty

having recovered his health, forthwith reſolved to depart from *Paris*. He forgot not before his departure to provide for the ſafety of thoſe Provinces, from whence he departed to which end, he ſent the *Duke d'Elbeuf* to the coaſts of *Picardy* and the Duke *de Longueville* to thoſe of *Normandy*, with Forces and power to oppoſe the Engliſh, if they ſhould make any incurſion there about. He ſent other Commiſſions to diverſe Lords to raiſe new Troops and to haſten them away with the firſt, toward *Poictou*. He diſpatched the Duke *de Guiſe* to command the Fleet, part of which was already drawn together. He accepted of the offer made by *Don Diego de Maxie* from the King of *Spain*, of a Fleet to ſerve him againſt the Engliſh, but the truth was with deſign rather to hinder the *Spaniards* from aſſiſting his Enemies under hand, than for any great help he expected from it. In fine, he gave power to the Queen Mother, to govern, during his abſence, the Provinces in and about *Paris*; and then he ſet forwards toward *Rochel*, that he might be there with the firſt. The news of his departure did much encourage the beſieged, as alſo the Army, which lay in expectation of him, before *Rochel*. They were all on fire to be at it with their Enemies. His Majeſty knew with what earneſt deſire they expected him, ſo he would not make any ſtay in his journey, onely at *Saumer*, where is the Church *De Noſtre Dame des Ardelliers*. The King knew that victory was the gift of Heaven, that it is rather Gods than the Souldiers hands which procure it, and that men do in vain attempt if not favoured by his providence. He commanded publique prayers to be made over all *France*, for the imploring of Gods aſſiſtance. He reſted one day at *Saumer*, where he faſted with ſuch devotion and confidence, that every one hoped for an happy ſucceſſe from his fervent prayers. Neither was it in vain, for ſhortly after *Audouin* got into the beſiedged Cittadel, the newes whereof came to his Majeſty then at *Niort* upon the 9 of *October*, from whence he forthwith departed toward *Rochel*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

AS God is the Authour, ſo his Providence is the Governour of Kingdomes. His wiſdome is an all ſeeing eye, to look into whatever is neceſſary for them: and his hand is omnipotent to provide all wayes for their glory. That Creature which is born in the Sea, finds his livelihood there. The Tree which grows on the earth, is nouriſhed there. The Fruit which owes it's birth to the Tree, owes alſo it's maturity. The Sun compleateth the Gold which he formeth, and thus States eſtabliſhed by God ought to expect all their happineſs and good ſucceſſes from his providence. That is it which infuſeth into Kings the knowledge of what is proper to be done, both in Peace and War: It is he who holdeth the hearts of all ſubjects in his hands, who inſpireth them with reſpects due to their Authority, and keepeth them in obedience. How eaſily can God humble at his own pleaſure, the minds of Rebels, abate their Fury, pull down their courage and force them to live, within their limits! And is he not the God of Battailes too, who beſtoweth victory where he pleaſeth, defendeth Juſtice by the Arms of the Souldier, ſtriketh terror amongſt his Enemies; and many times gives greater ſucceſſe, then reaſon and the means would admit to be hoped for? To him it is Kings ought to have recourſe in matters of concernment. *David* never went to war, but he conſulted with God. *Conſtantine* the Great, in that war which he made with the *Perſians*, cauſed a little Oratory in form of a Church to be carried with him, that in it he might do his devotions, and every *Legion* had its *Templum Mobile* wherein the Prieſts and Deacons ſaid Maſſe, to implore Gods aſſiſtance. By Prayers, is Peace continued, and Enemies by it are overthrown. Every Prince who is ingaged in any great enterpriſe, is bound to believe it, and to have recourſe to God, by Prayers, by works of Piety and Religion, aſſuring themſelves upon his promiſe, of giving them what ever they ſhall heartily requeſt, becauſe he is juſt, and will be near them, who ſhall call upon him; that he will fulfill their deſires who fear him; Exalt the faithful, who hope in him; and keep thoſe who love him.

Ree

Ree is relieved.

UPon the Kings arrival, all thoughts were bent to execute the resolution taken at *Paris*, to send a strong relief into *Ree*; not only that the English might be forced from the siedge, but quite driven out of the Island; The Kings courage would have carried him to go fight his enemies in person at Sea, but the Cardinal and his Generals by their intreaties, foreseeing into how great danger he run, perswaded him to the contrary. His Majesty would not by any means give leave, that the Cardinal should go, but desired, he might stay behind, to take the Chief care of sending the relief upon him, it being easie to judg, that if his counsels were so successful in his absence, he might obtain by his presence what ever could be desired. Hereupon the Cardinal commanded, that some of the vessels designed for the business, should be made ready with whatever was necessary for the sick and the sound, with store of Munition, and the day following the *Sieur de Beaumont* commanded them to Fort *Dedupree*, which place the English did not much secure; for they had victuals sufficient for six months for one hundred men that kept it; the same day he likewise sent order to *Oleron*, for the conveighing part of the Regiment of *Plessis-Praslin*, to begin certain Trenches, and to draw certain lines and redoubts about the port which might favour the comming of the great relief; They all got safe in and lost not a man; this good successe put the rest of the Souldiers in heart who were to passe thither. Without loosing more time the Duke of *Orleans* was sent by the King to *Plumb*, that he might put aboard the Ships *Le Sieur de Canoples*, seven hundred men of the guard, the Regiment of *Beaumont*, some Volunteers and good store of Munition, who though he were then only eighteen year old, yet disposed all things so prudently, as if experience had made him grow old in arms; After the five and twentith of *October*, the King who knew the names and persons of most of his old Souldiers, had filled up all the Troops, the Masters of the Camp, Captains, and all the rest, who were to go. His Majesty knew, that it is not the number which gets the victory but courage, and therefore he would not have one man amongst them of whom he had not some experience: These Forces commanded by the *Sieur de Canoples*, came all safe within two howers to the Fort *De La Pree*; The aire was of a light fire with the shot which were made at them, but not a Ship persued them, so they received no losse. St. *Previll* seeing them approach, went out to discover who they were, and told the *Sieur de Canoples*, that the enemy informed of their imbarking, were in ambush behind certain old houses with intention to fall upon them at their Landing; hereupon he commanded the *Sieurs de Fouville*, *de Malicy*, *de Tilladat* and *de Porcheus* presently to Land their Souldiers, he shewed Serjant Major *Brierees* the several Posts where every one should be, and gave orders for the fight. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who commanded in his own person hearing the noise of their landing, drew out his Forces into three divisions, and leading them towards the Port, they were not discovered until they came just upon the Kings Forces, and that only by the light of their Matches, so dark was the night. *Tilladet's* Chief Serjant, who led on the forlorne hope, first espying them gave them a salute which laid some of them on the ground, however the rest came on; The *Sieur de Canoples* seeing them not above fifty paces from *Fouville's* Squadron, resolved, after he had proposed it to the other Captains, to fall on them, which put an end to the business. *Fouville* went up and that so near them, that not a Musquet was shot off but at push a Pikes. The two Battalions of the French and English discharged at the same time, the fight grew hot, Both Commanders and Souldiers, were at emulation with one another to shew that, it was not without reason, the King had made choise of them, in this occasion. Their Courages saved them, for the Enemy was much more numerous then they were. Indeed the *Sieur de Canoples* good conduct did not a little further the business, for knowing the strength of the English, he had commanded the Captains to draw all their Souldiers, into the Counter Scarps of the Port, but he had

not so ordered his businesse, had it not been in the night; for *Buckingham* seeing his first Battalia in disorder, and thinking he had onely met with the Forlorn Hope, commanded a retreat. He left six and thirty on the place, and of his Majesties party, there were onely six and twenty killed and wounded, amongst the rest, *Mansan*, *Tourilles* Lievetenant, was found dead of a Musket shot, and two cuts with a Halberd.

*Politique Observation.*

WHen there is a necessity at first dash to fight an enemy, it is more discretion to fall on him, then to expect him; and especially being inferiour to him in force, for then pure valour must carry it. Souldiers are ever more couragious in assaulting then receiving an enemy. An assault distracteth an enemy, maketh in suspect some further stratagem, and puts him often into disorder. *Julius Cæsar* made an experiment hereof, when passing the *Hellespont* in one onely Galliot, he met *Crassius*, Captain of the contrary Faction, with ten Gallies. A courage lesse resolute then his would have endeavoured to save himself by the lightnes of his vessel, but in stead of flying he put himself into a posture of defence, went directly up against *Crassius*, and so terrified him, that *Crassius* delivered up himself. When such encounters are foreseen, it is needful to be accompanied with choise resolute Souldiers, such as know not what fear is, for fear is repelled by any the least resistance. A timerous Souldier never yet did any thing worth notice, but to a resolute man, every thing makes way. It is said of *Cajus Marius* that in his youth, he was so hardy in all his enterprises, that nothing could resist him, but that in his age, his Vallour decreased, with the heat of his Bloud which lost him some part, of his reputation. *Bertrand du Gueslin* was both one of the most valiant and Fortunate, of his times; But every one doth ascribe those great advantages, which he obtained in Battails to that resolution of his, which would sometimes so transport him, that he would with a dozen Souldiers, fall into the midst of his Enemies, who unable to withstand the effects of so admirable a vallour, would presently be put to disorder. *Robert de La March*, hath afforded us one more notable example of the successe which attendeth on vallour: it was in the Battail of *Navarre*, where being touched with a fatherly affection, he rushed into the Battail of the Swisses then victorious, that he might save his Sons *Florange* and *James*, who lay upon the ground much wounded: Which resolution of his was so successful, that though seconded but by a few Horse yet it so terrified the *Swizzers*, that they could not prevent his bringing of them off in safety.

*Prosecution of the Subject.*

THe Duke of *Buckingham* finding it would be a difficult thing for him, in future to prevent the accesse of relief to the Island, as well because divers Vessels of his Fleet were lost, as also by reason of the small successe he had hitherto had, resolved to make his last attempt upon the Cittadel of *St. Martin*. He was not ignorant of those other and greater preparations which were in agitation upon the main land, to send a stronger supply then any yet; so that there was a necessity of taking the place, or hazarding a sharp conflict. The *Sieur de Thoyras* had divers conjectures of his design, and that he might put himself into a condition of defending himself he sent advice to the Fort *de la Pree*, desiring them to have their Forces in a readinesse, to assist him, when he should discharge three Canon shot, for a sign that the enemy began their assault. Presently hereupon, the *Sieur de Canaples* called the Officers together, to consult of what was proper to be done, and it was unanimously concluded, that all their Forces should be put into Battalia by break of day: That they should march towards *Abbay*, and that upon hearing of the Signal, they should go directly to the enemy to divert them from the Assault. This Order was exercised accordingly, and they were no sooner drawn up together

ther, but the Cannons gave them notice of the assault: The *Sieur de Canaples* went directly towards the Cittadel. It is reported, that there were between four and five thousand English at the assault: However, they made but two considerable attempts, one upon the *Bastion de Theyras*, which was not quite finished; they got up upon the Rampars, but were so ill treated by the Besieged, that they were forced to give back, and to make such hast down their Ladders, that some of them never touched but the last round. The t'other Attempt was at the *Bastion Antioch*, where the English had no better successe, for many of them were killed with Musket shot, Stones, and long Staffs which were in the Half Moon, so they fled and were pursued home to their Trenches. That which forced them most to fall back, was to see the Forces which were come out from *Pree* so neer them. The Duke of *Buckingham* guessing their design was to fall upon his Trenches, and to charge them in the Rear, drew off his forces, and set them in order to receive them: But the Kings forces finding the assault given over, and the enemy embattailed made an halt, the *Sieur de Canaples* being unwilling to undertake any thing but the defence of the Cittadel, until the great relief were arrived, that he might not hazard his men to no purpose. The two Armies lay in view of each other, the rest of the day, without doing any thing, and night comming on, they of the Kings party, withdrew to *Pree*. In the mean while, the *Sieur de Canaples* unwilling as hath been said to attempt any thing, was inform'd how the besieged had taken all the Ladders of the English, fifty Prisoners, most of which were Captains and Officers, that they had killed between five and six hundred, without losing above eighteen or twenty men, and some few wounded, amongst which were the *Sieurs de Sardaignes* and *Gran Val*, who being shot through the Bodies died in a few dayes after. This Victory did much rejoyce the Kings Army, and his Majesty himself too, who was diligently informed of it. The English doubting their Trenches would not secure them, forsook the one half of them, and shortly after resolved to go back for *England*.

*Politique Observation.*

TWo things are chiefly necessary for the repelling of an assault, men and fortifications. It cannot be denied but that fortifications are needfull; for it were a vanity to beleeve, that a few men blocked up in a place, should be able to resist a whole Army, if they be not defended with *Bastions*, half Moons, and other Forts raised up to a sufficient height to protect them, whence it follows, that his chief care who doth command a place when he fore-sees an assault, ought to be, to provide his fortifications, that they bee in a condition proper for it, and that hee have preparations in a readinesse to repair the breaches. He will find it too no small advantage against his enemies, since it is much easier to repulse an enemy, who attempts to enter a place by Scaling-Ladders, then if there were a Breach where many might come in a Breast, or his Fortifications should be in want of repair. But whatever advantage it is to have good and strong Fortifications, yet the valour of the Souldiers, is that which is most of all considerable. What said *Pompey*? It is not Walls or Houses which makes Towns, but men, neither can they be defeated, be they what they will, without the help of men; we often see the very strongest places soon delivered up, when not defended by men of heart and courage. *Azarius* being besieged in *Quiers*, by *Vastius*, had indeed notable good Fortifications, and had also placed in the Breach, store of combustible matter, with Fire-works, but all would not hinder the Town from being taken, for that no one man appeared to withstand the Assault. *Archimedes* his Engines could not defend the losse of *Syracusa*: Engines and Fortifications are all in animate, and their Powers are limited to certain effects, in despight of all which, a Besieging Army, will soon take in any place, if there be not men of resolution and courage to resist their attempts. But that we may mention some order which History teacheth in enduring a Siege, or sustaining an Assault, it ought to be known, That he who commandeth

mander a place, must not then draw up his Souldiers, when the enemy appears at the Breach, or mount their Ladders; but he ought so to dispose them into every Quarter how strong soever it be, that no part be left without a sufficient number of men to guard it. *Cæsar* when he committed this fault, by staying untill *Pharnaces* was at his Elbow, found himself much perplexed and troubled. *Jugurtius* as *Salust* reporteth it, having been defective in this one point, gave *Marius* opportunity to become Master of one of his strongest places. *Thrasybulus* took *Sicyonian's* Port, finding it dis-furnished of Souldiers, who were all gone to a certain Breach which he had made, and where he onely pretended he would assault them. *Vegetius* admonisheth, that the first assault be sustained by the most experienced and stoutest souldiers; because an enemy when he meets with resolute opposition, and finds himself ill handled, loseth his Courage, and few have any mind to march over their Companions dead bodies unto a second assault. But I shall refer the prosecution of this discourse to them who have written whole Tracts upon it.

## *Prosecution of the Subject.*

THE King having been informed of the good successe in the late encounter, dispatched in great hast the remayning four thousand five hundred foot and Horse, allotted out for the Relief with good store of Munitions. It cannot be expressed how careful his Majesty was for the shipping off of them, how diligent in choosing the Officers and Souldiers one by one; animating by his presence those who carried the provisions into the Ships, and incouraging those who went aboard on this expedition; telling them, they might be confident of victory, seeing they fought for God's cause. The Marshal *de Schomberg* was appointed Marshal *de Camp*. The wind changing about just as they were put off to Sea, they were forced to give back again, some one way, some another: But the *Marillac* came at last to the point of *Sablanceau* without being hindred by the Enemy, and passed without difficulty to the Fort *De La Pree*: and the next day the Marshal *de Schomberg* came with fifty Barques about three in the morn being the eight day of *November*. He Landed very fortunately being not discovered by the Enemy, and his Souldiers being all upon the shore, he forthwith ranged them into four Battalions, and his Horse likewise into four Squadrons, which he extended into two wings, and in this order they marched up to the Fort. About day break they came up, where he found all the Forces which had formerly been sent thither, draw into order, according as he had instructed *Marillac*. When he had been informed of what had passed, he sent out to discover the enemy, and put all things in order to fight. But first he would hear Masse, that he might implore Gods assistance, without which, there is no hopes of good success, as also he caused the general Prayers to be made, which are used in all Battailes.

Then he caused his Souldiers to eat, that they might be strong, at which time, he was informed that the enemy had drawn part of their Forces, out of their Trenches and made as if they would retreat, whereupon he concluded there was no more time to be lost. So he reviewed the Army, to see if every one were in readiness, and then marched upon the head of them, toward St. *Martin*. The *Sieur de Thoyras* came out to meet him, with as much joy as a person delivered from such eminent peril could expresse, for the Enemy had forsaken their Trenches and left him the liberty of comming forth. The Marshal having likewise intelligence, that the enemy had quited the Town of St. *Martin*, presently called a Counsel of war, to consider of what was fit to be done. The *Sieur de Thoyras* proposed to march up directly to them, being confident, that in the fear they were, it would be easie to cut them in pieces. The *Sieur de Marillac*, was of a contrary opinion, thinking that nothing ought to be hazarded, seeing the successe of Arms is uncertain, That his Majesties Army was not sure of a victorie against the Enemy, though they retreated, and concluded it improper to fight with them. But the business having been debated, it was resolved that a *Medium* should be taken, that without quitting the

the Station they had taken, the Motion of the Enemy should be observed; and that in case they should passe into the Ile d'Oye, (where it was not unknown that they had prepared a Passage for their re-imbarquing) then to follow them in order of Army, and charge them when they were half over, but without putting any thing in hazard.

This resolution accompanied with prudence, was executed with Courage, for the English advancing towards the place of their retreit; the Kings Army marcht up to them in Battalia, and being arrived to the Marsh, The *Sieur de Toyras* could no longer suffer them to go away, without paying for the trouble, which they had put him to; but concluding that the Honour of *France* obliged him to have a parting bout with them, and that it would be a wrong to the Kings Arms to let them go clear off. when such an advantage was offered against them, went on, and the Command being given, the Horse had order to begin. *Piedmont* and *Champain* followed, and each of them observing their respective Commands, put the English to the Rout: Their Horse were all lost in the marsh, their Cornet and 24. Colours, and four Cannon were taken. The French did nothing but kil and slay, in so much that there lay above six hundred dead upon the place, besides what were drowned in the Sea. Divers of their Collonels, Gentlement of quality and above one hundred and fifty Officers of all sorts were killed, above three thousand Arms taken in the field, and above fifteen hundred Souldiers laden with their Spoyles. Thus the Marshal *de Schomberg* in the same day, landed, saw the siedge raised, and beat his Enemies. It is reported that the English had at their first setting foot on the *Island* at least seven thousand men, and that a recruit of three thousand came afterwards to them, but they carried off only eighteen hundred, the rest being either dead with sickness or killed, and of them too the greatest part dyed soon after their return to *England*, by reason of the discommodities they there suffered.

*Politique Observation.*

*John James Trivulæ*, Marshal of *France* saith it is a great imprudence to give Battaile in a man's own Country, if not invited to it, by some great advantage or forced by necessity. He who adventureth to do it, runs no lesse hazard then the losse of his Kingdome: *Darius* saw himself despoyled of his Kingdome, by being guided by his Courage; and fighting a Pitch Battaile with *Alexander*. He might well have harraised him with his Horse on many occasions, as the Partheans did the Romans: whereas being eager to meet him in the field, and fearing least he would return into his own Country, and not be fought with, he made after him to give him Battaile. *Alexander* seeing him near at hand, assaulted him, and reduced him to that deplorable condition, as is not unknown by History to every one; *Fabius* was wiser then so, he was contented, only to follow *Hanibals* Army, and to pull him down in divers conflicts, and by the great Inconveniences which an Army endureth, when it passeth through an enemies Country, destitute of Towns to refresh them, and where they meet with resistances on every hand; By these delayes he discomfited *Hanibal*, without endangering his Souldiers lives, a thing very considerable among the Romans, who thought it a greater Honour to wear the Civique-Crown, bestowed on those who had saved any Citizens life, then that which is called *Muralis*, given to them who had first scaled the Walls of their Enemies: or the naval Crown granted to such as had done some notable exploit at Sea, hence *Guiccardin* tells us, there is no victory more beneficial or glorious, then that which is obtained without hazarding the bloud and lives of the Souldiers: when an Enemy hath entred upon a State, he is sufficiently beaten and overcome, with Glory and Honour, if he be only wearied out and tyred so that he have but little mind to return a second time. In fine, the Title of victory and the Honour of a Battail, doth not appertain to him who killeth most enemies or taketh most Prisoners; but to him who obtains the end of his design. Which made *Don Alphonso* King of *Naples* say; When he was provoked by *Monsieur d'Anjou* to give him

Battail

Battail; That it was the part of a Captain to overcome and not to fight. *Philip de Valois* fought a pitcht Battail with the Engliſh at *Creſſy*, but he was overcome. King *John* confiding in his Forces, choſe rather to give the ſame Engliſh Battail near *Poictiers*, then to vanquiſh them by famine, and thoſe other Incommodities which an Army undergoeth in a ſtrange Country, but he was taken and died a priſoner. *Charles* the fifth following the advice of *Fabius*, would never be drawn to hazard a Battail with them, but deprived them of all proviſions, and by that means took all *Guyenne* over their heads, and made himſelf Maſter of moſt of the Duke of *Bretaigns* Chief Citties.

*Proſecution of the Subject.*

THE Engliſh were hard put to it in the *Mariſh*, ſo that divers of them were taken priſoners, and amongſt others, my Lord *Mountjoy* the Earle of *Hollands* Brother, *Gray* Livetenant of the Artillery, The General of the Horſe, thirty five Captains and Officers, twelve Gentlemen, and one hundred or fixſcore Souldiers; but they ſerved for an object of the Kings Bounty and Clemency, For hearing many of them were ſtrip'd, he cauſed them to be cloathed and ſhortly after cauſing the chief of them to be brought to him, he paid down their ranſomes to thoſe who had taken them, ſent them on their words to the Queen of *England*, Commanding *de Mean* to preſent them to her with this aſſurance, that it was only for her ſake he had given them their Freedoms, nothing could be more noble, and the Cardinal had no ſmall ſhare in it. But it was an uſage much different from that of the Engliſh, towards the French, whom they had taken in divers encounters. For the Engliſh would not ſtick to deny them meat for money, ſome of whom aſſured his Majeſty, that in caſe My Lord *Mountjoy* and ſome others had not been taken, themſelves had been ſtarved to death: He was by others informed that they had ſeen the Engliſh throw ſome Priſoners into the water, whom they ſo tyed that they could not ſave themſelves by ſwimming. Indeed his Majeſties Civil treatment of the Engliſh, engaged the King of *England*, to deal better with the French, for preſently after they were more courteouſly entertained and ſo returned into *France*.

*Politick Obſervation.*

IT is no little Glory to treat Priſoners of War with civility either by teſtifying a ſence of compaſſion for the condition whereunto they are reduced, or by doing them all the good Offices they might expect. It as a mark of true generouſneſs in a Prince, and that which ſets off his Glory and Clemency with Luſter and Splendor, the two beſt flowers in his Crown. He ought to remember himſelf to be Gods Image here on Earth, and that as nothing is more eſſential to God then Bounty, ſo likewiſe his Glory can never appear more Illuſtrious them by conferring favours on them, who are taken in fight by the Chance of War. It is reported that *Cleomens* being asked what a good King ought to do, anſwered, that he muſt do no good for his friends and all the miſchief he could, to his Enemies: But *Ariſto* anſwered him with much reaſon, that it was much more commendable to do good, not only to friends but even to Enemies; For by that means a King makes himſelf beloved by all the World. It is no ſmall advantage to be eſteemed merciful to the conquered. *Plato* gives a good reaſon for it, for ſaith he, it doth encreaſe the Souldiers Courage, for admitting their Enemies ſhould take them, yet they were obliged not to deal harſhly with them. Beſides Priſoners do become ſo ſencible of thoſe kindneſes which are heaped on them, that they often are the Inſtruments of Peace. *Lewis* the Eleventh found it ſo, when as he kindly entertained the *Seigneor de Conty* his Priſoner of War, who concluded the Treaty of Peace with *Charles de Bourgogne*. A Prince is obliged to it, if it were only by the Compaſſion which a noble Courage ever hath of them who are overcome. *Halcyoneus*

Son

Son to *Antigonus*, having after a victorie lighted upon *Helenus*, *Phyrrus* his Son, in a ſad deplorable condition, cloathed with a Mantle unbefiting his greatneſs, embraced him with all poſſible kindneſſe, and having ſo brought him to *Antigonus* his Father, he did the like: But withal he told his Son he had not done all which he was bound to do, in leaving that cloak upon his ſhoulders; And at laſt having reſtored him to an honorable attendance, and treated him with great kindneſs and humanity, he returned him ſafe to his Kingdome of *Epire*.

## *The Siege of* Rochel.

After the King had obtained this ſignal victory againſt the Engliſh, he bent all his thoughts towards the beſiedging of *Rochel*, that with their Wals he might deſtroy their pride. This town as others, was at firſt but little, yet the Port being commodious, it grew great by Commerce, and ſo inſolent after hereſie had ſet its ſtandard there, that they would make thoſe priviledges, which our Kings had from time to time granted them, paſſe for contracts, and to deſtabliſh a kind of Commonwealth in the State. They durſt not openly declare this pretention to the King by their Deputies, but their manner of proceeding was an aſſured proof of it, a procedure the more inſupportable in that it was the ſupport of all factions, both of the Hugonot party and the Grandees of the Kingdome upon any diſcontents. Their Rebellion was become natural, and ſhortly after this, they auguented their Crimes, by calling in the Engliſh to protect their offences. Some rich Merchants indeed there were who having ſomewhat to looſe, would have been contented to be quiet, but on the otherſide it was filled with ſtore of Sea men ſurely and proud, as alſo very poor, who having nothing wherein to employ themſelves, propoſed, that they might be at more eaſe to make an inſurrection in the Town, concerning their priviledges. In order to this deſign, they made a Manifeſt, to ſpread abroad their complaints, as a poyſon in the minds of the Ignorant People of the Hugonots party, which might induce them to take up Arms, and to ſhake of the yoak of obedience. This reſolution of theirs took them off, from paying any reſpect to the King; They drove out the *Sieur Doux Maiſtre des Requeſts*, ſent by his Majeſty to them, in quality of ſuper intendent of Juſtice, with ſo much violence and outrage, that they threatned to throw him into the Sea.

They openly aſſiſted the Engliſh in whatever was within their power, They ſolemnly buried the Engliſh Lords and Gentlemen, and ſuch French Rebels as were killed at the Landing on *Ree*. They ſent *Londriere* with three hundred men to ſecond the Engliſh, when they found themſelves too weak in *Ree*.

They received *Madam de Rohan* the Mother, and the *Sieur de Soubize*; who aſſiſted at their aſſemblies and enflamed them more and more. There was no reaſon longer to ſuffer theſe things unpuniſhed. The King about the beginning of *Auguſt*, when they declared themſelves ſo openly for the Engliſh, made his approaches upon the Town, ſeveral companies of the Regiment of the guard, with two other Regiments and two hundred Horſe, were ſent before it. The Duke *d'Angouleſme* began to work upon the Fort *De La Moulinette* to lodge Forces there, as well as in that of Fort *Lewis*. They requeſted the *Sieur de Commings* Captain of the Regiment of the guard, that he would come to their aſſembly to adviſe upon ſome means of accommodation; and as they ſaw no Declaration of an abſolute ſiege, until the Engliſh were forced from *Ree*, they thought to be excuſed as heretofore by renewing their Proteſtations of fidelily: But their words were not to be believed. All their propoſals tended onely to comfirm their reſolutions againſt the King. His Majeſty thereupon, after the defeat of the Engliſh, took his laſt reſolution of forcing them to acknowledge their faults, and to live within their bounds by a ſtrong ſiege. The Order of the whole circumvallation was preſcribed by his Majeſty; he raiſed 13 Forts and ſeveral redoubts upon the Trenches the circuit of which were three Leagues or there about, all out of muſquet or falcon ſhot, but not of Cannon. The Kings deſign was by making theſe works, to

compel them by famine and neceſſity to ſurrender, neither did they much trouble themſelves to hinder their work by their Sallies, upon hope of being eaſily releeved by Sea; forſomuch as they were ſoon, finiſhed by the care of the Cardinal, and the Marſhals *de Scomberg*, and *Baſſompierre*. His Majeſty being well aſſured of their faithfulneſſe, would not imploy any other perſons indifferently, as formerly had been done in *Charles* the ninth's time, and that ſo inconſiderately, that the very Commanders of the Siege had no deſire to take the Town. This circumvallation thus finiſhed, cut off all releef by Land, and it happened that having ſupplied the Engliſh with a good part of their proviſions, they had been quickly brought by neceſſity to ſurrender, had they not been aſſiſted by Sea. But ſhortly after, they were ſo cloſe blocked up there too, that they durſt not ſhew their heads.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is equally baſe and inconſiderate to ſuffer the inſolencie of a City, which not contented to revolt againſt its Soveraign alone, doth alſo call in ſtrangers to uphold their Rebellion. After the reducing of them by fair means hath been tryed to no purpoſe, then ought all forcible means be uſed, to bring then within their bounds. That King, who is deficient in this particular will ſoon find himſelf expoſed to ſcorn, both in his deſigns at home by his neighbours, and in proſecution he will inevitably find both one and the other take up arms againſt him. His neighbours, if they know his averſion to war, and how unwilling he is to appear in the field, will ſoon ruſh in upon him; and a party once accuſtomed to revolts, and permitted to attempt againſt the Soveraign authority, will ſoon ſhake off the yoak of obedience. He ought therefore equality to be diſpoſed both for peace and war; He ought to intend nothing more than the chaſtiſing of Rebels upon ſuch an occaſion. The expences, dangers, and cares ought not to be conſidered by him. It is equally dangerours for a Prince, to be more inclined either to war or peace. Hence *Marius* was blamed becauſe he exerciſed not his authority in times of peace, by which means he could never keep the Common-wealth in quiet.

*Perſeus* loſt his Kingdome by ſlothfulneſs, and to much loving of mony, deſiring rather to keept in coffers than to expend it, in paying Souldiers neceſſary for his defence; Thus he loſt his Kingdome, and his treaſures were ranſacked before his face. *Pipin* had never been ſo bold, as to have put his Maſters Crown upon his own heads, had *Childerick* loved arms, as well as himſelf, and oppoſed thoſe firſt attempts which were made againſt his Kingdome. *Francis Sforzza* from a private Souldier, became Duke of *Milan*, and his Children who were Princes and Dukes, became private Gentlemen, for want of experience in the war, and becauſe they would deceive others by their cheats, rather than render themſelves famours by battles. Leſſe than this cannot befall a King, who ſuffers the Rebellion of a ſtrong Town to go away unpuniſhed, eſpecially when it ſerves for a prop to uphold the revolt of any great party, or to countenance the attempts of ſtangers. He ought to be in the field as ſoon as they begin to declare themſelves, and to take up arms with ſo much the more courage, for that *Traſan* ſaith, God doth uſually overwhelm the enemies of peace, and thoſe who are the diſturbers of others by war; as heretofore in the example of *Pyrchus* and of later ages, in that of *Charles* Duke of *Bourgoign*, I ſhall add, that for the quicker and more ſecure reducing of his ſubjects to obedience, he ought not to expect till their revolts make Levies. He ought alwayes to have Regiments ready in *Garriſons*, as the *Macedonians* had their *Argyraſpides*, the Romans their Legions, the *Sultans* of *Ægypt* their *Mammalukes*, and the Turks their *Janiſaries*. By this means, a Town ſhall no ſooner ſeem to mutiny, but it will be aſſaulted, and if any of their Forces ſhall appear in the field, they will be ſoon cut in pieces.

*Pro-*

*Proſecution of the Hiſtorie.*

IT were of ſmall conſequence to have ſhut up the *Rochelois* by Land, had they not alſo been blocked up by Sea. The Cardinal acquainted the King with the neceſſity of it, and thoſe contrivances formerly reſolved on for that purpoſe were put in execution. The Cardinal had the Chief conduct of it, becauſe he had examined with an extraordinary care all the means of finiſhing the ſiege with good ſucceſſe, and was more capable than any other to effect it. He was ſo modeſt that he ſuffered himſelf to be directed by *Pompejus*. *Targon* an *Italian* Ingineer, who had wrought with the Spaniards in blocking up the Channel of *Oſtende*, he thought good to make a chaine of Maſts and other great pieces linked together, with Harping Irons and Cables, but the firſt ſhot forced them in ſunder, and ſpoiled the work. He built certain Caſtles upon Ships ſome floating, and ſome fixed in the Sea. He contrived other engines which were Square, and of great pieces of timber, ſuch as he called Bridges, for the planting of Cannon upon them, levelled juſt between wind and water. But all theſe inventions were more for ſhew than uſe, though very chargeable, ſo the Cardinal was forced to follow his own thoughts and the deſign which himſelf had contrived for ſtopping the paſſage: and as there is no ſoul like his, ſo no invention could equal that, which himſelf had projected. It was to raiſe a certain banck, thwart the *Channel*, leaving onely an entrance in the middle for the ebbing of the Sea. This deſign ſeemed difficult for that the Sea is uncapable of any obſtacles, which humane induſtry can raiſe againſt it. But as the ſtarres obey great Souls, ſo it was unjuſt that the Elements ſhould reſiſt his will. Two things induced him to judge, that this banck would eaſlier be raiſed than divers imagined. Firſt, the advantage of ſtones which might be had on both ſides of the *Channel*, and the great multitude of labourers, which might be drawn out of the bordering Countries and from the Army it ſelf for a quick diſpatch of the work. It was began in a place where the River is ſeven hundred and forty fathom broad, where the Cannon of *Rochel* could not reach but at random, ſo that the work could not be hindred. The Cardinal allowed 12 fathom of depth, which quickly paſſing over, they left a ſtoping in the bottome, and made a plat form of four fathome upon the ſurface, which ſhould be raiſed to ſuch an height, that the higheſt tyde could not reach it. It was built of dry ſtones laid upon one another, without other morter than what the Sea brought, and to ſtrengthen it the better at every 12 foot, there was an addition of great timber.

This grand Miniſter knowing the taking of *Rochel* depended on this Bank, did oftentimes go to ſee it, not regarding the Cannon ſhot which the *Rochelois* continually made: He ſpared no money for the encouragement of the work-men, and he obliged them by the charms of his words, which carry men on to whatever he pleaſeth. It was ſo advanced in two moneths time, that the *Rochelois* who had hoped that it would onely ſerve for a laughing-ſtock to the Ocean, could now onely at ſeveral times paſſe four or five ſmall Veſſels over it. However, it was a vaſt work ſuch as paſſed beleef, neither was it finiſhed, till 7 or 8 moneths were ended. Beſides this, the paſſages in the middle, for the ebbing of the Sea, was to be ſtopped up, to hinder the going in or out of any Veſſels. Three great Fences were found out, ſuch as could not be bettered. The firſt was a Range of about 40 Veſſels filled with Stones and ſunk to the bottome. The ſecond was a kind of Palliſado made about as many floating Veſſels linked together with Chains and Cables, which were guarded by a whole Regiment. The third was of great ſtakes, faſtned in the bottome of the Sea, made Taper-waies which for that reaſon were called *Chandeliers*. Thus was the Paſſage quite blocked up, and there was no other way for the *Rochelois*, to be relieved by Sea, unleſſe the Engliſh whoſe aſſiſtance they implored ſhould ſend them a puiſſant Fleet, which might break through all theſe obſtacles.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is of ſo great importance to hinder the comming in of Proviſion to beſieged Towns that that being once ſecured the taking of them cannot be avoided, & they who have forced them by famine, have by the Ancients been more honoured then thoſe who have taken them by the ſword, becauſe they are leſt ſubject to hazards, and their Souldiers lives not in danger. A thing very conſiderable. In long ſieges the onely thing intended, is by neceſſity to force the beſieged to open their Gates; the truth is, moſt commonly this is a work of time, and conſequently of great expence; but on the other ſide, it ſaves a great many Souldiers lives, which is a recompence great enough. It was one of *Cæſars* advices, in forcing of Towns rather to do it by Famine then the Sword, as the Phyſitian ſaveth his Patients more by abſtinence then fortible Medicines. The truth is, I imagine this to be the better and ſafer way, in regard neceſſity is ſuch a thing, as nothing whatever can reſiſt. Now as it is a way very advantagious; ſo is not leſſe difficult, eſpecially in Sea Towns, heretofore eſteemed impregnable becauſe of the incertainty of the Sea, and weather, which ſeldome lets a Fleet lie long in ſafety, to prevent relief, as alſo by reaſon of its violence, which commonly laughs at all thoſe inventions contrived to ſtop up a Port or Haven: Though this latter opinion, is at preſent but weak and frivolous, ſeeing men have by induſtry found out ſeveral means to overcome all manner of obſtacles of this nature. *Alexander* the Great beſieged the City of *Tyre*, ſtopped up the Channel by a Bank, took away all hopes of relief, and at laſt forced them to ſurrender to his mercy, after they had refuſed to deliver up upon fair and honourable terms. *Cæſar* did the like before *Durus*; as alſo *St. Lewis* upon the *Nile* being a Branch of the River *Nile*, the Prince of *Parma* at *Antwerp*, and *Spinola* at *Oſtend*, all which by ſome invention or other found means to hinder any ſhipping to come neer the places which they beſieged. But amongſt all, none is like a Bank, becauſe in Tempeſts the Sea doth uſually ſpoil and break all their Engins, of Maſts, Cables, Timber, or the like. Neither are Chains to be truſted in ſuch occaſions, for that ſmall Veſſels may paſſe over them, as *Cneus Duellius* the Roman Conſul did, who being blocked up in the Court of *Syracuſa*, cauſed all his men and luggage to be removed into the Stern of his Galley, and his Oarmen rowing with all their ſtrength paſſed them half over, and then removing all his goods and men into the Prow, they rowed over the other half and ſo got clear away, the like did the Spaniſh Forces at *Marcellia*, when they found their enterpriſe was diſcovered.

*The* Sieur de Macheville, *is ſent to the Electors of* Baviers *and* Treves, *to diſpoſe them towards the ſettlement of a Peace in the Empire.*

THoſe great cares which the Cardinal was neceſſitated to undergo, both in oppoſition of the Engliſh Forces, and in the reducing of *Rochel*, did not prevent him from providing for the Intereſts of thoſe German Princes, who were Allies to the Crown of *France*. His great Soul (like univerſal cauſes) produced a thouſand ſeveral effects, at the ſame time, nor could the management of any one important affair, divert him from being circumſpect in ſeveral others. He adviſed his Majeſty to diſpatch the *Sieur de Macheville*, towards the Electors of *Baviers* and *Treves* for the negotiating divers affairs, particularly to induce them to ſettle Peace in the Empire. His Majeſty had learned that the Emperour had deſigned to have his Son King of *Hungary* elected King of the Romans: That the Electors did much deſire his Majeſty would invite the Prince Palatine to retire himſelf into *France*; That the Elector of *Treves* was well inclined to league himſelf with the French Intereſts, and that divers Princes of the Catholick League, did wiſh his Majeſty would imploy himſelf to negotiate either a Peace, or a Ceſſation of Arms in *Germany*.

Upon

Upon theſe four points it was, that he gave the *Sieur de Machevile* inſtructions to treat with them. As to the firſt, he was forbidden to thwart the Emperours deſign. His Majeſty not thinking it fit to declare himſelf againſt the Emperour, to the end he might have more power and freedome towards the ſetling of his own affairs. But he was commanded to flatter the Duke of *Bavier* upon that accompt and dexterouſly to humour him, in his imaginary hopes of the Empire, by repreſenting to him, as likewiſe unto the reſt of the Electors, That it would very much concern them to promote ſome ſubject of leſſe greatneſs then thoſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria* unto that dignity, by which means the head of the Empire having a nearer equality and correſpondency with the reſt of the Members, their union would bee the ſtronger, and their conditions the more ſecure. And in caſe he ſhould find the Electors averſe from that Propoſal, he was then commanded quaintly to hint unto them, but not too openly; that the Emperour not being troubled by Age, or Sickneſſe, it would not be amiſſe to defer their Election of the Roman King unto ſome other time, ſeeing by this delay they would render themſelves the more conſiderable towards the Princes of *Germany*, and the Emperour himſelf who would be the more carefull to preſerve their friendſhip, it being ſo conducing to his deſign; whereas having attained his ends, and finding himſelf in a condition of being no more beholding to them, neither for himſelf or his, it was to be feared leaſt hee ſhould indeavour to extend the limits of his Ambition to their prejudice. This was he expreſly charged not openly to declare, becauſe the King thought it more proper, to inſinuate into the minds of thoſe Princes, the reſolution of excluding the King of *Hungary* from the Empire, or at leaſt to defer his Election, rather then to diſcover himſelf. However he was commanded to adviſe them, in caſe they were peremptorily reſolved to chuſe him, that it would concern them to take advantage of this affair, in which the Emperour was neceſſited to make uſe of them, that they might draw him to condiſcend unto ſuch conditions as might ſettle a firm Peace in the Empire, which it would concern them to do before the Election, leaſt he might be the more averſe to peace, when he ſhould find the Empire once aſſured upon his Son.

As to the ſecond particular, which relateth unto the Palatins retreat unto this Kingdome, he was commanded to tell thoſe Princes, that his Majeſty, could not aſſent unto it, whatever propoſals they made, of entertaining him at their Coſts and Charges; His reaſons were theſe, That it was not beſeeming the Dignity of a King to capiticlate concerning the Penſion of any Prince, unto whom his Majeſty pretended to be a refuge; and likewiſe that there was no reaſon, why he ſhould draw upon himſelf ſo great a Charge, not being neceſſitated thereunto; and in caſe they ſhould offer to pay all his Penſion without any treaty, he was then commanded freely to reply unto them, that their Promiſes did not at all make ſure the Penſion, and if it ſhould chance not to be paid his Majeſty could not then avoid the entertaining both of him, and his whole family. Beſides if the young Prince ſhould come into *France*, his Majeſty was in Honour bound, never to conſent unto the Peace of *Germany* until he were reſtored unto his States, and that he could not give him a Retreat, without promiſing to protect him, which he knew would not ſort with their Intereſts. That which concerned the Elector of *Treves* was not ſo difficult, ſeeing there wanted nothing but the aſſuring him of his Majeſties affection and good will. He went accompanied with that which gave him a very particular ſatisfaction, but the ſecret management of it, being of great conſequence that he might ſerve his Majeſty without ſuſpition, the knowledg of this hath not been diſcovered unto any one but themſelves. As to the fourth and laſt which concerneth the Peace, at leaſt a Ceſſation of Arms, it was in relation to the enterprizes of the King of *Denmark*, and the Princes of the Lower *Saxony*, which had but ill ſucceſſe; ſo that he had Order to negotiate it the more effectually, not onely becauſe his Majeſty was deſirous to give a period unto thoſe calamities, which had brought *Germany* into ſo miſerable a condition, but alſo for the Intereſts of this Crown, which being concern'd with thoſe Chriſtian Princes who are not tied to the Houſe of *Auſtria*,

*ſtria*, oblige him to hinder the Emperours becomming abſolute unto which the war ſeemed to contribute, by weakning the Princes Electors, and ruining the Proteſtants. This was the more conſiderable, in regard his Majeſty, was not then in a Capacity to redreſſe their aggrievances by force of Arms; he was likewiſe commanded to procure an Electoral Diet where the Electours comming to treat together, would doubtleſſe reſolve and conclude a Peace; whereas if they ſhould manage their affairs by their Doctors, who for the moſt part were Penſioners to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, there could be but ſlender hopes of a good ſucceſſe. His Inſtructions Charged him, to acquaint them, that he was commanded to negotiate the ceſſation of Arms, both with the Emperour, the King of *Denmark*, and themſelves, and that he ſhould effectually endeavour to accompliſh it, provided that they would, ingage unto his Majeſty, by Inſtruments drawn up in form, that they would, after the King of *Denmark* ſhould aſſent unto it, procure the Emperour to do the like, and that themſelves would do the ſame on their parts, and laſtly that they would call an Electoral Diet, where the Peace ſhould be ratified as alſo a confirmation of their Alliance with *France*.

Theſe were the Chief Points of the *Sieur de Machevill* Inſtructions; in which he beſtirred himſelf with ſuch diligence, that he prevailed upon the Princes Electors (without diſcovering his Majeſties Intentions) to defer the Election of the Roman King, That he perſwaded them to think it improper for the Prince Elector to retier into *France*; That he tied the Prince Elector of *Treves* unto his Majeſties Intereſts, by Chains of Gold; and that he at laſt procured them to meet at *Mulhauſen*. He himſelf came thither, and repreſented to them, thoſe great miſeries which the war had brought upon *Germany*, in ſuch effectual language, that they becamemore inclined to Peace, then formerly they had been. And the year following the Peace was accordingly concluded, which the Houſe of *Auſtria* would have found means to prevent, had not *France* interpoſed in the buſineſs.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is a piece of great Prudence in a Prince to procure a Peace for his Allyes, when the war is not favourable to them. It cannot be doubted but that his endeavours will redound to his Honour and Glory, ſeeing it is no ſmall reputation to become an Arbitrator between Soveraigns, for God himſelf, who overuleth the whole World hath ſtyled himſelf, The God of Peace. But beſides this conſideration, thoſe Princes who have gone by the worſt in a war, are mutually bound to aſſiſt him, in his occaſions, he having preſerved them from deſtruction, withal the quality of Allie doth oblige him to become a Mediator for them, it being a means proper to preſerve their Union, and an Act neceſſary for their conſervation. The Laws of Charity which command all Chriſtians to lend a helping hand unto one another in dangers and neceſſities, do more eſpecially injoyn it unto Princes ſeeing their downfals cannot but carry greater conſequences with them, and that after many frowns of war, their ruin cannot be avoided. When once they are reduced to extremity, it is no longer ſeaſonable then to treat of a Peace; for victory puſs up their Enemy whoſe inſolency will hardly give way, to looſe the advantages he hath gotten; and if he ſhould be drawn to lay down his Arms, it muſt be upon hard and ſhameful termes. It is eaſie to conceive, how dangerous it is, long to expoſe them unto the uncertainties of war, ſeeing that Prince, who once looſes either part of his reputation or forces, doth for the moſt part undergo daily croſſes, and ſeems to have been made the laughing ſtock of Fortune. It was not without great reaſon, that *Scipio* ſaid unto *Antiochus*, The Majeſty of a King is not ſo eaſily reduced from the height of their power, to a more indifferent degree, as it is precipitated from an indifferent degree, unto the loweſt ebb of Fortune. Hereupon it was that *Hannibal* deſired Peace of *Scipio*, the *African* before the laſt battail which he fought, in which he was overcome; and that he *Italians* were blamed for not accepting of it, when offered unto them, by the Romans, after they

they had been often worſted by them. I might hereunto add, that a King who in ſuch occaſions procureth a Peace, for his Allyes, doth not a little ſerve his own Intereſts, for that a Kings Power conſiſteth as much in the force of his Allyes, as in that of his own ſubjects. There is ſo ſtrict an Union between the States of Allyes, that no one of them can receive any conſiderable loſſe, but the effects of it will ſoon appear in all the reſt. The Power of Allyes is like the ſtrength of the Frontiers to a Kingdome, and as an Enemy, having once gotten the ſuburbs and out Quarters, hath a notable advantage againſt the Town, it ſelf, ſo the Allyes of a King can neither be weakned nor ruined, but himſelf is in danger of being aſſaulted in his own Dominions, and is rendred the leſſe able to make reſiſtance in regard his Allyes are not in a condition to relieve him. It was for this cauſe that *Thucydides* ſaid, he who diſ-reſpecteth his dangers of his Allyes, is careleſſe of his own ſafety, and I conceive, that a Prince who ſees his Allyes groaning under the hand of War, is equally bound to aſſiſt them, by mediating a Peace for them, leaſt his ruin follow theirs as every man ſeeing his Neighbours houſe on fire, is obliged to uſe his utmoſt endeavour to extinguiſh it, leaſt his own houſe come into the like danger.

## *The Marquis* de Saint Chaumont *ſent to* Vincent, *the Duke of* Mantoua *in quality of an Ambaſſadour Extraordinary.*

AT the ſame time that the *Sieur de Marchevill* went into *Germany*, His Majeſty who thought himſelf equally concern'd in the Intereſts of his Allyes, as the Affairs of his own State, ſent the *Marquis de Saint Chaumont* Extraordinary Ambaſſadour to the Duke of *Mantoua*. The Duke had by letters expreſs given his Majeſty notice of his Brother *Ferdinand's* death, and alſo begged his aſſiſtance to ſecond by his name and officers as *Rome*, the ſuit which he made there, for diſſolution of the marriage, which he had lately contracted with the Princeſs *de Boſſolo*, who though ſhe had charms enough to perſwade him to marry her, yet was too old to bear Children. The King could have anſwered him by letters, but it being neceſſary to look after *Monſieur de Neuers* his Intereſts, who only hoped for his Majeſties aſſiſtance, he thought it more proper to ſend an Extraordinary Ambaſſador thither. The *Marquis de Saint Chaumont* was choſen for this employment, and commanded to ſignifie to the Duke how ſenſibly diſpleaſed his Majeſty was at the late Dukes death, but of the Joy he had in this accident, to find the ſucceſſion devolved upon him, whom he eſteemed a Prince endued with all excellent Qualities, and from whom he might receive the ſame reſpects, both as to his perſon and the Publique good as he had heretofore from his Predeceſſor. He had order to proffer unto him, his Friendſhips and Royal aſſiſtance, of his Credit, Name, and Authority, aſſuring him, that he ſhould find the effects of it, not only at *Rome* and in his Affairs depending there, but alſo, in all other things, when-ever occaſſion ſhould be: next of all he was to inform him, of the deſign which the Spaniards had, to marry him, after diſſolution of his late contract, to one of the Emperours Daughters, and then dexterouſly to obſerve to him, that the States of *Mantoua* and *Montferrat*, being very conſiderable in *Italy*, for their ſcituations and fertility, as alſo the ſtrong hold wherewith they are defended, were continually watched after by the Duke of *Savoy* and Governour of *Milan*, that they might take ſome advantage over them, and that he not being able to defend himſelf againſt them, but by the Union and Correſpondencie which he held with *France*, and the Princes of *Italy*, was obliged ſo to carry himſelf; as neither of them might be jealous of him: Moreover that his Enemies who well knew all theſe things, would pick out all occaſions whatever to make a Breach between him and his friends, by carrying him to ſuch Actions as might provoke them againſt him; but in caſe he ſhould ſo change, that inſtead of the Free and abſolute Soveraignty in which God had now ſettled him, he would find himſelf reduced, to a perfect dependance on the Spaniards, who would expoſe him to the ſcorn of others, and cauſe him to looſe his reputa-

into

tion of friendſhip and fidelity: that all things conſidered he could not do better, then to remain Neuter; to hold an equal correſpondency with the houſe of *France*, *Auſtria*, and the Princes of *Italy*, without doing any thing which might incenſe either one or t'other; but perceiving an intire affection for *France*, as for him who deſired his good, proſperity, and ſettlement, and from whence he might be ſure of receiving all aſſiſtance and protection without any prejudice in the leaſt. But above all, the Marqueſſe was commanded to lay the foundation of the Princeſs *Maria*'s marriage Neece to Duke *Vincent*, with the Duke *de Rethelois*, and to diſpoſe the Duke to declare him ſucceſſor to his States after the death of *Monſieur de Nevers* his Father. However he himſelf was inclined to marry her, could he but have procured the diſpenſation of his firſt contract at *Rome*. He had inſtructions likewiſe to tell him, how much his ſo doing would ſettle his affairs, and authority, againſt his neighbours deſigns, who peradventure if his ſucceſſion were not declared, would be the bolder to attempt upon him, and not unlikely on his perſon too. Theſe were the chief points of the Marqueſſe his Commiſſion, upon his comming to *Mantua*; he was reſolved with all kind of honour, uſually ſhewed to an extraordinary Ambaſſadour of *France*. After he had entertained the Duke upon thoſe particulars contained in his Inſtructions, the Duke teſtified to him a great acknowledgement of the honour which the King did him; telling him withall, that he received it with the greater reſpect; in regard he was French both by Inclination and Obligation. He diſcovered to him the great deſire he had for the diſſolution of his marriage, that he might afterwards wed, not one of the Emperours daughters as was ſuppoſed, but the Princeſſe *Maria* his Neece, whom he paſſionately loved, and from whom he had great hopes of having a Son who might ſucceed after him. As to that which concerned the Prince *d. Rethelois*, he ever ſpoke of him with great reſpect, as a Prince whom he loved and eſteemed, and whom he looked on as his ſucceſſor, in caſe he died without iſſue. The Marqueſs *de Saint Chaumont*, thought it improper to propoſe to him, when he found him ſo inclined, the marrying of the Princeſſe *Maria* to the Duke *de Rethelois*, it being an unſeaſonable motion to one who earneſtly deſired her for himſelf: But talking in private with the Marqueſſe *de Strigio*, chief Miniſter of *Mantoua*, he diſcovered it to him, and ingaged him to contribute his aſſiſtance to it, in caſe a diſſolution of his preſent contract could not be obtained, as the onely and principal means to preſerve his Maſters Life, giving him withal to obſerve that this once done, the houſe of *Auſtria*, and Duke of *Saxony* muſt of neceſſity ceaſe their pretenſions, which whileſt the Duke was without a Succeſſor were too many, any longer to be permitted. He preſſed him too the more earneſtly, in regard, the Marqueſſe *de Strigio* told him, how that the Phyſitians had aſſured that Duke *Vincent* could not long ſubſiſt, his body being ſickly. The Marqueſs *de Strigio* was ſenſible of the importance of that particular, and faithfully promiſed to uſe his utmoſt diligence and power to effect it. As to the neutrality which the Duke was obliged by intereſt to obſerve between the two Crowns, the Duke would oftentimes tell the Marqueſſe that his heart was French, that he was totally diſpoſed to pay all reſpects and ſervices to his Majeſty which could be expected from him; and that by the natural inclination he had for *France* to be gratefull in acknowledging the protection which his Majeſty had given his late Brother *Ferdinand*; and he added that his Majeſty ſhould never have any cauſe to be offended with him. The Marqueſſe having thus diſpatched the greateſt part of his affair, took his leave of the Duke, to return to his Majeſty, and to give him an accompt of what he had done.

*Politique Obſervation.*

A King is no leſſe obliged to be carefull of his Subjects Rights among ſtrangers then of the particular affairs of his own Kingdome. He is to his Subjects as the head is to the reſt of the members, which ought to provide for their conſervation, Kings are bound to maintain their rights who are under their protection either

ther by fair means or foul. This made *Theopompus*, answer one who demanded of him, how a King might raign in safety. That he ought to fear nothing, but permit all reasonable things to his friends, and be carefull of his own Subjects, that they received no injury from any one. Divers Princes have been ruined by their toleration of injuries against those who have depended on them. We have a remarkable example hereof, in that of *Philip* of *Macedon* who was killed by *Pausanias*, for having been deaf in his behalf, in not defending a wrong which had been done unto him. Nothing is indeed more glorious to Kings, then the observation of this thing. It is an action resembling the divinity, to protect the weak against the mighty, and to defend them from oppression. Great Monarchs are not in any thing more considerable then little Princes, but onely in the Power of Arms which they have to defend and protect the execution of Justice: Besides they have by so doing a great and notable advantage to themselves, in abating the insolent and ambitious pretensions of those who would usurp their Subjects rights, and become terrible to their neighbours by their too great power. If this rule be worth consideration in general, it is much more to be observed in respect of the rights which may befall his Majesties Subjects in *Italy*, where it is absolutely necessary to prevent the increasing greatnesse of the house of *Austria*. They have already become Masters of the greatest part of *Germany*, and there is not any more certain way to ballance their growing power. then by Alliances with the Princes of *Italy*, by finding out some means to set foot in their Country, be it either by gaining some of their States, as divers of our late Kings have attempted, or by establishing such French in them, as want not pretences to them, and which might be able to let in the Arms of *France*, when the Princes of *Italy* should have occasion to make use of them, and there is no doubt, but the Princes of *Italy* would be very glad to see the Arms of our Kings in their Country, opposing those of the Spaniard whom they hate because they fear. To speak the truth, it is an action which doth beget, both glory and affection in those who shall succeed; the honour which is to be atchieved in so doing will shine thorough all parts, and render them venerable amongst all strangers.

## *The Marriage of the Prince* de Rethelois, *with the Princess* Maria, *the Inheritrix of* Mantua.

UPon the news which his Majesty recived by the Marquesse *de St. Chaumont*, that there was little hopes of Duke *Vincents* long life, he concluded it to be very necessary that he should use his utmost indeavours to make up the Match, between the Prince *de Rethelois*, and the Princesse *Maria*, as also to procure that he might be declared the Successor to the States of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, after the decease of his Father the Duke *de Nevers*. The Cardinal by his Councels, seconded his Majesties judgement, and that with the more eagernesse, in regard the Duke of *Savoy*, and Governour of *Milan*, did both begin to declare their pretences. This made his Majesty resolve upon sending away the Marquesse *de Saint Chaumont* into *Italy*. The Instruction which he received was onely of two particulars, in which he was to bestir himself: The first was in his Majesties name to make an end of those differences between the Duke of *Savoy* and *Mantua*; to which end, he was to passe by *Turin*, to dispose Duke *Ferdinand* to the making of some other overtures for their accommodation, and then to propose them to the Duke of *Mantua*, to see if any conclusion could be had; withal, to let them both know, that a good correspondence were not amisse for the good of their States; in regard their enemies by their divisions, would be furnished with opportunities to make attempts upon them: The second was to labour very earnestly with the Duke of *Mantua*, for the concluding of the Match between his Neece, and the Prince *de Rethelois*, and that he might be declared successor to his States, after the decease of his Father the Duke of *Nevers*. At that present it was the easier to be effected, in regard the

Pope had solemnly protested he would never grant a dispensation of his first marriage. He was also commanded to shew unto him, that as this marriage was of great advantage and benefit to the Duke of *Nevers*, and *Rethelois* whom he loved, by assuring them of the succession, so it was not lesse necessary to defend and secure himself from the attempts which the Spaniard, and Duke of *Savoy* might make upon his life and State, for that they did already begin to discover their intentions against him. He was farther Commanded, That if Duke *Vincent* should chance to die, whilst he was near him, then to animate in his Majesty name the Chief leading men of the States of *Montua* and *Montferrat* by all arguments of reason and perswasion, to preserve the liberties of their Country, to keep the faith and obedience which they did owe unto *Monsieur de Nevers*, as their Lawful Prince, and to declare him for successour to Duke *Vincent*, according to the usual Forms of those Countries; and lastly to assure them, that his Majesty would protect them against any Forces that should molest or trouble them, that himself would invite the Pope and all other Princes of *Italy* to joyne with them in defence of their liberties. These were the Chief Instructions in the Marquis his Commission.

In order to them, he went to the Duke of *Savoy* to perswade him to some agreement with *Mounsieur de Mantua*. He told him how the report went of his being in league with the Spaniards, for the deviding of *Montferrat*, But the Duke seemed to be angry at it, and wondred that after the having done such good Offices to his Majesty he should imagine such a thing of them. Yet he did not disown his apprehensions of the advantage which he might now take during Duke *Vincents* sickness, to regain that which did belong to him in *Montferrat*, adding withal, that it would be much more for his Majesties Interest, if it were in his hands rather then the Spaniards, and that at last in case he were joyned with the Spaniards, yet it was no more then his Majesty himself had done, seeing they sent him a Fleet to *Rochel*; But the *Marquis* that he might lay the foundation of an agreement, proposed to him, to renew the Treaty which had been between the late Duke *Ferdinand* and himself, as to that which was in dispute between them, in *Montferrat*: all the answer he could get was this, he demanded fifteen thousand Crowns rent, for his pretentions there, and twenty thousand for the Damages he had sustained for want of execution of his promises made of marrying his little Daughter with the Cardinal his Son: By these his unreasonable demands he evidenced that he only sought an occasion to justifie his breach with him; and the *Marquis* finding after divers other conferences had with him, that there was no good to be done, made no longer stay there, but went to *Mantua*, he came thither so opportunely, as if Fortune had lead him by the hand, for within five dayes after his arrival there, the Duke dyed. He found that the *Marquis de Strigio* had disposed the Duke, with a great deal of addresse to all that could be desired, That he had stirred him up, on the designs which his Enemies might set on foot both against his life and State, to declare by his Letters Patents, the Duke *de Nevers* his only and Lawful successour, in all his States, and the Duke *de Rethelois* his Livetenant General, ordering him to marry his Niece the Princesse *Marie* before his decease, and to cause the Governours of all strong places faithfully to keep them for the Duke *de Nevers*. There wanted indeed a dispense for the marriage, but the Duke sent in all hast to demand it of his Holynes; When the *Marquis de Chaumont* came thither. It was not as yet arrived, but hourly expected, and though it was not brought but only a very few minuts before his death, yet the *Marquis of Strigio* who knew how necessary it was for the State of affairs, told the Prince *de Rethelois* and the Princess *Maria*, that they must forthwith marry, or else be assured never to enjoy the States of *Mantua*. It was a business of so great importance, that it would admit of no longer consultation, so that it was concluded, and married they were about nine in the night, on Christmasse Eve; the marriage was consummated, and not long after the news of Duke *Vincents* death was brought unto them. This accident was of very great concern to the Duke *de Nevers*. Who without it, might perchance never have enjoyned the Dukedom of *Mantua*. At that present he was in *France*, but hearing of it, he took

took poſt and about the end of *January* came to *Mantua*, where finding all things according to his own deſire, he took poſſeſſion of the State, and the *Marquis de Chaumont* return'd back to *France*. He paſſed by *Thurin*, and uſed new endeavours to perſwade the Duke of *Savoy* to an accommodation, but it would not be: yet he ſerved the King in this occaſion, by withdrawing divers of the Nobility of Dauphine, from the Duke of *Savoy*'s Army, who had ingaged themſelves with him, not knowing his deſign was upon *Monferrat* which the Duke hearing of, was much offended, and told him, it would not be ſafe for him to ſtay any longer in *Turin*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THat Prudence, which obligeth all Soveraigns to provide againſt ſuch accidents as may trouble the preſent State of their affairs, doth equaly direct them to make ſure of ſuch remedies as may prevent the future diſturbance of their Peace and quiety which cannot ſafely be effected, without the aſſurance of an Hair to ſucceed. *Auguſtus* affordeth us a memorable example in this particular, who governing an Empire not Hereditary, would however, joyn with himſelf ſome one of his neareſt kindred, in the conduct of affairs, to the end that ingratiating himſelf with the Senators, Souldiers and people, he might by that means ſeem to deſerve the Soveraignity. For this reaſon it was, according as *Tacitus* hath well obſerved, that he finding himſelf deſtitute of Sons, and that Fortune had taken from him, firſt *Marcus Agrippa*, and afterwards *Cajus* and *Lucius* his Nephews, advanced *Tiberius*, who though he had a Son then grown up, he cauſed to adopt *Germanicus*, to the ſucceſſion of the Empie, and this he did as the *Hiſtorian* obſerves that the Crown might be aſſured upon divers ſupports. By this means he cut off the Senators hopes of reforming the State into a Republique, and from his Enemies the means of aſpiring to the Crowns.

*Adrian* in the like manner, ſeeing he had not any Sons, which expoſed him to the fury of ſome ambitious mind or other, who for the Empires ſake might be perſwaded to attempt upon his Perſon, adopted *Antoninus* and alſo required that *Antoninus* ſhould in the like manner, he having no Sons neither nominate two more ſucceſſours, as *Dion* hath obſerved in his life; and all this was, with intent, that they who were to ſucceed in the Empire, might be alwayes ready to receive it, and to prevent his Enemies from attempting againſt his perſon in hopes to obtain it for themſelves.

To how many misfortunes have they, who have been defective in this Care, expoſed their Countries? *Jane* the ſecond, Queen of *Napels* dying, without nominating her ſucceſſour, *d'Anjou*, whom ſhe had once named, being deceaſed before her, left her Kingdome cruelly torn in pieces by War, and him whom ſhe leaſt of all deſired, to inherit after her. It is very rarely ſeen, that a Kingdome changeth its Family, without great wars, and that Prince, whom God hath not bleſſed with Children will find many attempts made upon his perſon; whence it follows, that he who would ſecure his Life and State from misfortunes, ought betimes to appoint his ſucceſſour, to keep him near to him, with Honour, to inſtruct him in all affairs but not to admit him unto the partaking of the Soveraignity, for that were to cure one evil by a greater, ſeeing the ambition which uſually attendeth young Princes, might perchance ingage him in ſome ill deſign, to be maſter of it, before his time.

## *Cabals of the Duke* de Rohan *in* Languedoc, *and the Succours wrought by means of the Duke* de Soubize *his brother in* England *for the* Rochelois.

THE Duke *de Rohan* was by his brother aſſured of the *Engliſh* aſſiſtance; and long before their landing in *Ree*, he did nothing but contrive Cabals in *Langue-*

*doc*, that he might place Consuls for his own turn in the Hugonot Towns, and engage considerable persons in his private interests. Presently after their landing he openly declared himself, strengthned his party with Men, perswaded some places to rise, and sollicited others to do the like. He gave them great hopes of high and mighty advantages by the inundation of strangers and he provoked them the more by insinuating into them the ruin of their Religion and divers other imaginary evils. That he might the better strik these Panick fears into them, he sent them a Manifest, filled with all those specious apparencies mentioned in the beginning of this year; But may it not be said, that he imitated those Pirates, who seeming to instruct the course which Ships ought to keep in the Sea, set up Lanthorns upon the tops of Rocks to draw Pirates thither and so to wrack them? For thus did he lay before the sight of them, who were sufficiently enclined to faction, diverse seemingly fair reasons of the preservation of their party and Religion; by which means he drew them into that revolt, and engaged them in those misfortunes, which have since been the cause of the ruining of their Towns and of levelling their Wals and fortifications with the ground. Now that he might the more strictly bind the Hugonot towns to his designs, he found means to make an assembly in the *Vic d'Uzez*, where diverse of their Deputies met together, and as he had no lesse eloquence then courage, he perswaded them to whatever he had a mind to. They approved of those succours, which he had negotiated in *England*, as just and necessary, they commended his prudence and zeal; and gave him a thousand thanks for it: But this was not all; They assured him not to enter into any Treaty of Peace with his Majesty, without the King of *England*s consent, and his own in particular. Hereupon they deputed some of the most seditious of their faction to go to the Towns of *Langedoc* and *Guyenne*; withal they writ to those of *Dauphine* and *Vivarez* to encourage them to unite with them, for the good of the cause: They drew up a form of oath to be sworn by the Consuls, the Governours of Towns, Lords and Gentlemen who would engage with them. An union very strange, which divided the members from the head, and so separated subjects from their Prince. After the Duke of *Rohan* had used all his devises, and seen the English Land at *Ree*, he took up arms and appeared in the field. He summoned the Duke of *Savoy* to send those Forces, which he had promised, but he could not obtain them, because the Spaniards, who never wanted a good will to fall upon him, had at that time an Army in *Milan*, as we shall here after declare, which made him jealous: besides desiring to attend the English successe, he saw them ruined in their designs at *Ree*; All that he could draw from him, was a promise of fifty thousand Crowns. Those Towns, which delivered up to him, were *Nismes*, *Uzez*, *St. Ambrose*, *Alets*, *Anduse*, *Le Vignan*, *St. Hippolite*, *St. Jean de Grandamemque*, *Samens*, *La Salle*, and other smaler places; and joyning the devises of his prudence with those Forces, which they had drawn together, he took during this year *Realmont*, *Renel*, *Naves*, *Mazeres*, *Pamiers*, *Castres*, *Soyon*, and other Towns upon the *Rhosere* and in *Vivarez*, and more he had done, had not the Cardinal by his care under the Kings authority prevented him. It cannot be imagined with how much care and trouble, he kept those together, who were engaged in his party; how low he was fain to stoop to work upon the meaner sort of people; how many impertinencies he was forced to bear; how many inconsiderate discourses he was necessitated to hear, and yet seem not to understand them, and to how much constraint he was compelled to subject himself. He hath since protested to diverse of his friends, ingeniously confessing to them, that there is no care like that of retayning a mutinous people in that order, which is necessary for him to make them follow, who would raise any advantage to himself by their revolt.

*Politick Observation.*

HE who makes himself head of a Rebellious party, ingaged himself into an Action full of hazzard, and from which he cannot expect either good succesſe

ceſſe or honour. Whatever advantages or victories he get, yet he is ſtill branded with the Title of Rebellious. But though we wave this laſt conſideration, and I am of opinion, that every one will conclude with me, no man would imbarque himſelf, into ſuch dangers, did he forſee what cares vexations, and troubles he undertaketh. If there be any perſon of quality of his party, he muſt court him with all kind of reſpects, for in Revolts, every one would be Maſter & Command. They who are of an inferior condition do often carry themſelves to extremities, as thinking themſelves the moſt neceſſary, in the vanities of their Inconſtancies. He may be aſſured, that as they are tyed to him, only by Intereſt, ſo they will forſake him, when they once perceive it beſt to adhear unto their Kings mercy. It is indeed a difficulty to believe, how low he muſt ſtoop, and what mean Acts he muſt do to keep them together. Rebellions withal, being for the moſt part amongſt the vulgar ſort of people, it is unpoſſible to imagine how many dangers and hazards he will be forced to run with them. He who in war depends on the Common people, builds upon ſand. They are hardly eight dayes together in the ſame opinion. Their fury is like that of Sea, they are only guided by the Inconſtancy of the winds. The leaſt diſaſter is enough to turn them quit about; and they are ſo fickle, that they preſently ſlight him, whoſe Fortune is but a little averſe: They aſcribe all their good ſucceſſe to themſelves, and their bad to their General. They are ever ſuſpitious of thoſe who love them, and when ever the diſorders which are inſeperable from war, chance to trample on them, they can as ſoon fall back, as they came on; The leaſt injurie which they apprehend though really it be not any, is enough to lead them to other reſolutions. Neither will they in their Paſſion ſtick to ſacrifice him to their rage, whom not long before they had choſen to govern and direct them. The Hiſtory of *Flanders* hath an example of this very kind, in the perſon of *James d'Arteville* every one knows the power he had in *Gant*, and how well the people there loved him, yet for all that, a little jealouſie which they apprehended of his fidelity, precipitated them to kill him, neither would they hear his reaſons to ſatisfie them, of the contrarie. The Admiral *de Chaſtillon*, one of the braveſt men of his Age after he had experimented the misfortunes of this quality, was glad and thought himſelf happy, in that he could withdraw himſelf, he had much rather expoſe himſelf to all the hazards of Fortune, then put himſelf upon the mercy of an unbridled people, who like a *Proteus*, change every moment, and who ſpeak bigg words, when they are far enough out of danger; but ſneak in their Hornes, when they find their Maſter once comming near them, with his Sword in his hand.

## *The Deputation of the* Sieur Galland, *Privie Counſellor to his Majeſty towards theſe Hugonot Towns which the Duke of* Rohan *had attempted to revolt, that he might confirm them in their obedience.*

THe Cardinal, whoſe Vigilance was ſuch, that nothing paſſed in the Kingdome, which he was not acquainted with, having diſcovered theſe deſigns of *Monſieur de Rohan*, repreſented to his Majeſty how neceſſary it would be to take ſome good Courſe to prevent his future attempts, either by oppoſing his progreſs with Forces, or by confirming thoſe Towns in their obedience, which he had ſollicited to revolt. As to the firſt, It was needful to form the body of an Army, which ſhould be in thoſe parts; and for the ſecond, it was requiſite to diſpatch thither ſome perſon of ability and credit with thoſe of the Hogonot party. The King ſoon apprehended how expedient this adviſe was, ſo he made choiſe of the *Sieur Galland*, one of his Counſellours of State who was qualified for that employment, beſides he was one of their own Religion, which gave his Majeſty reaſon to hope, they would be directed by him. His Commiſſion was diſpatched, with all neceſſary Inſtructions, for his Journy into *Languedoc*, *Foix*, *Lauvaguez*, *Vivarets & de levennes*, that he might hinder the Duke of *Rohans* contrivances of raiſing the Hugonot Towns up-

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in Arms; This was a great Honour, unto this old Servant of the King, having received his Commission, he presently set forward, and went directly unto *Montauban*, the Chief Town of their party, next unto *Rochel* and by which most of the other Towns would be guided. Upon his first arrival, he called the Inhabitants together; he acquainted them with his Majesty pleasure; gave them his letter of Credence, writ by his Majesty unto them, and began to confirm them in their obedience. He layed before them in a speech, (wherein he ommitted not the least particle, that might move, and perswade them to what he desired) the duty of subjects towards their Prince; The miseries and Calamities, which they had suffered, whilst they fell off from their obedience; he represented to them the disasters which would infalliby fall upon them, if they should suffer themselves to be led away, by some who endeavoured it; he informed them, of the small reason or hopes they had, to believe the Duke of *Rohan's* promises, or the assistance of the English Fleet, which could not hinder the relieving of the Ile of *Ree*; his words thus animated, what with his address, and the confidence which they had in him, so wrought on them, that they subscribed a Declaration which they delivered to him, in which they protested to live and dye, in that Loyalty, which they owed unto his Majesty. This was as much as could be wished; for all the other Towns great and small, unengaged in the Rebellion, did the like, and his Prudence was so successful, that the Towns of *Briaseste*, *Castres*, *Pamiers*, *Puylaurens*, *Mazares*, *Saint Amand*, *Cabarede*, *Mazares*, *Masdazil*, *Carlas* and many others made the like Declarations under their hands and seals. But the misfortune was, that having left divers mutinous and factious Spirit, of *Monsieur de Rohans* Party in *Castres*, *Pamiers* and some others of those Towns, before named, they did not remain firm to the Resolutions he had insinuated to them, by which means the Duke of *Rohan*, soon after became Master of them.

*Politique Observation.*

IN Publique exhortations, Prudence is many times as effectual, as Force. But for the safty of Towns, the Inhabitants ought to be prevented, their Arms taken away, and the most Factious amongst them, turned out from them. To prevent them, is of great consequence they being like the Camileon, which taketh any colour, that is laid before it. Sometimes a very little matter will settle them, if applied in time, and before Faction hath got any great power in their minds. One man well prepared and esteemed by them may easily stop their violent proceedings by laying the miseries which follow war before them; by acquainting them with their own weaknesses, and by assuring them of enjoying their goods in Liberty and Peace. A mutinous people may at first be wrought upon by their own Interests, the Rule by which they Judg of all things. For they naturally think well of nothing but what pleaseth them, and reject that for evil which putteth them to any pains or trouble. To believe their promises and not disarm them were a madness; seeing they never hold long in the same humour; the least shew of liberty charmeth them: They are alwayes Enemies of the present State of Affairs: Lovers of Novelties; moved with any winds nay those of their own raising: They do more affectionately embrance those things which are prohibited, then those which are permitted them: Great friends they are to innovations: Infidellity is a Quality which they eat and drink, not to be seperated from them: insomuch that to leave them armed, when a revolt is mistrusted were to permit a Sword in a mad mans hand. The apprehending and securing of seditious persons, is the next thing considerable, which ought especially to be done. A discreet Phisician, doth make it his first work to draw out all the ill humours from his Patients body, which serve to nourish his Fever: and the first thing which a Minister is bound to observe, in a place where Rebellion is like to break out, is to withdraw all such discontented, mutinous and Factious persons as are any way likely to carry the people to revolt.

That rigor which is used to such persons ought to be esteemed as a Commendable

ble Pitty. If they should complain of their condition, it is much better, to suffer the Insolencies of their words in a place, where they cannot do any hurt, then to run the hazard of their mutinous Actions in a City which they may probably cause to revolt.

*The King unable to stop the Duke of* Rohan's *proceedings by fair means, maketh use of force.*

THe way which his Majesty used to hinder the proceedings of *Monsieur de Rohan*, was very advantagious, but it did not totally do the businesse. The King finding it, commanded an Army to be raised, and committed the Conduct of it to the Prince of *Conde*, sending him a Commission of Lieutenant General of his Forces, in *Languedoc*, *Dauphine*, *Guienne*, and *Lyonnois*. He had upon the first rumour of those revolts there, expedited certain Regiments thither; but finding there would be need of a greater power, to stifle the Rebellion in its Cradle; he dispatched this Commission to the Prince of *Conde*, with order to raise new Levies, and to take the Field with the first. He presently hereupon came to *Lyon*, but upon better consideration, it was found proper to divide the Army into two parts, because there were several places to be looked after, and far distant from one another, so the Prince of *Conde* had the better half, the t'other being committed to the Duke *de Montmorency's* care, then Governour of *Languedoc*. *Monsieur* the Prince, marched out of *Lyon* about the beginning of *December*, attended by the Marquesse *de Bourg* and *de Ragny*, Marshals of the Camp, the Marquesse *de Nangis*, *Comte de Tournon*, *Comte de Charlus*, *Vicomte de l' Estrange*, *Montreal*, and divers other Gentlemen Voluntiers. He had two Troops of Carabins, and near about two thousand foot, with these he lay before *Soyon*, a strong place upon the *Rhone*, which did very much trouble the passage of the River; he assaulted it, and in two dayes forced them to deliver.

There was likewise another little Town not far off Saint *Aubin*, which did much infest those parts, the Prince surrounded it, took it by storm, and put all the Souldiers in it to the Sword. From thence he went to *Aigues-mortes* to confer with the Duke *de Montmorency* who was then there, and having sent for ten Companies of the Regiment of *Normandy*, he commanded them to march against some certain places, which the Duke of *Rohan* by reason of their importance had resolved to defend; but the very fear which the Inhabitants and Souldiers, apprehended on sight of the Army, made them open their gates so they entred without resistance. At the same time he commanded the Marquesse *de Fossez* Governour of *Montpellier*, to go and besiege *Corconne*, and the *Sieur de Ornano* to secure *Aubenas*, both of them behaved themselves with courage in it, and performed his commands, the former taking *Corconne* a place strong of scituation, being the Key to *Sevennes*, and the second making himself Master of *Aubenas*, by perswading the Nobility of those parts to fall into it. In the mean while, the Duke *de Rohan*, was in the *Comte de Foix*, whether the Duke *de Montmorency* pursued him, as well to fight him, as to oppose his designs. They followed him some dayes, without doing any thing worth notice: But the Duke *de Montmorency* who had too much courage, came up so near him near *Castel Naudan*, that he could not avoid the fight. Orders were accordingly, and the Duke *de Rohan* being charged on the left, by the *Sieur de Arpagon*, seconded by the Company of the *Baron de Lignieres*, & *Monsieurs de Vanradours* Guards, and on the right by the *Comte de Bioule*, and the *Sieur de Esoux* who led on *Monsieur de Montmorency's* Company, and the *Sieur de la Croix* who commanded his Guards, seconded by the *Comte de Bioules* Regiment, he was at last constrained to give ground, yet he maintained the fight above two hours, and saw about one hundred & sixscore Souldiers, fifteen men of his guard, and seven or eight Captains of his Troops killed, and divers others wounded: And in conclusion, he found to the mis-fortune of his Rebellion this other added, of being beaten in the field,

Field, and ſaw at the years end, that he had very little, or not at all, advanced his deſign.

*Politique Obſervation.*

TRue Religion giveth a very great advantage to them, who fight for the defence of it. He hath Juſtice for his ſecond, which is the Bulwark of ſtrong places, the Rampard of Towns, the upholder of Crowns, the Pillar of Authority and the Chain of obedience; an Engine it is, much ſtronger then any of *Archimedes* ſeeing it brings down God himſelf upon Earth to aſſiſt it. The Divine Providence, ordained that the firſt Aſſiſes of Juſtice, ſhould be kept under Palms, to teach them, who make any enterpriſes, as *Philo* obſerveth, That Juſtice is the moſt aſſured pledge of victory. What can that Prince fear then, who fighteth to uphold it, ſeeing God fighteth for him? No power can reſiſt that of God, who hath alwayes, overthrown the deſigns of them, that riſe up againſt him unleſſe when he hath deſigned a people to be the Inſtruments of his Juſtice for puniſhing the wicked.

In the old Teſtament he cauſeth himſelf to be called the God of Battails, and the Lord of Hoſts, to teach the people, that he is Maſter of them; and that he it is who turneth the victory where he pleaſeth. What did ever the greateſt Souldiers bring to paſſe, who have riſen up againſt him? They have only felt his power, and ſeen their own weakneſs: And every one may obſerve in Hiſtory that their Counſels have not only been vain and ridiculous, but have likewiſe precipitated them into great ruins: They are like *Icarus*, who deſigning to counterfeit wings, by joyning certain Fethers together with wax, melted them at the Sun Beams; juſt thus their riſing up and ſoaring a loft, only ſerveth to make their fals the greater, and their ruins the more certain.

And who knoweth not that the cauſe of true Religion maketh Souldiers couragious? Hence it happens that valour being the ground-work of victorie, is in this particular infallible. *Machiavel* in his diſcourſes upon *T. Livy* ſheweth us, That Religion is a wonderfull Foundation and Inſtrument of great Actions That the Romans made uſe of it to govern their City, in the carrying on of their deſigns and in pacifing all tumults and ſeditions which did at any time happen in their Commonwealth. Now if the falſe Imagination of a falſe deity, which this people did believe were the puniſhers of Crimes and Rewarders of good Actions, by a quiet repoſe in the Elyſian fields, could make ſuch great impreſſions, upon their courages, what may not the true Religion cauſe us to hope for, which promiſeth unto us the infinite rewards of Heaven, when the belief of it is truely imprinted in the Soul? The Souldier who fighteth for Religion, obeyeth his Prince, as the Image of the God head; he will never ſpare this life, which paſſeth away, in confidence of another which ſhall be eternal. If the Champions who heretofore fought in the *Olympique Games*, were delighted to ſee their skins flayed off, their bloud run down, and their bones broken before a Laurel Crown, the reward of their pains, what would they not have done, into with dangers would they not have cheerfully run, had they but apprehended with the Eyes of faith, the Saviour of the World, at the end of the courſe, the Gate of Heaven open, and a Crown which ſhall never fade, as a reward of their Loyalty and Vallour? We have at all times ſeen, that thoſe Emperours who have been moſt Pious, have had the greateſt victories. *Conſtantine* became great by his embracing of the Chriſtian Religion: It ſerved *Pepin* for a Stair-caſe to lead him up to the Throan. It beſtowed the Empire on *Charlemaine*; and the Turkiſh Nation which ſeemeth to have been born for Armes feareth nothing ſo much as Chriſtians Enſigns.

*Anno*

## *Anno* 1628.

### *The* Rochelois *send to the King of* England *to demand Succour.*

THE Heathenish Antiquities relate, That *Pandora*, going to meet the Rebel *Epimetheus* in behalf of the God's, carried him a Box filled with all sorts of Evils, amongst which he had only hope left him. It is a Fiction, yet may it be aptly applyed to the Dutchesse of *Rohan* the Mother, who being come to *Rochel*, to encourage the Rebellion, brought all sorts of misfortune with her, insomuch that there was not any kind of misery, which the inhabitants did not undergo, and without any other hopes but only of relief from the English, which they retained to the very last. In order to which hope, they finding his Majesties resolved to force them to live in the rules of obedience, had sent their Deputies to *England*, with full and ample Power, to treat with his Majesty of Great *Britain*, To beseech him to take them into his protection, and that he would assist them, with a second Army which might force the King of *France*, to raise the siedge. Their Deputies were received, with great kindness; The King of *Buckingham* being much exasperated against *France*, for the late repulse given to the English at *Ree*. They had audience granted, and after examination of their Proposals, The King made a Treaty with them, by which he obliged himself to assist them with such a number of Souldiers as should be sufficient for their defence; To send them all sorts of Provision; and to permit a Collection to be made in his Countries for their present relief. The Deputies obliged themself in the name of the *Rochelois* to give an happy successe to the English Army, promising they would rigg out the greatest number of Ships they could possibly procure, that they would provide Pilats and places for Magazins for all sorts of provision in the Town; that if occasion were their Port should be a place of retreat for their Fleet; that they would not hearken to any accomodation with the King their Lord and Master, but by and with consent of the King of great *Britain*, and also that before *France* should attempt any thing against *England*, they should declare themselves for the English, and should divert to the utmost of their power, all designs tending to their prejudice. The King of Great *Britain* was not absolute enough to conclude upon great enterprises, his power somewhat depending on the Parliament, so he was forced to call one to authorize this, and to consent to such levies of mony as would be needfull for this business; The anger which every one there bore against *France*, and the desire of revenging the affront which they had so lately received, perswaded them to a general consent. They wanted onely the third Vote, upon which the Levy depended, where upon they refused to contribute any money, colouring their denial by diverse complaints, which they made against the Duke of *Buckingham*, and most part of the Chief Ministers in *England*, which made a great noise in the Parliament, and so incensed the King, that being constrained to give way to the insolence of their requests, he told them that he would examine their demands and complaints, and give them answer accordingly. However he gave order for the rigging out of a strong Fleet in behalf of the *Rochelois*, and gave the command of it to the Earle of *Denbigh* the Duke of *Buckingham's* brother in Law. This was all the *Rochelois* could hope for, yet it blinded them to all respect and obedience. They shaked off the yoak of Loyalty which they owed to the King; they carried themselves to the utmost extremities that possibly could be imagined; they trod under foot the Kings Authority, and chose him for their *Protector*, who was Declared Enemy of his Crown.

*Politique Obſervation.*

ALthough a People never hath any lawfull reaſon to become, diſloyal to their Prince, or to caſt themſelves into the Arms of the Enemy of his Country; yet it is a thing eaſily reſolved on, when there are no other means to ſecure them from the fears which they apprehend, and which have engaged them in their revolts. In Philoſophy it is held for a Maxim, That granting one abſurdity, a thouſand others will follow by conſequence; It is no leſſe certain among *Politicians*, that a people carried into one fault, which is the taking up Arms againſt their Prince, will be expoſed to great extremities, and every day augment the number of their Crimes. Their Cuſtome is to promiſe to themſelves great matters, in deſperate affairs from ſtrangers, and ſuch means as are without all apparence of reaſon, probable wayes, or ordinary inſtruments: They are great lovers of Novelties and with a little wind carried to extremities; and new thoughts, if they find their former reſolutions and deſigns not come to the accompt they expected. They eaſily follow thoſe, who put them in hopes of liberty; If any ſeditious perſon in credit with them, do but tickle them in the eare, with telling them that they do not enjoy their full and perfect liberties under their lawful Prince, nothing is then more eaſily perſwaded then to revolt, nay to throw themſelves, into the Armes of their very worſt enemy, never conſidering whether the remedie be not worſe then the diſeaſe. Being once revolted they never return to their duties, but by force of Armes, and the fear they have of paying the puniſhments they have juſtly deſerved, inviteth them rather to run, any hazard, then that of confeſſing their errour, and repenting. An Ancient Authour ſaid very wiſely when he likened them to day-labourers, who are at every ones ſervice, that will make uſe of them; ready they are to ſubvert all things, not for the publique good, but in order to their own deſign, and under pretence of liberty. The greateſt part of ſuch Revolts are commonly accompanied with ſome Intelligences and encouragements from ſtrangers who offer their aſſiſtance, not for any love to them, but themſelves, that they may make advantuge out of their diviſions, diſcord is their Muſique.

The Hiſtory of *Italy* furniſheth us with a notable example of this particular in that of the *Piſan's*, who having been perſwaded by one of our Kings and *Lewis Forza*, to withdraw themſelves from the obedience of the Florentines, preſently baniſh their Officers, gain'd many rich Merchants and began to live as free people; but finding themſelves too weak to hold out, at that rate, they emplored the ayd of their neighbour Princes, which was not denied to them, by reaſon of the jealouſie which all thoſe States are in, of one another. *Genoua*, ſent them men and Munitions, *Lucqua* mony, and *Sienna* which was in hopes of great advantages from them, ſent both one and t'other. Neither is this the laſt degree of a mutinous people, for if they cannot attain unto their deſiers by a Forraign protection, they will rather totally deliver up and ſell themſelves, then return to their Princes power eſpecially if they be but a little perſwaded, of being hardly dealt with, and that they ſhall be reduced to a ſlaviſh ſubjection; ſuch difficulty will they find to ſtoop under their former yoak, after a taſt of licentiouſnels and impunity.

## *The King of* Spain *ſendeth* Don Frederick de Toledo *High Admiral with a Fleet to his Majeſty.*

THe King finding what need he ſhould have of Ships, had as hath been related, accepted of the proffer which was made to him at Villeroy, by *Don Diego de Maxia*, in behalf of the King of *Spain*. But their deſign in that propoſal, being only to engage *France*, in an open war with *England*, that they might the better carry on their deſigns in *Germany* and *Italy* they were careful, not to be at *Ree* to aſſiſt his Majeſty to expel them.

At

At last *Don Frederick de Toledo* High Admiral of *Spain*, after many delayes came about the end of *December* with his pretended Fleet to the Haven of *Morbian* in *Bretaign*. The King commanded the Duke of *Guyse* to receive him with all possible Honour; and indeed such it was, that *Don Frederick* could not enough admire, at the manner of his entertainment. Shortly after he departed towards the Ile of *Re*, where at that time was no great need of him: But however he proffered his service unto the King, who received him with great kindness; His Majesty sending to visit him, but his vessels were found so unprovided of victuals, men and necessaries, that those things together with his long delay considered. It was easie to Judg, they had no great mind to fight for *France*, and that the King his Master would be very sorry to contribute to the taking of *Rochel*; a place which might be made use of to raise a war in the Kingdome, and that with a little charge, if he had a mind to send any Forces to them. At last he gave an assured sign of the truth of this suspition, when not long after he went to his Majesty, and took his leave of him, to return towards *Spain*, telling him that he could not now be any more serviceable to him. The King would have much wondered to see him so hasty to be gon, considering he came so far, but that he knew they had more mind to ingage *France* in a war with a third party then adventure on it themselves. His Majesty on the other side knowing; That strangers and Forraign Forces ought not be employed but in urgent occasions, and at last cast, did so much the easilier consent to his departure, and in regard too that the Cardinal had assured him, That great store of vessels would very shortly come before *Rochel*; So he finding the wind fair, hoysed sail about the end of *January* to return to *Spain*.

*Politique Observation.*

THere may such occasions in war fall out, that it may be absolutely necessary to make use of Forraign Forces, and the very greatest Princes are subject hereunto, because at some one time, or other, they may chance be so surprised, that it may be impossible for their own proper Forces to repel the Enemy who assaults them. But without doubt, he that can make a shift without them, does wisely not to make any use of them at all, for relying on the Forces of strangers, he doth in some sort make himself dependant on that Prince who assisteth him, and also, they cannot in reason be so loyal, faithful, and courageous in any his affairs, as his own subjects. Forriners fight more for gain, and their own particular Interest, then for any good will to him, unto whom they are sent; insomuch that could they find any where else more advantageous conditions, though it were in the very adverse party, they would make no scruple of running in unto them. This hath been formerly evidenced by the *Celtiberi*, who having bin first suborned by the Romans left the *Carthagians*, and not long after were regained by those of *Carthage*, and did as soon forsake the Roman Army, and return to their first Masters. Do not the *Swisses* often do the same thing? Their Profession is not to fight but for mony. It once fell out that *Lewis* the Eleventh, for some reasons of State being unable to pay them so precisely as he promised, they resolved to seize on his Person and the Chief of his Court, and to keep them, until they had received the last penny, and he fearing to fall into their hands was forced to flie for his safety.

The Baylif of *Dion*, who had raised them, together with some others could not escape their fury, they were taken by them, and could not get off until they were satisfied to the utmost farthing of their due. Whereas on the other side, a Princes own subjects are tyed to him, by the fidelity which they owe to his Crown, and though not punctually paid, yet do they continue Loyal and courageous; and whilst they fight for their own Interest and glory, no doubt but they will shew themselves more resolute and daring then strangers, who have not any of those concerns. All Princes who ever obtained any signal victories, have been beholding to their own native forces for them. The Turkish Emperour, useth no other. *Alexander* by this means in a little while made so great a progresse in Armes, as never any one

did the like. I ſuppoſe that it is with Armies, compoſed of a mans own ſubjects as with the natural clean ſtrength of a mans own body, which is much more to be eſteemed, then that which is infuſed by art into ſick perſons: That Prince who uſeth ſtrangers, cannot more fitly be compared to any thing then a man in a languiſhing condition, whoſe natural heat is decayed, who to warm and comfort his ſtomach hath recourſe to ſpices, which inſtead of preſerving him ſcorch up his bloud and deſtroy his life; for juſt ſo do ſtrangers, to him that depends on them, advantage him they cannot, but will (it may be) ruin him, as before is manifeſted by divers pregnant Reaſons.

## Marquis Spinola, *his Son, and the* Marquis de Leganez *come to ſee the ſiedge of* Rochel.

THE ſame day that *Don Frederick de Toledo* ſet ſail for his return, came the *Marquis Spinola* from the low Countries, and having paſſed by *Paris*, where the Queen received him with great Honour, arrived at the *Camp* before *Rochel*, with his Son his Son-in-Law and the *Marquis de Leganez*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary from *Spain*. The *Marſhal de Schomberg* went a League out to receive them, by the Kings deſire, and after he was arrived, the King Commanded him to be viſited with great Honour. His Audience was granted very ſhortly thereupon, with all the endearments that poſſible could be expreſſed. Amongſt other things the King told him, that he came into thoſe parts againſt his Phiſitians advices, being not yet quite recoverd of a troubleſome ſickneſs, but he was forced to it, to drive out the Engliſh, from his Teretories, who indeed had not made any long ſtay; That having perceived his ſubjects of *Rochel*, to have been the Bringers in of the Engliſh, he reſolved to puniſh them for it, and to take them by ſiedg, in which he obſerved for a pattern, that which was made at *Breda*; and then he invited them to ſee the Works, though at that time they were not quite finiſhed. The *Marquis* highly extolled all his Majeſties Actions, eſpecially that of beating the Engliſh from *Ree*. He told him, that his Preſence made his Nobility invincible, and withal, that indeed nothing was ſo glorious for a man of quality, as to fight in his Princes ſight; That for his part it grieved him never to have had the King his Maſter, for a witneſs of his Actions and that he ſhould willingly dye, to obtain that Honour. After he had gone the round, he went to ſee the Banck, which he much admired, and openly ſaid, that if they finiſhed that work of ſhutting up the *Channel*, and keeping the Souldiers in good order, it would be impoſſible for the town to eſcape taking. He well knew, what place the Cardinal was in, neer his Majeſty and that the King had not engaged himſelf in this deſign, but by his advice; he obſerved that the admirable order kept in the ſiedg, was an effect of his Conduct; ſo he went to viſit him, with great Reſpects. The Cardinal received him with the like, they continued a long while in diſcourſe together, during which they interchangably contracted a very great friendſhip with each other, which was the cauſe, that afterwards meeting in *Piedmont*, one in the behalf of *France*, and t'other of *Spain*, they carried on the war with courteſie and courage: ſhewing that civilities and kindneſſes might be uſed amongſt Enemies, without prejudice, to their Maſters Intereſts.

### *Politick Obſervation.*

THE entertaining of ſtrangers, who paſſe by a Princes Court, with Honour, if they are conſiderable either in their Births or Actions, doth much advantage the glory of a Prince. He who would be eſteemed a generous Prince as well abroad, as at home, is obliged to it; The Honour which he doth to ſuch Perſons, is a Ray of Glory, which by reverberation doth reflect on himſelf, for they who receive his kindneſs are bound to be the Trumpeters of his Praiſe. Though the Romans

ſlighted

slighted all strangers, esteeming them Barbarous, yet they had a Law, whereby they were bound to receive them, with greater Honour and respect when they came to the City of *Rome*. And that I may a little open the quality, of their reception. I shall first observe that it ought to be with all kind of civility and courtesie; For this vertue is a Charm, so powerful, and so captivating the soul: That as *Lewis* the Eleventh said, it doth sometimes of the greatest Enemies raise up the perfectest friends; whence it hapned that he himself, took great care and delight to caresse such strangers, as at any time passed through his Court; besides it passeth for a mark of Courage and Resolution, whereas, insolencie is only an Index of lowness and meanness of Spirit. This courtesie ought to be accompanied with magnificence, that it may be the more considerable, for words and behaviour, do lightly passe away, if not followed by some other effects. This magnifience consisteth, in Treating them with splendor, for that the good entertainment which is given them, serveth no lesse to testifie the affection, then the great and noble mind of him who maketh it. *Paulus Æmilius* was very industrious in making all people welcome, who came to visit him, and being one day asked the reason of it, he answered, that there was as great prudence in the well disposal of a feast, as in the Marshalling of an Army for the Battail, for the one is to become terrible to ones Enemies and t'other agreeable to his friends. Next, he is bound to make them presents, according to their qualities. A little expence of this nature gives Princes a great reputation amongst strangers; for they on whom it is bestowed are careful of preserving it in their families, as a testimony of the Honour which they have received by such a head, which they keep as Proofs of his magnificence, and I should think it much better, to cut off from any other expences, then from this. *Agesilaus* said, That which appeared most Illustrious and glorious in all Kings, was, the doing good to divers persons; the Ambassadors of *Corinth* refusing to receive *Dionysius* of *Siracusa's* Presents he seemed to be much offended at it, and told them, that this was one of the chief means which Kings had to make themselves glorious: In fine, who so wants liberality, is never heartily served by his own nor honoured by strangers.

## *The Duke* de Rohan *despaireth of doing any good in* Languedoc.

THE Duke of *Rohan* finding that his Majesty began to raise works about *Rochel*, to take it, prosecuted his designs with the more vigor in *Languedoc*, that by making a Revolt he might if possible oblige his Majesty to it quite designs. But the Duke had several misfortunes which crossed him, and that in the beginning of the year at *Montpellier*, was none of the least; He had Commanded his Kinsman the *Faron de Bretigni* to come to this Town, under pretence of a certain suit of Law in the Court of Aydes there, but with design, to surprise the Cittadell if possible it might be effected; *Bretagny* set his engines on work, so gain the *Baron de Millay*, last Captain of the Regiment of *Normandie*, and one of his old acquaintance unto his purpose: He pretended himself very willing and ready to heaken to his propositions, and to serve him, in that particular design; But in the mean while the *Baron de Milay*, gave notice of it, to the *Marquis de Fossez*, who was very glad of this discovery, and advised him not to loose the oportunity of getting advantages from his Majestie by this piece of service. The Baron assured him by all protestations of his fidelity and zeal; and in fine he got out all the designs of the Duke *de Rohan*, by which he pretended to steer himself; and he behaved himself in this affair with so much addresse, that the Duke Imagined, he had not a more faithful friend then the *Baron* was. In this confidence the Duke advanced his Troops about the beginning of the year, towards *Montpellier*, giving out he intended to besiedg *Corcown*, and about two or three at night, came to execute his design: But the *Marquis de Fossez*, who had punctual Intelligence of all his designs, made preparation to receive him, according to his deserts. He ordered every thing in the

the Cittadel, that nothing could fall out amiſſe, and then he hid in Ambuſh neer the Gate by which they were to march in, the moſt choiſe Souldiers which he had; he ordered one of his Souldiers, to cut the Cord of the *Port-Cullis*; when they were once got in, that he might make ſure of them, and cut them off. In this interim the Duke of *Rohan* ſent one of his Captains to the *Baron* of *Millay*, to be informed of the State of the place, and to learn what order ſhould be obſerved for their coming in: The *Baron*, ſhewed him all the City, and every place adjoyning, only excepting that where the Souldiers were hid; The Captain fully informed and ſatisfied returns to the Duke, gives him an accompt, of what he had ſeen and concluded. The Duke, hereupon advanceth his Troops, to the Counterſcarp, and *Bretigny* leading them on, the *Baron de Mellay*, forthwith opened the Port. *Bretigny* enters with fifty perſons of quality and the *Baron d'Aubes*, following of him with the ſecond train of fifty more, all which got in at the ſame dore. Now he who was commanded to cut the Cord of the *Port-Cullis*, did it ſooner then he ſhould have done, which vexed the *Marquis de Foſſez* to the very heart, for had he let it alone but a little longer, the Duke had loſt at leaſt four thouſand men: But however to puniſh thoſe who had been ſo hardy as to enter, the Souldiers in *Ambuſh*, let fly at them, and cut them all off; thirty nine of them were Officers, and of good quality; and the *Marquis Spinola* being then at *Rochel*, when the news came, openly ſaid, that this blow was of greater concern to the Duke of *Rohan*, then if he had loſt two thouſand Souldiers. Neither was this all, for the *Marquis de Feſſez* made the great Guns be ſhot off at random upon thoſe Troops which had not come in, and the morning following there was good ſtore of bloud to be ſeen in ſeveral places, which made the *Marquis* conclude there were many more killed and wonded, but that the Duke had cauſed them to be carried off with him.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

NAture, which hath given Arms to all Creatures to defend themſelves, hath beſtowed on man underſtanding, that by it, he is able to protect himſelf, from any dangers which threaten him, which Arms are more to be eſteemed then thoſe of Force. One of the greateſt perfections of it, is, to deceive a publique Enemy, and to repel Force by Force, and Mines by Countermines. Amongſt other Inventions which it affordeth; That, of pretending as correſpondence, with an Enemy, is not one of the leaſt conſiderable, as *Zenophon* ſaith, It being certain, that a pretended Intelligence with an Enemy, and well mannaged, doth often effect, greater things, then Force it ſelf. I ſhall add too, That they are much more glorious, and that the greateſt reputation of a Chieftain is to break an Enemies ſtrength, by Plots and contrivances, and to deſtroy him by his own deſigns. It is indeed commendable to repulſe an Enemy from an aſſault, by valour and courage, but much more, to ruin an Enemies intents and purpoſes, by deſigns, in which the Souldiers lives are not endangered. In *Sparta* he was much more eſteemed, who gained a victory by pollicy, then he who carried it by Force of Arms. It cannot be doubted, but that this is the ſafeſt way of dealing with an Enemy, provided it be managed without breach of any oath or Promiſes, paſſed between Comanders of both parties, for otherwiſe, *Stratagems* only paſs for infidelity, yet it is lawfull to uſe all devices, and win them to a Credulity: and thus did every one commend the procedure of the French Army at the ſiedge of *Giſonne*, neer *Saint Severin*, againſt the Army of *Ferdinand*. The *Arragonois* wearied out with the Incomodities of the ſiedge, had recourſe to their devices, and endeavoured to practiſe with ſome French, to deliver up the place; The French too generous, to be ſo cowardly, and too faithful, to be corrupted, would not however looſe the advantage, which they might make by this propoſal of theirs: they ſeemed to approve of it, and aſſigned the hour for execution. In the mean while they inform the Governour of it, who laid ſome certain Souldiers in ambuſh neer the Gate, by which they were to enter, by which means he ſlew about a hundred on the place,

took

took divers Prisoners, and by this losse brought *Ferdinands* Army into a great disorder and trouble.

*The King goes from* Rochel *to* Paris, *to dissipate those Factions which began to rise thereabouts, by the Hugonots in* Pircardie, Champagnie *and* Brie.

THE Cardinal who dived into the Counsels and designs of Forraign Princes, acquainted his Majesty with those promises the English had made to assist the *Rochelois*, and that his presence would be very needful in the Camp, both to incourage his Souldiers, as also to hasten on the works where every one in his sight would labour in emulation of one another. But on the otherside his Majesty was informed that his being so far from *Paris* had given opportunity to the Hugonots, of the Provinces neer adjoyning to make assemblies, and to incourage the people to revolt. He was advised of several meetings which they made in *Picardie*, *Champagne* and *Brie*, under divers pretences, as sometimes of Civility, of a wedding, or some quarrel, in all which meetings, there were means used to perswade the people to rise and take up Arms. He was also wel acquainted that they designed to seize upon some strong place, or other, so that his Majesty was obliged to return to *Paris*, that by his presence and authority, he might dissipate these growing mischiefs. In the mean while, that no time might be lost, and that the Rebels might have no advantage, order was sent to the Queen Mother, to secure the Counts *de la Suse*, and *de Roussy* in the *Bastile*. The former she arrested by an Exempt in her Antichamber, and the second at *Roussy* by the Duke *d'Elbœuf*. The King having resolved upon his Journy, thought it necessary, to commit the care of the siedge, of finishing the works and the Bank, and of keeping the Souldiers in obedience and from disbanding, which they formerly used to do upon his Majesties removal, unto some Person, whose dilligence and credit might be capable of giving successe to it. Besides it was necessary, that this person should be exceeding Loyal, for the preventing that misfortune which befel *Charles* the ninth, when he lay before the same town, where he was put unto infinite trouble and charge, and all to no purpose, because they whom he trusted with the Chief commands and orders were not faithful and true to him. It being very difficult to find all these three qualities in any one Person, the King cast his eyes on the Cardinal, as the only man, in whom he could totally confide for carrying on of the siedge, and all other things, in order thereunto. His Majesty discoursed with him to that purpose; now the Cardinal although he was not ignorant, that the absence of the Court, is commonly a great disadvantage, to such as are in favour, by reason of the oportunity which they who are envious of their condition, have to work them a mischief, yet he readily accepted of that employment, and protested to his Majesty, that he would not spare any pains or diligence to bring it to a happy issue, though it cost his blood and life, which he should think well sacrificed in his Majesty service; so the King gave him a full power to dispose of all things during his absence, and gave him the command over the Duke of *Angoulesme*, the *Marshals de Bassompierre* and *Schomberg*, the *Marshals* of the *Camp*, the Master of the Artillerie and all other Inferiour Officers whatever: But I cannot omit with what reluctancy his Majesty went from him to *Paris*, For it is very remarkable, that his Majesty having received the Adieux of all his Officers, rid up apart to a certain person of quality, who was then to receive his Commands for *Italy*, and keeping close with him said not a word for a good while together, so troubled he was at his departure, until at last my heart quoth he, is so sad and heavy, to leave *Monsieur* the Cardinal, for fear least some mishap befal him, that I am hardly able to speak for grief; and therefore tell him from me, that if he would have me think he loveth me, that he must be careful of himself, and that he adventure not hereafter into any of those dangers, which he usually doth: That he consider in what state my affairs would be, if I should loose him: I am not ignorant,

norant, quoth he, how that there are many people who endeavour to obstruct and hinder his bringing of his business to effect, but tell him, I do so much esteem his service that I shall never forget it. These words were very obliging, and assured testimonies of the great affection, which his Majesty had for him. The glory too which this Grand Minister did every day obtain, by his happy services in his Majesty behalf, was a tye very powerful to continue those affections of his King and Master.

*Politique Observation.*

THE love of a Prince is a great Honour to a Statesman, and that not only in respect of the particular Benefit which floweth from it, but also in regard of the Publique good which he doth watch over: Where he is not beloved, he wanteth authority, without which he cannot do any thing worth consideration: For the obtaining of this love then he ought to use his utmost art and diligence, and he is bound to prefer it, before his own or any other Interests whatever.

*Alcomiaas* the *Grecian*, Servant to King *Philip*, being told that the *Athenians* and *Thebans*, wished his death with a great eagerness, replyed, he was sorry for it, yet that he regarded it but little, so he could preserve his Masters affection. This ought to be the Rule of a Chief Ministers conduct, when he finds himself in his Masters good esteem; For to hope, that he may please his Soveraign and the Lords of his Court too, is a vanity, and can never be brought to passe. Now to the Intent he may enjoy his Masters love in an eminent degree, I should advise him not to rely too much on Fortune, but to follow *Plato's* advise, who in his Book *de Republica* saith. That to be a King and to Rule, to serve and be beloved, to fight and overcome, are three such things as a man need not trouble himself to look after, they being the Guifts of Fortune and only subjected to her power, who granteth them to whom the pleaseth. I am not of his opinion, but do suppose that a Minister is bound, having once obtained any great credit in his Masters soul to uphold it by all the cares and diligences, which may render him beloved. Philosophy teacheth very well, That to obtain ones desire, there ought to be causes applied to the subject, by which a man designs to work: whence it followeth that those qualities which make a man perfect and accomplished, are the true causes of love, to that he is obliged to let his Master see he is endued with those and the like recommendations and vertues; amongst which, I place that of a faithful servant in the Front; For as an ancient hath observed, services have a particular attractive power in them, which insinuate affection, and charm the mind: Those subjects which are most useful, are most beloved: and as nothing is beloved but for Interest; so those persons who are most conducing to the good of the State, and the preservation of their Masters Authoritie are ever best affected. And to speak the truth, I believe that necessity maketh them more considerable then any other quality whatever; For as the Bough of a Tree, is inconsiderable in respect of the whole Body, yet it is of great use to him, who without it, were in hazard of being drowned: Just so is it with him, he is beloved, embraced and esteemed above all things, when there is a need or want of him. But a Minister, what necessity so ever a Prince hath of him ought not, if he would be dear to his Master, become importunate or craving, either by being alwayes in his sight, on by begging any favour or boon of him. Too great a Familiarity will bring his qualities into contempt, how eminent soever they be, and the consideration of his services would be much diminished by his importunities. *Lucullus* one day asking *Seneca* his intimate friend, what course he should take, to render himself acceptable unto the Emperour *Nero*, in the Goverment of *Sicily*, was thus answered by him: That he is most in Princes favour who doth him most services. The surest Rules which in this case is to be observed, is this, To see him but seldome to speak but little to him, unlesse when occasions of State require it and then too, with great respect and submission, and in such terms, as may never clash with his Masters thoughts and mind. If there be any ill news to be discoursed let others,

others, first acquaint him with them. The Souls of great men hate ill tidings, as of Broyles and Insurrections, things which diminish the respects which are due to their Authority. He will not a little Fix and settle himself in his Masters favour, by testifying a good courage in his occasions, and affairs. The Reason of this is, Princes do naturally love those who are men of resolution, they look on such as the supporters of their State, Authority, and lives, and they who are themselves the greatest cowards, do yet love such as are courageous, stout and hardy. *Phalaris* the Tyrant hath given us an example of this particular, when he writ to a certain emulator of his; I confesse thou art a good man, and thou canst not deny but all in thy house are bad, whereas if thou doest observe any vice in my person, yet thou wilt find me still attended by wise learned and courageous followers and attendants. These are the Chief Buttresses, which support a Ministers favour: to these I will only add, That seeing there are not any qualities how eminent soever, which the envy of some or other, will not attempt to disguise unto his Prince, he therefore ought with great care to remove such persons from him, and that with the more Authority, in regard Justice alloweth of the punishing such who requite services done for the Common good with Ingratitude.

### *Cardinal* Richelieu *Commandeth the Army, in his Majesty absence.*

THE Prudence of a King is no lesse demonstrable, in his choise of Officers, than in his Commands: and in particular, the King acquired no lesse Glory in commiting the care of the siedge of *Rochel*, unto the Cardinal, then if he had been there in person. The whole management of affairs did evidence, how judicious a choise his Majesty had made. For *Monsieur* the Cardinal every day animated the Souldiers by his presence; payed them weekly; gave them cloths to preserve them from the cold; every day oversaw all his Officers and Commanders, to give them necessary instructions, and to redouble their courages by his words and Actions; by these means he so hastned on the works both by Sea and Land, that his Majesty at his return, found the first finished, and the second in such forwardnes, that it deserved to be esteemed the eighth wonder of the World. The Souldiers who are naturally addicted to mutinies, and plunderings, lived in such decorum, that they had lost their very inclinations, to one or t'other; the Country men brought their provisions into the Camp, without fear, and received ready mony for them. The Marchants kept open their shops, as if it had been in a well governed City; drunkennes and swearing, were criminal faults. And the Religious Persons, whom his Majesty had sent thither of all sorts, and orders, were respected, and held in such esteem, as if they had been in a Church. The most experienced in Military affairs, could not sufficiently admire the Cardinals conduct, in so much that they who knew him not, would have imagined, he had been bred all dayes of his life in the wars. Some certain Persons there were, who flattered the Ambition of those Grandees then under his Command, by telling them, it was unfit for them to obey a man of his Profession; seeing their Offices gave them power to Command in his Majesties absence; But the wonders of his conduct and courage were such, that they were forced to confess, nothing could out do him; and that considering how many hapinesses he did atchieve unto *France*, by one and t'other, it were unreasonable not to obey his Majesties choise of him, every one in particular acknowledging, that no one but himself, could under go those daily laborious knotty difficulties, which he so easily did.

### *Politick Observation.*

MIlitary discipline ought the more carefully to be observed, in order to good succesſe, because without it, nothing followeth, but confusion. *Vegetius*, a man well versed in such affairs, saith; The Romans had never been so potent, but

by their continual order and exercise, in Arms. The strength of a Fort, consisteth more in the Form, then the matter: the Power of an Army is undoubtedly as great by the good order amongst them, as by their numbers. Discipline is one of the Chief sinews of war, and as a Body soon falls to the ground, if those nervers which are destinated for its Motion, be cut in sender, so is it with an Army, they soon moulder away to nothing, if not kept together, in good discipline and order, and on the other side, where they are so disciplined they bring wonders to passe, with little care or trouble. *Alexander* being asked, by what means he became Master of the Universe, said, by the discipline and good order, which his Souldiers observed, by the good Counsel which they had, and the eloquence he used in animating them, and withal he added, that he knew not any means more powerful to execute the greatest exployts in warfare. *Domitius Corbulo*, with ten thousand Roman foot, and some few of his Aslayes, sustayned all the attempts, of a multitude of Parthians, and this he did only by the good order and discipline he caused them to observe. The Chief points of this order were according to *Tacitus*, first to prevent any of their disbanding; a thing of so great importance, that without it, the greatest Armies melt in a little whiles to nothing, and this ought to be effected, either by furnishing the Souldiers with all things necessary, or by severly punishing such as offer without leave to forsake their colours. The second was that, no one durst go out to fight without Command given for it: a thing of no lesse importance then the first: For they who fight contrary to, or against their Commanders order, are easily overcome both because they are not as wel informed, as because they ever fight in disorder.

The *Germans*, which went to relieve *Ferdinand* King of *Napels*, may serve for an example of this kind, for presently upon their arrival, being provoked by an extreame desire, to make themselves famous by some exploit or other, they adventured to sally out of Troye, contrary to the order of *Fabritius Colonna* Governour of the Town, that they might joyne themselves with King *Ferdinand*, and fight those Enemies who opposed their passage; but *Monsieur de Montpensier* perceiving it, fell upon them in a place where they could neither fight, nor save themselves by flight, by which means not a man escaped. The third was, that all guards, day labourers, and sentinels, should stand to their Arms, day and night he having put two Souldiers to death, for having found them at work in the Trenches the one without his Arms, and t'other only with his dagger: The reason hereof is, because by this means, an Army cannot be surprized by an Enemy, and that in case he should attempt any thing on the Camp, he would alwayes find them ready to resist him. *Avidius Cassius* esteemed all these three points of so great concernment in Arms, that he thought such as did not exactly observe them, deserved to be cruelly punished, he usually cut off their legs and Arms, who left the Army without leave, and he forbore putting them to death, because quoth he it is a greater example of terrour, for a man to living in misery and shame, then to dye. It one day hapened that his Souldiers discovered the *Sarmatians* kept no very strict watch, so they surprised them, fell in upon them, and killed three thousand of them, but for their punishment he crucified all the Captains, alleadging, that the *Sarmatians* might have had some ambush for them, unknown to them, which if it had so been, they might by their rashnesse, have discredited the Roman Honour and Glory: Neither was he lesse severe, in punishing those, who had stollen any thing, from their quarters. The Emperour *Aurelian*, was so strict in this particular, that he writ to a Tribune, that as he tendred his life, he should suppresse his Souldiers from stealing, but told him, they must look to enrich themselves, by the pillaging of their Enemies, not by the tears of his and their friends. I shall only add, that the Souldiers ought to be trained up to the use and exercise of their Arms, which both keeps them from Idleness, and worse things, and maketh them perfect in their Trade; and if they have any other leasure time over and above, it were not amisse to find them out some diversions or entertainment, it being otherwise hard to keep them from disbanding. *Marcus Æmilius*, finding his Souldiers lazy and in want of employment made them pave the way between *Plaisance* and *Rimini*: and *Julius Veter*, made his work in a Channel, to joyn the *Sarna* with *Molessi*.

*The*

### *The Cardinal* de Richelieu *attempteth to retard* Rochel.

DUring his Majesty absence, the Cardinal, disirous to save him the trouble of returning back to the siedge, and knowing how needful it was to prevent the English arrival, besides his great courage being impatient of delay, attempted all means to make some enterprise upon *Rochel*. He proposed the breaking open one of the Gates, and then the falling in with so great force, as might carry the place, and having discoursed it with the Marshal *de Schomberg*, he at last concluded on it, and carried his design so close and private, that had not *Marillac*, Marshal of the *Camp*, in the Duke of *Angoulesmes* quarter been faulty, he had doubtlesse succeeded in it. The Cardinal had get together, whatever was proper or necessary, for the whole business. He gave out orders for the execution of it, the night being come, he assigned the Rendevouz, The Marshal *de Schomberg* sent divers Companies thither, with ladders and bridges to cast over the Ditch: The *Marquis de Roselis* Grand Master of the Artillery, brought with him Petards, Granadoes, and other Artificial Fier-works; The Cardinal was there in Person, within Musket shot of the Town, that he might shew some marks of his courage, upon the first opening of the Gate, and be ready to command in the assault, not like the Cardinal *Ximenes* at the taking of *Oran*, who was all the while at his Prayers in a Chappel, but like a General indeed, and such a one as would incourage his Souldiers, by his own words and Actions, so that every one did plainly perceive he was no lesse, Souldier and Captain, when occassion should require it, then Cardinal in the Church and Counsel: He so behaved himself, that Historie need not make any excuse for him, upon the score of his profession, as for that same Minister of *Spain*. But *Marillac*, who had the charge for the bringing on the most part of the Forces to Rendevouz, not comming to second the courage of his General, rendered his Conduct and Valour, useless. He was sought after most part of the night, indeed, but could not any where be found, but about day break he appeared, with more excuses though, than courage: he endeavoured to excuse himself, by many frivolous pretences, which the Cardinal was contented to put up, in consideration of the Queen Mother, whose creature he was; yet was it a great displeasure and vexation to him, when he came to draw off, least the *Rochellois* should have discovered them and beaten him off with losse.

### *Politique Observation.*

FAint hartedness is an Enemy to all good success: they who let it Master their courages, do shun all dangerous honorable attempts, and if shame be that which receiveth them, yet however they will never do any thing considerable Fortune is a lover of vallour, favourer of the daring, and courageous, and commonly crowneth their attempts with successe. Great fears, meet great hazards, and great Resolutions, great successes: it being as *Salust* saith, most certainly true; Great Resolutions are like Rampards in a Battail, every thing gives way to their attempts: and a lasse every little thing repulseth a party, possessed with fear, and want of courage; To fear is to be half overcome: If any one should aske the reason of it, there is only this to be given. They fancy precipices, in plain wayes; they are ever upon the business of consultation, never that of execution; they love to recede from all obstacles, which seem to oppose them, not to vanquish or break through them; and if perchance they are forced to fight, they do it so coldly, that they give their enemies al kind of advantages by it: Feat seemeth to have dispossessed them of Life and Soul; and whereas the face of dangers should serve to stir them to generous Actions; It rebates them to an immovableness, as if they were voyd of sence or motion. I may well liken them to the Timerous Hindes, which retain their Fruit to the very last for fear of the pains, which they endure in bringing forth, and

would not then produce their young ones, but for fear of a greater mischief, or else I may liken them unto the Elephant which is ten years in breeding, or to the Palm, which according to the Naturalists is a hundred years before it yeeld any Dates, for ever thus it is with them, the apprehensions of dangers maketh them fearfull, and to seek out any occasions to avoid fighting, and if it should happen that they cannot prevent it, they do it so lamely, that they onely do it for fear of death. But to speak a little too of the seditious Rascal, he doth nothing else, as the Chancellour *Olivier* observed, but imitate Apes, who comming to a Tree, get up Limb by Limb to the top, and there sit them down shewing there Posteriores; for just so do they who are of this temper, they are willing to be raised up into high imployments and commands, where being once arrived, their Artifices must cover the defects of their courages; but be it so, yet when occasion is, the resolutions and glorious actions of others, shall become demonstrations of their cowardize, and expose them for laughing-stocks to the whole world.

*The King hearing that the English were come before* Rochel *to relieve it resolveth to return thither.*

THe King had not long been at *Paris*, but he understood the English Fleet was ready to hoise Sail for *Rochel*, which made him resolve upon his return thither. I cannot omit observing how this resolution of his, was a mark both of his wisdome and courage, who as he is not to be cheated out of his Authority by Cabals and Intreagues, so is he not to be retarded by any fear of danger, from those occasions where he might acquire an accrument of glory. At this time it was, that the Lord Keeper *Marillac*, and those of his Faction, began to lay the foundation of the Cardinall intended ruine; but it onely served to convince and shew unto his Majesty, that one of the greatest mischiefs whereunto a Soveraign can be exposed, is to be incompased with such persons as are passionately bent against his chief Minister. The malice which they did bear against his glory finding him much advanced, before the siege of *Rochel*, of which he was the first contriver, did much instigate them against him. They were angry that he had finished his works in such good order, though the enemies of the Kingdome could not sufficiently admire them: it grieved them to see the place in a condition of being taken by his means; and to prevent it, they now resolved to use their utmost indeavour to raise up the Hugonot party, that they might force the King from the siege of it.

Now as it was easie to judge, that in case his Majesty should return to *Rochel*, he would repulse the English, and being followed by many of the Nobility and Lords, who are alwaies observed to be the Authors of victory and successe, that he would likewise infallibly force the Town, so they used a thousand devices to stay him at *Paris*. The Lord Keeper *Marillac* told him with many expressions of an extraordinary passion for his service, that considering how strong the English fleet was, in comparison of his Majesties, the issue of the battel ought to be doubted, how great resistance they would make, and a thousand other inconveniences he alledged would follow, in case they should get the better of the day. Others indeavoured to dissuade him by a tacite discommending the ayr of *Rochel*, which might much indanger his health, especially during the moisture of the spring every one commending the Valor and Conduct of *Monsieur* the Cardinal, the better to disguise their malice, and perswading his Majesty totally to rely upon his care in the management of the siege. But they found the Pannick fears, made no impression upon his Majesties resolutions, which made them design to affrighten his Majesty and the Queen-mother, as one whose Sex is most capable of fears, perswading themselves, that in case he could be prevented by some apprehension, she might then have power enough over the King, to stay him at *Paris*. Divers Ladies who had the honour to be neer her, were won at that time to work several contrivances to that purpose, but all to no purpose. It is true their design was not onely

onely to hinder the Cardinal from reaping the glory due unto him by the taking of *Rochel*, but totally to ruine him, as hereafter shall be shewn. Now was it not fierce conducing to that purpose, to stay the King at *Paris*, for his Majesty not going to animate his Army by his presence, they would not onely have made leſſe resistance to the English, but also many Lords and Gentlemen obliged to attend his person, would not have been there, by which means, the English would have had the advantage of releeving *Rochel*, and the whole blame of that mis-fortune would have been laid on the Cardinal, which they thought enough to disgrace him, and save his Majesties honour. These were the first foundations which this Cabal projected against the glory and favour of this grand Minister. But they were all too weak, to surprise the Kings mind, who no wayes ignorant how necessary his presence was in such an encounter, would not refuse it, to the honour of his Crown and the repose of *France*, which did much depend upon it. He called to mind the example of the late King his father, who deliberating whether or no he should go to the relief of *Calais*, so powerfully assaulted by the Spaniards that there were small hopes to hinder their taking of it, said, the place would assuredly be taken, if he went not in person to releeve it, and that it might so happen that his presence might save it; and therefore that it was better to hazard this latter, then to leave the former without remedy, preferring his honour and the publick good, before the particular consideration of his person. The same courage carried his Majesty to the most glorious and honourable design, that his good fortune, with that of *France* could lead him to undertake, which was, forthwith to depart. Upon the third of *April* he set forward from *Paris*, and arrived at *Rochel* on Easter-munday. Upon his arrival the Artillery both of the Forts and Ships saluted him, and his presence so revived the Army, that every one redoubled his courage and affection to behave themselves with resolution: There were but the *Mariacs* and those of their faction, who were troubled to see him on the Theater of his glory; but the Laurels which his Majesty gathered there, did serve to set forth unto what mis-fortunes a Prince is reduced, when he is councelled by passionate advisers.

*Politique Observation.*

ONe of the most dangerous qualities, that he who is Councellour to a King can have, is to suffer himself to be transported with envy, hatred, anger, or any passion whatever. Wise Council is an effect of Prudent reason, and it can be no longer Prudent when it is once darkned, with the Clouds of some irregular motion. The Irascible power, being once master of Reason, doth so obscure it, that maketh men see no objects in their true colours, and that Passion carrieth it away where ever it pleaseth with the same impetuousnesse as a hot metled horse draws a Chariot into Precipices, that it is impossible to stay him. It is reported, that the Flowers of *Egypt*, being watered by the vapours of *Nile*, which are for the most part gross and earthy, yeeld not any smell, and it is no leſſe certain, that a Statesman, with how great a Genius soever he be indued, is no more capable to give good Counsel, after he hath once given himself up to envy or hatred: His Passion maketh him quarrel with truth it self, and to approve of those Councels which are most prejudicial to the State, that he may satisfie his own self-will. The disgraces of others are his delights, Factions are his joys, and the ruine of those whom he would destroy is his sweetest and most pleasing spectacle; neither is he concerned at the rise or fall of any one, so he be satisfied in his own particular. To this purpose the Poets feigned, that *Hercules* being transported with anger knew not his wife or children, insomuch that he tore them in pieces. But how many other true and assured proofs doth History afford us? That of *England* tels us, how the Duke of *York*, *Henry* the Eighths Favourite, being ill-affectionate to *Spain*, alwaies gave his Master advices in prejudice of *Charles* the Fifth; and on the other side, being full of good will towards *France*, perswaded him to such resolutions as might continue the friendship which was between them. *Antiochus* his Favou-

rites

rites being incenſed againſt *Hannibal*, cauſed him to be baniſhed from the Counſel, though he were a perſon very neceſſary and uſefull to him. In fine, he who is maſtered by Paſſion, onely thinks of ſatiating himſelf for the obtaining thereof; he diſguiſeth the diſloyalty of his Counſels, with ſo many fair gloſſes and ſpecious colours that he may draw his Prince, to that end he aimeth at; by this means if his Prince have any confidence in him, he will eaſily deceive him, and quickly lead him into thoſe mis-fortunes which he will ſoon perceive, but too late to get clear of them. All Soveraigns are not ſo fortunate as the Piſans, who refuſed to make a War againſt the Florentines being invited thereunto by the Arch-Biſhop of *Milan*; for that *Francis Gambacorti* gave them to underſtand he onely adviſed to it, out of hatred to the Florentines, and not out of any advantage to their intereſts.

## *The* Rochelois *are ſummoned by a Herald to ſurrender to the King.*

THe King being returned to the Army, cauſed the *Rochelois* to be ſummoned by a Herald to ſurrender, but their minds and anſwers were full of inſolency, ſo that his Majeſty bended all his thoughts to make preparations for the fighting with the Engliſh Fleet at their firſt comming. Divers Lords and Gentlemen of the Nation came from all parts to the Army, for this occaſion, and to partake of the glory of his Majeſties Arms; every one of them were on fire to be ingaged with the Engliſh and the Rochelois, that they might obtain a ſecond victory againſt them. Now it being expedient that he who commandeth an Army, ſhould exactly know the condition and number of his forces, that he may the better reſolve upon that which is neceſſary to be done, the King thought fit to make a muſter and to take a ſtrict view of the Army. He cauſed them to muſter in his own preſence which was no ſmall ſatisfaction to him, eſpecially when he obſerved how dutifull they were, and how well Diſciplined, not ſtragling up and down as formerly they were wont to do, all which was an effect of the Cardinals admirable care, Conduct, and Prudence. The Order which he had cauſed to be obſerved was this, every eight days there was a muſter of all the Souldiers, every Regiment having a Commiſſary appointed to it, to whom the Souldiers pay was diſtributed, and not to their Captains, as formerly had been the cuſtome: By this means the Captains were deprived of the power of muſtring any foiſted hirelings, and every week there was an exact number of the Army, that new recruits might be ſent for, if occaſion did require. This alteration you may imagine did much trouble divers Captains; eſpecially ſuch as preferred their own Intereſts before his Majeſties glory; but it cannot be expected how advantagious it was to the Kings ſervice, who thus reviewing his Army, found it compoſed of nineteen Regiments of foot, and eighteen Troops of Horſe; beſides a very great number of Volunteers; inſomuch that they were five and twenty thouſand men compleat. The King likewiſe took a view of all his Veſſels, and finding them to be in good order, and enough to ſecure the Channel from the Engliſh, he began to be impatient to ſee them appear, that he might make them pay for the raſhneſſe of their attempts, and ſignalize his own forces by a ſecond Victory.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

ONE of the chief cares a General ought to have is, that he keep his Forces in good order, that none of them run from their Coullors, or muſter any hirelings. It is a buſineſſe of ſo great importance, that oftentimes Victorie dependeth on it: as at *Pavie*, where the ill ſucceſſe which befell *Francis* the firſt, is by divers Hiſtorians attributed to the defect of this particular, for onely looking over the Commiſſaries Roules, he thought there had bin full as many Souldiers as were there liſted upon which the fight was begun, but loſt, and the King taken priſoner. Now for the

the staying of Souldiers in an Army, one of the best ways according to *Alexander Severus*, is this, pay them well, clothe them well, shoe them well, arm them well feed them well, and so order the businesse, that they may alwayes have some mony in their purses: and when they be thus well used, such as run from their Colours must then be severy punished; *Corbulo* beheaded all such, without mercy, and it was observed, that this severity of his, was of great advantage to him, for by it, he kept all his troopes neer at a stay in point of Number: Neither is it lesse needful, to prevent Captaines and Commissaries scroles, who can by a dangerous miracle, revive dead Souldiers, in their companies, and make more to appear then really they have. This is an inconveniency, of which the losse of the Kings mony, is the least consequent evil; for if it happen that a Prince assure himself according to the Roles, is thereupon become confident in attempting any enterprises, he may perchance, when it comes to a trial, find himself much weaker, then he expected, and by that means run into the same premunire, that *Francis* the first did at *Pavie*. The best preventive Course in such disorders is that which *Darius* used, who notwithstanding the vastnesse of his Armie: and the Extent of his States was however so careful of his Forces, that he would often review them in his own presence, pay the Souldiers with his own hands, and be perpetually in company with them, not onely that he might be particularly acquainted with them, but that he might take care to provide necessaries for them, encourage some, and reward others who had wel deserved of him. If after all their cares the Captains shall still presume to make false musters, both they and the Commissaries who admit of them ought to be punished, with so much the more rigor, in regard their faults are of so dangerous a consequence.

### *The English Fleet cometh before* Rochell.

THE perpetual instance which they of *Rochel* made to the King of Great *Brittain*, at last wrought on him, to send out his Fleet to Sea, upon their first being ready for it, and about the eleventh of *May* they were discried two leagues off the point of *Coreille*. The light Vessels which the Cardinal, (in his Majesties absence, being then at *Surgeres*) had sent out to discover, the Coast brought intelligence that their Fleet consisted in four Pinnaces, seven men of War, of about one hundred and fifty Tun a peece, twenty smaller of neer one hundred Tuns, twenty Barques of about thirty and forty, and divers Fire-ships. There was such order taken to repel them, in case they should attempt to passe the Bank, that it would be almost an impossibility for them to effect it: For besides there engines which were at the mouth of the Bark, there was also the Kings Fleet, composed of good store Men of war, and divers other Vessels which lay in the Channels. The Chevalier de *Valencay* was in the formost Ship of the vant-guard, and commanded as Vice-Admiral, who had order to grapple with the first Ship of the Enemies, and to fight those who were in it; The others were to follow his example, and every one had order to beat the Enemies as neer to the Shore, as possible they could, where they would find it a hard taske to get off in regard of the great shot from the Forts and Batteries thereabouts. If the Enemie should break through all those obstacles, of the greater Vessels & shot from the Batteries, yet they would find themselves entangled amongst fourscore other Vessels, Gallies, Galliots, and Barques, from whence it would be difficult to get off, and at the worst they would be stopped by those vessels which had been sunk, or the first Pallisade of three and forty ships which were next to them. The Cardinal who knew that his Majesties courage would lead him to every thing, poosently gave him advice of the arrival of the English, and his Majesty presently took horse and came the same night to the Camp. The strength of his Army, the Batteries which were built on the shores, and the good order which he observed both in his Land and Sea forces, banish'd all causes of fear from him, neither were his resolutions lesse fortified by the confidence which he had

had in God, for whoſe glory he did fight, more then for the Intereſts of his own Kingdome, to whom he cauſed publick Prayers to be made for his bleſſing on this occaſion. In ſhort, as he was not ignorant that the preſence of an enemy, obligeth him who commands to be the more vigilant; he ſent to diſcover the enemies Fleet at a nearer diſtance within Muſket ſhot, then lying in the road of the *Chef de Bay*; he likewiſe called a Councel of War, where he reſolved upon the following order for his own Fleet: He commanded that upon the firſt motion of the enemy no Veſſel ſhould weigh Anchor untill they were neer at hand, and that then they ſhould board them before they came neer the Bank. That no Veſſel ſhould releeve his Companion being ingaged with the enemy, that in caſe any Veſſel were in purſuit of an enemy, and ſhould fall foul upon one of his own party, not yet provided, then the firſt veſſel ſhould caſt Anchor to the end to ſtay the enemy, that both might fall upon him; that if any veſſel were fired the Shallops ſhould preſently come to aſſiſt, and that in caſe ſhe were grappled with a Fire-ſhip, they ſhould remove the Wedges from the Cannons that they might ſhoot over: That in ſuch caſe too, they ſhould knock out the ends of their Barrels of Powder, and pour in ſome Buckets of Water: That they ſhould not make ready any greater number of veſſels then the enemy ſhould bring in between the two points: That the ſhips ſhould every day ſend their Boats to watch before the Fleet, and that their chief care ſhould be to prevent the enemies Fire-ſhips, by ſurpriſing their Shallops in caſe they had any, or by caſting an harping Iron whereby to draw them off from the veſſels: That for the more readineſſe every veſſel ſhould have a grappling hook in the ſtern, and that when-ever the enemy ſhould hoiſe ſail, they ſhould have their long boats armed, and ready to advance with aſſiſtance againſt any fire, where it ſhould happen. This order was reſolved on by the King, aſſiſted with his Generals and Sea Captains, and ſo delivered to the Commander of *Valencay* Vice-Admiral, who diſtributed it amongſt the Officers. Laſtly, his Majeſty took a review of all his Quarters and Batteries, to ſee if all were in condition to fight and repel the enemy, when-ever they ſhould appear.

*Politique Obſervation*

OF all the Arts none more becommeth a Prince, than the Military, which not onely preſerves his own State to him, but gives him means to increaſe it and raiſe his power to a higher degree. It cannot be doubted but that it is one of the ſteadieſt Pillars of his Authority, ſeeing neither ſubjects or neighbours make any difficulty to aſſault him, whom they find negligent in Military Diſcipline. For this reaſon it was, that the wiſeſt amongſt the Romans, were againſt the ruine of *Carthage*; fore-ſeeing with much Prudence, that that City being no longer able to oppoſe the Roman greatneſſe, their Commanders would no more regard the training up of their Souldiers in the exerciſe of War, and by conſequence, put the Empire in danger of a total ruine. I ſhall hereto adde, that the Prince unskil'd in this Art lies at the mercy of his Captains when any War befalls him, and his Power ſubjected to their Fidelity; an evill ſo much the greater, as the Grandees of a Kingdom holding for a *maxime*, that the weakneſſe of their Prince is the moſt aſſured foundation of their Authority, would make no ſcruple of letting themſelves be overcome, when thereby they might hope for ſome advantage. Beſides it is not to be imagined to what contempt he doth expoſe himſelf, whileſt he is in an Army which he knows not how to govern, how to quarter, how to give order in a March or a Battel. I have formerly ſaid, that that Prince is very unfortunate, who is neceſſitated to make uſe of ſtrangers for his aſſiſtance. But what good ſucceſſe can he expect, who is not able to guide his own Subjects in War? To deal ingeniouſly, if the Army which he hath got together be the Body deſtinied for his defence, hee is then their head; but if he chance to be unable to do the Offices which belong to that part, his Army will fall to be like the body of a man, whoſe head by the many wounds it hath received, is no longer able to govern or direct the inferiour members

members. Amongſt the many wayes to make a Prince Maſter of this Art, no doubt, but the reading of ſuch Books as diſcourſe concerning Hiſtory and War, may be very uſefull, for by it may he obſerve the atchievements of great Captains and what orders they have followed in matters of fight: But yet the Practique part is that which in military affairs is much more advantagious. Neither ought a Prince to expect a War that he may accuſtome himſelf to the attaining of this habit; for this is the time, when he muſt teach his Souldiers to execute that which himſelf had formerly learn'd. The exerciſing and training up of his Souldiers in time of Peace will be of a double advantage to him, for he not onely learns the manner of conducting them, but accuſtomes and habituates them to his own rules and conduct, and maketh himſelf beloved by them, ſo that when occaſion ſhall ſerve they will not eaſily leave or forſake him.

*Charles* of *Anſon* was eſteemed a fortunate and good Souldier, but yet his credit was much diminiſhed for his diſuſing his Souldiers to the exerciſe of their Arms in time of Peace. An Army not train'd up to feats of War in times of Peace, cannot do any great actions in War when occaſion requires, ſaith *Julius Cæſar*; but on the contrary there are great hopes from them who are well Diſciplin'd. Upon this accompt it was, that he made ſo little difficulty to go meet with a handfull of men, *Pompey* and his vaſt Army in the Theſſalian Plains, they being for the moſt part untrain'd and without skill; ſo that he himſelf ſaid, he onely went to fight a head without a body. *Scipio* the Affricans greateſt care was in this manner, continually to exerciſe his Souldiers, that he might teach them to be victorious and couragious. *Philopæmon* was much commended by antiquity, for that in times of Peace, he was diligently intent upon the exerciſing of his Souldiers for War, if occaſions ſhould ſo happen, that there might be any ſudden need of them, many times would he lead them into the Field, and propoſe theſe and ſuch other queſtions to them. If the enemy (would he ſay) were incamped upon yonder Hill, who had the greater advantage by it, he, or me? how ſhouid we aſſault him? what courſe were proper to be taken if he ſhould ſtay to attend us? If we ſhould be put to retreat, how ſhould we do it with moſt advantage? Thus he knew their opinions, and ſhewed them his own, which uſed them to a readineſſe of all manner of exerciſes. In fine, he who accuſtometh himſelf to this kind of action, may ſay what *Camillus* did to his in a great Battel which he had with the Tuſcans, at whoſe numbers his ſouldiers were aſtoniſhed: Companions and Fellow Souldiers (ſaid he) put not your ſelves to the trouble of doing any thing elſe, then what you have ſo often done before my face. Theſe few words gave them a confident aſſurance, and doubtleſſe a Prince whoever he be, ſhall baniſh all fear from his Souldiers, and much increaſe their Courages, when he hath train'd them up to the uſe of their Arms, and to the knowledge of what they ought to obſerve, he ſhall come to ſay thoſe or the like words unto them. Uſe makes perfection, maketh Cowards ſenceleſſe at the greateſt dangers, and enables them to do all things, who before could do nothing.

## *The Engliſh attempt the Relief of* Rochel, *but in vain.*

THE Engliſh Fleet lay eight days at Anchor, without moving a Ship, they having agreed upon the order of fight with thoſe of *Rochel*, who had promiſed by their Deputies to ſally out both by Sea and Land to ſecond them; but they could find no opportunity to ſend them notice of it; beſides the ill welcome they received at their firſt entertainment, made them reſolve to attempt nothing without a good information how they might eſcape thoſe obſtacles, which they underſtood were prepared ready for them in the Channel. For being come near about the *Chef de Bay*, they were received with a Volley of about fifty ſhot from the Point there; forty of which did execution upon them; eſpecially upon one, in which an Engliſh Collonel and divers of his Company were killed. This Battery indeed conſiſted of 9 peece of Cannon, and was raiſed there by his Majeſties own direction, though contrary to the advice of his Generals.

But for all this, there was one Captain *Braignant* a Rochellois, in companie with them, who offered to attempt the passage in a small Boat with Oares, crosse the Kings Fleet, and over the Channels, to give those of the Town information of what orders they were to observe: The English approoved of it, who making use of the darkness of the night, went and mingled himself with those of the Kings Fleet, under pretence of enquiring out for a Galliot, & so well played his part, that he got into *Rochel*. Presently the Rochellois made Bonefiers upon the tops of their Towers; The day following, they set up three Ensigns, one white, t'other red, & the third Blew; the English did the like. The King seeing of it, presently drew out his Armie into Battalia; which had bin during the eighth dayes last past much recuited, by the accesse of divers Volunteers, who had come in from all parts; and his Majesty had the pleasure to behold with what eagernesse, every one desired to be engaged with the Enemies: Hereupon the English Fleet seeing the Sea smooth, and their Ships mooved with a fair Gale, came up toward his Majesties Fleet, about Cannon distance; turned about their Ships and discharged their Broad-sides, the like did the Rochellois, and the Kings Ships were not long before they set out to receive them, where they behaved themselves with such courage that the English had no reason to believe, they had lesse resolution now, then they had lately shewen at the Ile of *Re*; that which most of all troubled them was, they were not ignorant, with what obstacles they were to encounter, in the Channels that they were to break through three Rayles, two of Vessels floating on the Sea, and linked together by Chains and Anchors; and a third several Vessels filled with stones and sunk before the Bank; the Channel too was covered all over, with Vessels full of Souldiers and Voluntiers of the Nobility, all eager of fighting with them; besides they were to avoyd the shot which would thunder in upon them from both sides of the shore, by the Bank; al these difficulties made them dispair of doing any good upon it, and that time the water was too low, for their Ships, in which their chief strength consisted, and their design could not be excused, but at high-water, because when the Sea began to ebb, their Vessels of burden would remain as the mercy of his Majesties great Guns, insomuch that all things duely considered, they concluded it impossible for them to break thorough.

On the other side the Rochelois who had promised them to Sally out, and do miracles, did not appear at all, for they had found, that it would be impossible to make way thorough to the Bank, there being so many Vessels full of Souldiers & Volunteers, to be fought with; insomuch that the Earl of Denbigh, what out of anger, and what out of despair, resolved to draw off: many complaints he made against the Rochellois, as that they had deceived the King his Master, in assuring him that it was easie to passe into their Port, and not informing him, of those obstacles, which he was to provide against, and with forces the King of *France* had a board his Ships, & Vessels to fight with his Souldiers; but yet al his complaints could not secure him, from being much blamed: all that he did, before his going off, was, he had sent out a Fire-ship with Petards and the like, from which he expected great matters, as that it would burn all the Ships it came neer: but it happene to work sooner then his engineers imagined; so that they being unable to get of the Barque which was fastened to it, they burnt their Vessels, and themselves, without any relief or succour.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is unsafe to believe a unrevolted people, or to build any designe upon their promises; They themselves do commonly ground all their rebellions upon vain hopes, of which being despoiled, they have present recours to such, from whom they can expect assistance, without considering into how great disasters, and to what little purpose they engage them; They want fore-cast to prevent those inconveniencies into which they are throwing of themselves and Friends, and they judge of events by their own desires, rather then by the rules of War. They never misdoubt of a good successe, in that which they wish with passion; & as nothing is so

dangerous

dangerous as raſhneſſe, which carrieth people blindfold into diſaſters: ſo they frequently fall into thoſe misfortunes which they did not foreſee, and in it ruine all thoſe whom they have perſwaded to become companions of their enterprises.

*Artaxerxes* ſuffered himſelf to be guided by the fair words of *Themiſtocles*, who being diſcontented with his own Countrey, perſwaded him to a War againſt *Greece*, where being arrived, he ſoon found *Themiſtocles* could not make good his word to him; whereby he came expoſed to many dangers; *Themiſtocles* indeed was ſo aſhamed of it, that he poiſoned himſelf but what did that advantage *Artaxerxes's*, It neither defended him from the diſcredit and blame, nor ſaved him thoſe expences which he had bin at. In the ſame manner the Sieur de *Chaumont* one of our Kings Generals in *Italy*, let himſelf be guided by *Bentivoglio*, in the aſſalting of *Boulogne*, from whence he had bin baniſhed, upon the hopes he gave him, that the Citizens and Nobility would revolt; but being come before it, he was forced to retire with diſhonor, all thoſe promiſes of *Bentivoglio*, which were founded more upon his paſſionate deſire, than reaſon, being vaniſhed into that ayr which gave him the firſt conceipts of them. I might add for another reaſon, the facility wherewith a people revolted, do ſubmit to their ſoveraigns, when they find themſelves reduced to an impoſſibility of executing their deſignes. For as they have not prudence enough to foreſee thoſe dangers into which they run, neither have they generouſneſſe enough, to obſerve their promiſes made upon any accompt whatever.

Thus *Alexander* King of *Epire*, invaded *Italy* upon ſome aſſurances, which a revolted people called the *Lucani*, at this day inhabiting the Baſilicate of *Naples*, had given him, of a ſpeedy ſubduing the whole Kingdome, and that they would never forſake him, but he ſoon found it quite otherwiſe: For they having made their Peace, with the reſt of their Country-men, to enjoy their goods and liberties, upon condition that they ſlew him, forthwith fell upon him, and by an extream breach of Faith killed him, which might ſerve all Princes to beware, how they credit a revolted rebellious people, both becauſe they will uſually promiſe more then they can perform, feign and pretend ſeveral impoſtures to draw any one in to their aſſiſtance and laſt of all, if they find it for their advantage, make their own accommodation, and leave thoſe whom they engaged with them, to ſhift for themſelves.

## *The Engliſh having attempted their utmoſt to relieve* Rochel, *reſolve to depart.*

THE ſodain departure of the Engliſh paſs'd for a miracle, not only amongſt the moſt Religious, but the wiſe too; and indeed it was apparent to be ſeen that Heaven it ſelf, did fight againſt them, and would that his Majeſty ſhould be victorious over them, his thoughts being accompanied with ſo much Piety and Juſtice. And was it not indeed a miracle to ſee ſo great a Fleet ſet ſayl from *England*, with undanted courages, reſolve to conſume whatever ſhould oppoſe them, and on a ſodain, ſeized with fear, inſomuch that their Armes ſeemed to drop out of their hands, and they could not be perſwaded to fight? was it not indeed a real miracle, that, on the third night after their arrival, in the Road of the *Chef de Bay*, the Wind being favourable for the Rochellois to ſally out, according as had bin aſſigned between them, ſhould preſently turn about, and that juſt as they were at the Oar? was it not, I pray, an abſolute miracle, that when at another time the ſame Rochelois were embarqued, after the exhortations of their Miniſters, and their Captains had ſolemnly ſworn, to paſſe the Bank in diſpight of all oppoſition, or die in the attempt, juſt then they ſhould be ſtruck with ſuch faint heartedneſſe, that not a man durſt ſtir his hand, and their Miniſter *Vincent* who exhorted them, could no longer ſpeak unto them, as himſelf confeſſed in a Letter to a Friend of his? was not that a real miracle, which hapened two dayes before the Engliſh de-

parted, when there fell so thick a myst, that one could hardly see his hand; which opportunity they intended to make use of to force the Bank; and on a sudden to see it dissipated, though it was thought that it would have lasted three hours at least, and the wind which was at that time fair, to change about, and that into so violent a storm, that one of their Vessels was forced on shore, neer *Pont de la Pierre*? Was it not miraculous to see the Kings Army clear from all contagious diseases; notwithstanding that the *Rochelois* had often sent out infected persons, on purpose to infect others? Was it not strange that the Sea should grow so rough at the first laying the foundation for the Bank, and break it open without doing any other hurt then enlarging of the ground-work, a thing necessary in it self, and too narrow to uphold so great a bulk? And besides was it not a miracle that whilest the Bank was not yet finished, the Sea Floods which yeeld to nothing, should not do any hurt to it? They who are eye-witnesses of so many wonders could not but confesse that Heaven fought for his Majesty, and that the Winds which observe nothing but inconstancy, were by God subjected to him, to become favourable to his designs. Who can refuse to acknowledge these things to be the effects of Gods extraordinary power; for his Majesty, at the same time, did a great and evident miracle upon a child of 12 years old, who never having spoke word, onely *Ay* and *No* spake perfectly as soon as ever the King had touched her. She was born at *St. Jean de Angely*, and brought by her Parents, who confidently beleeved that she would be well if his Majesty did but touch her.

*Politique Observation.*

THE Piety of a King avails much in the obtaining of Victorie. Who can doubt it, seeing God is the Authour of them, and that Piety is a charm which captivates him as the Royal Prophet hath said, To hear the Prayers of them who fear him, and to defend them from their enemies? Antiquity used to say (according to *Plutarch*) that Fortune gave to *Demetrius* those Towns which he took in Nets of Gold: *Mercurius Trismegistus* saith, that he whose Piety puts him into Gods protection, is not easily surprised by any ambush, and *St. Augustine* writeth in his Book *de Civit. Dei*, That the Romans had not been Masters of the Universe by Force and Prudence, but by the Virtue and Piety which they practised: The Victories they obtained being the rewards of their deserts; indeed Justice and Piety are the strongest weapons a Soveraign can imploy to suppresse his enemies: And if any one ask the reason of it, I shall onely alledge this, that Piety renders them worthy to obtain Victories from the hand of God, who hath promised in a thousand places of holy Writ to imploy his power in the behalf of those Kings which are righteous. And how often hath God made the Winds and Tempests to fight their Battels who have been carefull to walk in his ways? How often hath he opened inaccessible places to them, and calmed the Sea for their sakes? Hath it not been often seen that an handfull of men by his assistance have brought strong Armies to confusion, and became Masters of places thought to be impregnable. To speak truly, nothing is so strong, so powerfull, so invincible, nor so generous as that valour which marching under the Banners of Christian Piety, submiteth its self to Gods protection, the true strength of all Christian Princes: And as it were in vain to seek for Light without the Sun, Water without Fountains or Rivers, and heat without fire; so it would be ridiculous to expect true strength from any other then his protection, who is the God of Battels. The more a Prince is in favour with him, the more courage will he give him, especially when he fighteth for his glory, and this is a maxime which may serve for a foundation to the happinesse of all Kings, and who so observeth it not, buildeth his designs upon the sand. *Alphonsus* King of *Sicily* and *Arragon* taught his son *Ferdinand*, in such terms as were very proper to be learned by all young Princes in their infancy. It was then when he sent him to revenge the injuries, which he had received from the Florentines, Behold his words:

My

My son (said he) That which I chiefly command you, is, Trust not so much upon your Souldiers courages, as upon your hopes of assistance from Heaven, learn to day from me, Victory is not the effect of the Discipline or industry of men, but of Gods power, who is the judge of Battels. The Military Art can never assure of an happy successe in our designs, if we be once defective in making God our friend by the Piety and Innocence of our actions. In fine, all the maxims of War, not link'd with the Laws of God are weak foundations; and all the fortunes which are not grounded upon him, who turns the Globe of the Earth with his hand, are nearer to destruction then advancement. The Greeks though brought up in the darknesse of errour, did they not design to teach us, when in their fables it was said, that *Mercury* who was adored by them for the God of Prudence, was nursed by the hours? For to what end was it, if not to teach their people that all humane wisedome, if not regulated nor sustained by the measures of Heaven could not have any nourishment or subsistance.

## *The Dissentions amongst the* Rochelois *upon the Departure of the English.*

THE departure of the English cast the *Rochelois* into such despair, that they had doubtlesse set open the Gates to his Majesty, so much were the inferiour sort oppressed with necessity and want, had it not been for the Dutchesse of *Rohan*, and the exhortations of their Preachers, who never ceased from crying out unto the people, that they never ought to despair of assistance from Heaven, which never forsaketh them who are the Protectors of the Gospel. There presently did arise great dissentions between them, but the prevalent party, imprisoned some, and executed others, whom they found disposed to an accommodation; insomuch that from that time the poor people were ready to perish by famine, and durst not complain of it. They were perswaded of a new succour from *England*; for the procuring of which, they sent new Deputies to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, with instructions to incite him upon the score of honour, representing to him that he could not suffer their Town to be lost without injuring of his own glory, they being thus under his protection; withall to provoke him to it by a sense of pitty; to which end they acquainted him with the extream necessities and miseries to which they were reduced, and to perswade him that there was not any such impediment in the Channel which his Fleet might not have overcome, if they would but have attempted it; that for their parts they had not been wanting to make a Sallie, if his Forces had but once began the fight; and lastly, they astonished the people by the thundring noise of the Cannon, which they discharged more in six days, then they had done in six weeks before, to perswade them that they had now found an infallible way to break the Bank, and to destroy all the Kings ships that lay in the Channel.

In the mean while his Majesty that he might not lose the advantage which their divisions offered to him, sent to summon them by an Herald, but they rejected all proposals of a surrender: however famin, pressing hard upon the poorer sort, some of the better too, they began to murmure, insomuch that a Counsel was summoned to satisfie them, and to consider of what was proper to be done: the Counsel being met, most of the members were of opinion to accept of his Majesties bounty: and one amongst them openly said, that they were now within six weeks of their last provisions, that every one had reason to rejoyce, seeing it pleased his Majesty to be so gracious; as that he would preserve the exercise of their Religion to them, the enjoyment of their goods, and the walls of their City, all which they had reason to hope for, from his Majesties clemencie and goodnesse: That on the other side, he saw no reason to expect any relief from the English, as well by reason of the losses they had already sustain'das by the little courage they had testified to fight for them, as also by those great difficulties which were to be remooved in the Channel:

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and ſo ſaying, he did much ſettle and confirm the reſt in their reſolutions of Surrendring. But the Mayor hearing this diſcourſe came to him, and gave him a Box on the ear; in anſwer of which another of the Counſellors did ſo much for him, and thus they had falled into ſome greater ſedition had they not bin diſſolved very quickly. The Councel was much offended with the Mayor, and iſſued out an order to ſeize on him; but he encouraging the people, made them riſe, and take arms, ſo away he went to the houſes of thoſe two Counſellors, to have ſlain them, as doubtleſſe he had done, had it not preſerved by their eſcape out of *Rochel*, unto his Majeſty at whoſe feet they caſt themſelves, imploring his protection, which was not denied unto them.

Theſe diviſions did not a little advantage his Majeſties affaires, & the Cardinal perſwaded his Majeſty to foment them as much as poſſible he could, by ſending another ſummons to them to yeild; whereupon *Breton* Herald at Armes was commanded to do it in Form, with his Coat of Armes, who went into the Citie, required them to lay down their weapons, aſſured them of pardon for their paſt crime & follies, and threatning them with the contrary, in caſe they ſhould now refuſe it. It made no little impreſſion on them, who were reduced to want and extremity, but they being animated by their Preachers, the town ſtill continued reſolute in their inſolencies, The obſtinate wilfulneſſe, which is natural to ſuch people feeding them with fair hopes until the laſt.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THE people, ſaith *T. Livy*, unable to govern themſelves by reaſon, ſoon run into extremities, and dangers; they are ever either too low or too high, too forward or too backward. Another, and for the ſame reaſon likens them to the fool-hardy, who know no *medium* between the extreams of fear and audaciouſneſſe; as ſoon as ever they deſpair of effecting their deſigns to advantage, they break out into mutinies; but in caſe they find them in a condition of bringing them to a good iſſue. Oh, how fierce are they? how inſolent in their expreſſions & actions? There need no other reaſon for it, but onely this Paſſion is naturally the Miſtreſs of popular ſpirits, which are neither capable of reaſon or generouſneſs the two known cauſes of civility, modeſty and valour: Experience too hath made it evident that they who are born with narrow low hearts are terrified at the leaſt dangers, and care not what evils they commit if they have but the power to defend them. It is the property of paſſion, either to yeild to ſoon, or not at all; and by the impetuouſneſſe of their motion it is, that many people have choſen after the ſuffering of a thouſand miſeries, to dye within their City-wals, rather then open their Gates, to their beſiegers. *Calagurva* a City of *Spain*, being beſieged by *Pompey*, the inhabitants of it, were ſo obſtinate in defence of their Walls in *Sertorius* his behalf, that after they had eaten up all their living creatures, they were ſo ſenceleſly cruel, as to kill their Wives and Children, that they might eat them: And the *Saguntines* too, who were of the ſame Nation after they had ſuffered the utmoſt extremities, turned their rage upon their own ſelves, inſomuch that their fame became a proverb, for having nothing left to eat, they made a great fier in the publike place, where they firſt burnt, whatever they eſteemed rich, and then threw in themſelves, chooſing rather to periſh in the flames, then to let the *Carthaginians* become Maſters of their Town and Perſons, rather to follow the impetuouſneſſe of that fury which tormented them, then to be guided by reaſon, which would have taught them, that it had bin no infamy to yeild to a Conqueror, when he hath reduced ſuch as reſiſt him, to an impoſſibility of eſcaping.

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### *A Feigned Treaty between the King and the Rochelois.*

THE Mayor of *Rochel* seeing this fury of the people; who seemed unable longer to endure the extremities, whereunto neceſſity had reduced them, and that that party, who were enclined to ſurrender the Town, were grown ſtrong, he reſolved to feign a treaty with the King. He had wit enough to know that the people love rather to be deceived than forced, upon which thoughts, he prayed the Sieur *Arnoult* by the Sieur de *Fenquieres* a priſoner, that he would come into the City to adviſe upon ſuch wayes of accomodation, as might be thought reaſonable. The Sieur *Arnoult* procured leave for it, and upon diſcourſe had with the Mayor, he ſpent two dayes time in going & coming, after which he purpoſed to the beſieged to have recourſe to his Majeſties mercy, as the moſt aſſured way of pardon which they could fancie to themſelves; ſo the Sieur *Arnoult* went to meet the King at *Tailbourg*, & Monſieur de Cardinal at *Chaſtelliers* near *Fontenay* to give them notice of what had paſſed. Theſe apparent ſubmiſſions brought them both back to the Camp, from which they were a little retired by reaſon of the infections which are in the Army. Now the *Sieur Arnoult* being returned to *Rochel*, and having aſſured the inhabitants of the inclination his Majeſty had to pardon them, if they would really confeſſe their faults, and give him reaſon to beleeve that they would in future live within the bounds of their duty, they named Deputies to wait upon his Majeſty, who commanded them to acquaint the Cardinal with what they had to ſay. They went to wait upon his Eminency at *Rouſay*, at the Quarter *de la Bergery*, where they were in conference full two hours with him, after which every one gueſſed by their cheerfulneſſe that they were very well contented, they deſired a ſafe conduct to wait upon him two dayes after in the ſame place, which was not denied them, and being come thither they teſtified a great reſolution in the people to deliver themſelves up to his Majeſties mercy, ſeeing that notwithſtanding their Rebellion, he had been pleaſed to let them live in the exerciſe of their Religion, the injoyment of their goods, and withall the preſervation of their Walls; the Cardinal ſent them back to the King, whom they found upon the Bank, they were afraid to appear before his Majeſty, but being brought into his preſence they caſt themſelves at his feet, and begged his pardon and mercy with as many apparent ſubmiſſions, as could have been deſired. His Majeſty ſaid to them, you deſerve to be ſeverely puniſhed; but ſince God hath given you the grace to confeſſe your fault, I pardon you your lives. The Deputies returned to *Rochel* with great joy, promiſing to be ready the next morning to conclude upon the particular Articles of the Treaty. But the Mayor and thoſe of his party had onely pretended this Treaty to gain time, that they might work upon the people by poſſeſſing them how important it was to their liberty to keep up their fortifications; which otherwiſe would be levelled with the ground; and at laſt having moulded them to their own temper, all the Treaty vaniſhed to ſmoke: Nay their inſolency was ſuch, that being confident, during this intercourſe of parley, his Majeſties Army would not keep ſo ſtrict watch as uſually they did, they had the boldneſſe to ſend out a fire-ſhip about three in the morning, amongſt the Kings Veſſels near the Bank, which guarded the Paſſages, and at the ſame time ſhot off divers great pieces, but without any execution. The Cardinal who knew that an enemy ought never to be truſted, cauſed the watch to be kept in as great ſtrictneſſe as ever, ſo that the Boats which were upon the guard perceiving the fire-ſhip drew her aſide into a place, where ſhe burned down without doing any hurt.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

VIgilance is the ſavegard of Armies, and he who commands a ſiedge is the more obliged to watch that he may ſuſtain the enterpriſes of the beſiedged, in regard the wiſeſt then attempt them, when they are leaſt ſuſpected. Negligence and

and Victory do never any long time go hand in hand together, and the leaſt carefulneſſes do often turn the ſcales in War. Thoſe campes which are garded with moſt circumſpection, are the moſt ſecure, and he who is not alwayes in a way of defence, puts himſelf into eminent danger; That General who lets his forces ſleep without good gard, commits the care of them and their lives to fortune. *Iphicrates* one of the moſt famous Captains of *Athens* was far enough from committing this fault, for his Souldiers kept the ſame gard in peace, and with the ſame ſtrictneſſe as in War, their arms being alwayes ready by them to fight. At firſt it was woundred at, but the reaſon he alledged, was, That a man may be never ſurpriſed, he ought always to be in fear. By this means after the ſhame of a rout, he will not be forced to ſay, I did not think there had been any thing to fear. If a General hath reaſon at any time to be upon his gard, more eſpecially ought he to be ſo then, when there are propoſitions of peace in treaty; for one of the moſt uſual wiles, which great Captains uſe, is that of propoſing ſome treaty whereby they might make advantage. Thus Pope *Julius* the ſecond, that he might gain time, to prepare himſelf againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, amazed King *Lewis* the twelfth with the apparencies of a fair accommodation. In the like manner *Ferdinando Arragon* ſent *Philip* Arch-duke of *Auſtria* to amaze the ſame King by a treaty of Peace, which they ſwore unto, that they might hinder him in conſideration thereof from making neceſſary preparations for the aſſiſting of his own party; who by reaſon thereof were forced to leave the Kingdome of *Naples*; and *Ferdinand* made it evident that to that purpoſe was his deſigne, for he could not afterwards be perſwaded to ratifie the treaty. Nothing is ſo ſafe as to treat a pear with diſtruſt, and he who ſo doth, hath a double advantage by it, firſt by depriving his Enemy of all hopes to ſurpriſe him, and ſecondly becauſe the good order in which he keeps his Forces, gives him the credit to obtain more beneficial articles.

### *The Rochelois are reduced by famine to extream miſeries.*

ONE of the remedies which the Rochellois uſed to relieve their neceſſities, eſpecially after the Engliſh were returned, was to turn out all the unneceſſary mouthes; they found means by the help of a dark night and in a tempeſt, which had broken in ſunder ſome of the floating Veſſels which ſtopped the mouth of the Bank, to paſſe a Barque laden with women, which the Kings veſſels then in gard did not perceive time enough to prevent: but this was the onely time they could procure that advantage, but on the contrary, their inſolency being come to the height, they forced the Kings Juſtice Severely to puniſh ſuch as attempted to ſave themſelves by Land; about the end of *Auguſt* above three hundred perſons of all ages and both ſexes came out by the Channel at low water, and being got to Land, fell to eating of roots and herbs with ſuch greedineſſe, that it was eaſie to judge how much the inhabitants of the Town were neceſſitated by famine. They had been fit objects with compaſſion, had they been leſſe inſolent; but as nothing except neceſſity it ſelf could bring them to their duties, ſo the Sieurs de *Briſac*, de *Fouville* and the other Captains of the gards when they lighted on them, forced them back into he Town, to augment the famine of the inhabitants. This juſt ſeverity was oftentimes uſed towards them, by which means their miſeries were ſuch, that having neither bread, pulſe, nor any thing uſually edible, they found out an invention to boil Beefs-hides in tallow & ſuch other things. They were oftentimes ſeen to go into the Salt-pits to gather herbs and cockles, and ſuch other ſtuff as they could frie, which they preſently devoured as delicates. They eat bread made of thiſtle-roots, and their hunger not ſo ſatisfied, turning into fury came to that paſſe, that they eat dead bodies, and ſome perſwaded the mothers to embrew their hands in the blood of their innocent Babes for their preſent nouriſhment.

Had it not been ſeen, it would hardly have been beleeved, that after ſuch extremities

mities they should long hold out: however they remained obstinate; so that his Majesties justice, guided by his prudence obliged him to prohibit the coming out of any of them, yet how ill soever they were dealt with by his Majesties troops, when they came to the trenches, diverse of them daily came out, which were still beat back again. It is true for their greater confusion the men were driven back again naked, and the Women in their smocks forcing them with forks and lathes to return; as for those who attempted to passe the trenches in the night, or by any other devise, they were all hanged without mercy, if it were their misfortune to be discovered, because some of them had been taken with Letters and Tickets to hasten on the relief from *England*, and this prudent *Severity* was at last the true cure of their repentance.

*Politick Observation.*

IT is an equitable cruelty, to hinder the besieged from running out of a Town, when their necessities begin to presse upon them. If the War be lawfull their deaths must needs be just. It is true in point of sieges the inhabitants are first to be gained by kindnesse, but when perswasions will not do, force and rigour ought to be made use of, and this ought to be done with the lesse difficulty, in regard the death of Rebels doth well suit with Justice and the publick good. Famine is one of the chief weapons which forceth a Town in a long siege. It is that which takes them, where the Artillery cannot make breaches or ruines enough to force a surrender. Now as this Famine is augmented by their number, he who shall suffer them to get out and avoid the necessity which presse upon them, acteth against himself, and depriveth himself of the most assured means to take them. The more people that are in a besieged Town, the sooner will their victuals be consumed, and they sooner reduced to famine, and then follows death in its hideous and deformed visage, producing every day spectacles of horrour, which they who have any reason and find a necessities of being forced, had much rather surrender then behold; famine makes the weapons fall out of their hands. The Emperour *Julian* speaking of the Roman people (said) Nothing is so gay as they are when their Bellies are full, and their bones at rest, and on the contrary, nothing so cowardly as when they are reduced to want and penury. Who knows not what violences they use upon the Magistrate to free them of this necessity? Hath it not been heretofore seen that in a time of Famine, the Roman people went after the Emperour *Claudius* injuriously reviling him, and throwing crusts of bread at his head? and they of *Constantinople*, did they not in a great dearth throw stones at their Emperour, *Theodosius* the first? The people do become so furious by famine, that nothing can hold them, and as they prefer nothing before life, they at last resolve to force their Officers to open their Gates and surrender. Indeed they are the more excusable for it, in regard necessity is become their reason, the power whereof is unsupportable either by one or the other.

## *The miseries of* Rochel *by Famine.*

THE common people of *Rochel* had indured great miseries from the beginning of *May*; however the hopes they had of succour from *England*, perswaded the best provided amongst them to sowall sorts of little grain, as Peale, Beans, Barley, and the like, about their Walls in all their spare places; it was discretion in the Kings part to let them alone in it, but a great imprudence in them to disfurnish themselves of that whereof they had such present necessity, and were likely to have much more in a very little time. They had indeed the pleasure to behold what they sowed to spring up and grow, but just which they thought to gather the fruits of their labours, the Kings Army came up and cut all down, and so deprived them of the refreshment which they expected from it.

*Politique Observation.*

THE usual rule in Sieges, is to keep the besieged close up, and to deprive them of all kind of liberty; for by consequence, liberty which is one of the most delightfull things in mans life being once stopped, becomes very displeasing, and is a sufficient reason to perswade those who are under that restraint, to do any thing for the inlargement of it. However this rule admitteth of some exception, and ought not to be used when a besieged people precend to sow any grain, or the like about their City Walls; For as the Corn which they put into the earth doth not a little diminish their main stock, so the freedome which is permitted them, thus to cast it away, serveth the sooner to bring them to want and famine, and so to surrender. The chief end in long sieges, is to famish the besieged, and as the sowing of their ground doth not a little contribute thereunto, so Prudence forbiddeth that they should be hindred in their work; and indeed commandeth that they should rather be invited and allured to it, by winking at them if they attempt it. For this reason it was, that *Fabius Maximus* having depopulated and wasted all the Country of the *Campani*, retired about seed-time, that he might give them the liberty of decreasing their store by sowing, which he never intended they should reap; which happened accordingly, for comming upon them before Harvest, they were easily famished and forced to surrender.

## *The* Rochelois *Salley out upon his Majesties Forces.*

THough there was but a handfull of men in *Rochel*, compared with his Majesties Army, yet the mutinous humour which transported them, incouraged the inhabitants to make divers Sallies. It is true they made fewer then had been seen in any so great siege, in hopes that the English would come and force open the Bank but however some they made, and those great ones, but were repulsed with losse. It was the *Sieur de Fauquierres* mishap to be taken Prisoner by them in one of their Sallies, which they made about the beginning of the year; there were divers of theirs too taken, which were kept in durance for exchanges, if occasion should be, and they of the City had notice given unto them, that in case they did him any injury, his Majesty would cause all his Prisoners of theirs to be hanged without mercy; so they dealt civilly with him, and when their Victuals began to grow scarce, they permitted one of his servants to bring him some every day from the Camp. Their insolency likewise carried them to make several Sallies by Sea, especially upon the arrival of those ships from *Bourdeaux*, which they attempted to have fired; but they had never any good successe in them, onely once they took a small Gallion which belonged to the *Sieur de Thoyras*, the Cardinals care and diligence, setting such a watch over them, that hardly a man could peep out, but he was presently discovered.

*Politique Observation.*

THose Sallies which the besieged make upon an Army lying before them, are still accompanied with danger to themselves, for the least losse of their Souldiers is of great concernment; because they being once gone, it is difficult to have a recruit or relief of others. The valour indeed which they have opportunity of shewing in such incounters, may perchance quell the resolutions of the Besiegers; especially if the place be well stored and likely to receive fresh supplies; but that not being so, the Besiegers by standing still in their Fort and Works, and keeping good guard in their Trenches, will be sure every time to lessen their number of some few, and in fine reduce them to none at all. *Philip de Comines* saith, all Sallies made without necessity are to be blamed; for they cannot without it be allowable, that which sometimes maketh to vanquish against hope, by the cou-

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rage which it infuſeth into the moſt cowardly, for there is not any danger which they are not eaſily perſwaded to attempt who are convinced of the inevitableneſs of their preſent death. This is that which all thoſe who are beſieged ought to conſider, before they make a ſalley: now as for the Beſiegers, they have onely two ways to avoid all misfortunes, the firſt, the well ordering of their works, the ſecond, the good watch of thoſe works. If the Trenches are well contriyed, not any where at too great diſtance from the Town, if they flank one another, if they be high enough to ſhelter the foot, if their Parapets be Faulcon proof, if they be ſo well fortified by Forts and Redouts, from diſtance to diſtance; if they be large enough to fight in; and ſo diſpoſed, that one be not ſurpriſed behind, they will bring great matters to paſſe; they ought alſo to be lined with Souldiers, well accoutred, well diſciplined, and ſuch as wil be careful to keep good watch day and night, neither is it leſſe needful, to place Sentinels, upon the Avennues, and all along upon the Trenches; and at laſt when the Enemie doth appear, then is the time to repel force by Force, then ought the moſt reſolute of the Souldiers, be placed in Front, to ſuſtain the charge, as likewiſe in that quarter, which is neereſt the Town, becauſe they who bear the firſt brunt, are the men that do the work; and upon whom all the reſt doth depend, and in thoſe places it is, that the firſt aſſaults are alwayes made: But above all, he who commandeth in the Trenches, ought alwayes to have Forces in a readineſſe from the out-guards, for ſeconding courage with numbers doth much conduce to the repelling of an Enemie, with advantage: and if he find that thoſe who are upon the guard, be not either proper or able to ſuſtain a charge, if the Enemie ſhould come out, then ought he to place them in the ſtrongeſt Redouts, from whence it will be more difficult to force them, until recruits ſhall come up; and this was the order which *Cæſar* obſerved in beſieging the City of *Alexia*, as is to be ſeen in his Commentaries.

## *The Duke of* Rohan *continueth his deſignes in* Languedoc.

WHileſt the Rochelois were acting theſe pieces of Rebellion, the Duke de *Rohan* was no leſſe intent upon carrying his deſignes in *Languedoc*, for the gaining of ſuch Towns where the Hugonots had moſt power to his party. About the beginning of the year he attempted to make himſelf Maſter of *Briancſte*, by means of one *Toubze*, but the inhabitants who deſired nothing more then to live in peace, and under his Majeſties obedience, hearing of it, layd hold on that ſeditious brother of theirs, and ſent him to *Thoulouze*, where he was ſhortly after hanged for his pains; *Rohan* was much diſpleaſed at the ill uſage his forces had received at *Montpellier*, whereupon he commanded the *Seneſchal de Caſtres* to ſend ten or twelve Horſe and fifty Muſqueteers about the Caſtle of *Clermont de Lodove*, knowing that there were divers Lords and Gentlemen met there together, that he might intice them to come out, and be revenged on them. The Sentinel of the Caſtle, gave notice to the Count de *Clermont*, that he ſaw eight or ten Horſe eye the Caſtle, in ſuch a manner, that he conceived them to be Enemies: preſently the Count and thoſe that were with him, iſſued out in their doublets and hoſe, with their Swords and Piſtols, and fell upon them. Theſe Horſe-men as ſoon as ever they perceived them, made as if they fled towards a Wood, where they had left their fifty Muſqueteers in Ambuſh; being come up to them, they faced about, and diſcharging all together upon the Noblemen, who purſued them, within Piſtol ſhot, they killed twelve of them; The Baron *d'Ambre* being then with the Count de *Clermont*, ſeeing his Cornet killed, vowed he would be revenged of them for his death, and turning about again to charge them, he was in an inſtant ſo ſurrounded that he ſaw it was impoſſible to eſcape: he asked them if ten thouſand Crowns would ſave his life, they told him no, and bid him remember *Montpellier*. This ſeemed onely to be a ſtratagem of War, but their cruelty was in proceſſe evidently

to be seen, for not contented with this advantage, they cut off the noses and ears of all they took. Not long after his employt, the Duke de *Rohan* ingaged the City of *Rohan* to revolt. Those of his faction in *Montauban*, where no lesse insolent, there they forced out of their City the Lieutenant *Particulier*, the Doyen of the Senechil, two Councellours and the Lieutenant General, and presently perswaded the people to rise. Those of *Nismes*, *Cosne*, *Saint Sever*, *Saint Frigne*, and divers other places, of *Languedoc*, *Vivarets*, and *Dauphine*, did the like, neither were these the onely Provinces, in which they had their Intelligencers at work. Monsieur the Cardinal, had bin acquainted, about the beginning of *March*, whilest his Majesty was at *Paris*, that certain Gentlemen of his party did endeavor to make factions and divisions in *Limosin* against the Kings service, he not ignorant that such fiers ought to be extinguished on their first births, sent the Mareschal de *Schomberg*, Lieutenant General of that Province, to take order in it, who no lesse prudent then valorous, soon dissipated them, that not a man durst shew his head. About the same time, he had also by some device or other gained one *Le Parc*, Son to one of the Captains of a Gate at *Callais*, to deliver the Town to the English, by letting them in at a Bastion, which was somwhat decayed, and delivering them up the old Castle, where there was only one old Souldier of his acquaintance, who lay in gard. But this contrivance being discovered by the Vicompte *de Fruge*, *Le Parc*, was apprehended, his Processe, drawen up and finished and himself broken alive. On the other side the Sieur de *Maritignon*, found out some correspondencie between certain Hugonots of *Normandy*, and the English, and how they had contrived to set them in by a great Tower which stood in the Sea belonging to the Sieur de *Briqueville*, as also into the Town and Haven de *Vire*, in hopes that they of their party who were at *Caen*, *Falaise*, and other adjacent places, would rise in a body together, and so force the King to leave *Rochel*, that he might retake these places of so great importance.

*Politique Observation.*

REbels at their first rising may perchance get some advantages, either by intelligences in strong Towns or surprisal of those which are but ill kept, but in fine they do moulter away and are reduced to nothing. It were to be wished, that before they attempted any thing, they did but know what is the true Reason hereof which is this, they are to seek for those things which are necessary to continue a War, with good successe, for the beginning there need little or nothing, but those beginnings must of necessity terminate in disasters, if he who is the first mover, have not store of Forces, and power to recruite them, if he be not furnished with expert Officers and Treasures, if he have not very good intelligences with the Lords & Princes bordering upon those places which he pretendeth to assault, & lastly if himself too, be not endewed with a soul & courage truly great that he ought of necessity to have Forces and power to recuit himself, cannot be doubted, because otherwise, his soveraign will presently crush him, the inconstancie of his Souldiers will by disbanding leave him naked; and sicknesses will help to take away some too, so that in fine he will be reduced to nothing, if he cannot repair his losses by recruits, and new fresh Regiments. That which gave the Romans such advantage over other Nations, was, first their discipline of War, but secondly their Numbers; now the means used to get such great Armies, was to exercise those Enemies whom they had overcome, in their Militia, as *Tacitus* observeth on the Life of the Emperour *Claudian*, and on the other side the Lacedemonians, and Athenians, not entertaining any Strangers, though by them subjugated, never brought any great considerable Armies for number into the field, and consequently could never attain unto so great an Empire. Next to the great numbers of Souldiers, which he ought to have, comes Treasures, without which it is impossible to prevent an Army from wanting victuals, clothes, and necessaries, and by consequence from disbanding. *Quintus Flaminius* seeing *Philopœmon* Captain of the Grecians, with a great Army, both of Horse and Foot

Foot, but without any mony, laughed at him; he hath indeed, quoth he, ſtore of Legs and Arms, but no Belly; meaning, by like, that he wanted wherewithal to feed them. *Ceſar*, how great a Souldier ſoever, and how valiant ſoever his Souldiers were, brake open the Treaſure Gate at *Rome*, contrary to *Metellus the Tribunes* will: for he wiſely foreſaw, that it would be impoſſible to give a good account of the War, without he were provided with ſtore of Treaſures. Next of all I come to expect Officers who are not leſſe needful, becauſe they are as the ſoul of the Souldiers; and as it is true that a Body cannot move without it's ſoul, neither can any Souldiers do any thing conſiderable, if not conducted by the example of their Commanders and inſtructed how, where and when, they ought to fight. And then ought he to hold good intelligence too with the Grandees, and thoſe places which border upon that part which he deſigneth to attaque, for otherwiſe, his Convoyes will be ſtopped, every day will make ſome hole in his Coat, and they will ſerve for retreits to his Enemies to contrive Ambuſhes and deſigns againſt him. For this Reaſon it was that *James* King of *Scotland*, contriving to make War upon *Henry* the eighth King of *England*, was careful to hold intelligence, with the *Engliſh*, who elſe might have endangered and troubled his Forces; & that *Hannibal* aſſaulting the Romans, firſt made ſure of the *Spaniards*, *French*, and *Africans*; and that the *Romans* bending their powers againſt *Philip of Macedon*, firſt ſent their Ambaſſadors, to make a League with *Ptolomei* King of *Egypt*. Laſtly, and moſt eſpecially he himſelf ought to be of a genius and courage, every way truely extraordinary, for every day he muſt be expoſed to new dangers; the ſucceſſe of the greateſt part of his affairs, will depend upon his own prudence and addreſſe; the leaſt diſtruſt or fear that ſhall appear in him will drive away whole troops from him; extraordinarie deſigns requiring a proportionate conduct to carrie them on, in regard Revolts have the more need of Fortunes aſſiſtance, becauſe they are the moſt hazardous exploits in which a man can ingage, never any mean Low heart arrived to any good ſucceſſe or Fortune by them. Theſe are the chief things neceſſary for a great enterpriſe, and they that engage themſelves, without theſe, do raſhly run the hazard of their own deſtruction: It is only by the want of theſe ſupports that ſo many Authors of Revolt have gone out with ſhame and confuſion.

### *Divers Religious perſons, ſettled in the Hugonot Provinces by the Cardinal's diligence and induſtrie.*

THE Cardinal was not idle, though he had weakned the Hugonot Towns, diminiſhed their power, and clipt the wings of their Rebellion, but he endeavoured at the ſame time, their converſion. To this end his Majeſty was perſwaded to ſettle divers Preachers, and Religious perſons, who behaved themſelves with great zeal and courage. The Cardinal was not indeed leſſe expert at Theology, then Policy, ſo it was unreaſonable, but that he ſhould be ſtil careful as well at this as at his Arms. His Piety let him ſo ſeek out occaſions for it, and having at laſt found out by divers conferences, which he had, with the Duke of *Trimouille*, that he was not averſe, from being inſtructed, he himſelf would needs take the pains to become the chief inſtrument of his converſion. He beſtowed divers houres of his leaſure time, to that purpoſe and there being nothing which is equal to his doctrine, and the clearneſſe of his ſoul, he ſoon diſcovered ſuch lights to him, as quickly cleared all his doubts, and diſſipated thoſe miſts which error had laid upon his eyes.

## *The Duke of* Trimouille *converted to the Catholique Faith by Monſieur the Cardinal.*

THE Duke of *Trimouille* was a perſon very moderate, and temperate in all his actions, his very youth was without heat and paſſion, neither had he any of the pride and inſolency which is too uſual with thoſe of his birth; and as moderate ſober men, are more deſirous of inſtruction then the contrary ſort, ſo he was contented to be guided by the hand of God; yet would he ſee the truth, and firſt be convinced of certain ſcruples and difficulties which did ariſe, in which till then, he could not be ſatisfied: but having bin ſo happy, as to be inſtructed by the Cardinal, it was the eaſier for him to ſee and leave his error, in regard the incomparable ſoul of this grand Miniſter, did ſo clearly evince the Catholique truth to him, and his own error, as himſelf hath ſince often acknowledged. It was not riches nor honor which induced him to change his Religion: for he was both born rich and great: but it was the only knowledg of Truth which perſwaded him to it, neither did he that, until a moſt particular and exact ſatisfaction in all things. The King was overjoyed at the newes of it, never was any ſpoil or Trophee of an Enemy ſo welcome, as this Victory, and the more to teſtifie his real joy for it; his Majeſty promiſed him, that the next Feaſt he would receive the Communion with him; as alſo the *Sieur de la Curee*, being diſmiſſed of his Charge of Maſter *de Camp*, which his age had made him uncapable any longer to perform, his Majeſty honoured him with it, ſtudying to ſhew to all his Subjects, in his perſon, how dear their ſalvations was unto him.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

IF it be a work of Juſtice to chaſtiſe rebellious Heretiques by the ſword, it is no leſſe charitable to labour for their converſion by letting them ſee the truth; for the better diſcovering of which, much charity, clearneſſe of ſpirit, and profound Doctrine are required: a Soul not well informed inſtead of allaying, raiſeth more doubts; inſomuch that knowledge hath as great a part in the Church, as the Sun in the Firmament, and juſt as it is difficult to reſtore a Traveller into his right way, during the night, untill the Sun appear to inſtruct him where he is, ſo neither can a man of underſtanding be diſabuſed, unleſſe it be by Doctrine, at whoſe light a knowing *Genius* makes him perceive, that he is at the brink of a Precipice, and far from being in the right way to Heaven. But amongſt thoſe for whoſe converſion it is requiſite to labour, no doubt but the chief men are firſt to be attempted, for if the Stars continually follow the motions of the Heavens, unto which they are affixed; it is in like manner as common for men of mean quality, to follow as well the Religion as the intereſt of the Grandees. The people of *Rome* being once in a Mutiny, retired to the Capitol, upon an accident which befell *Virginius*, were eaſily appeaſed by the Senate; by reaſon as *T. Livy* ſaith, that they had no Leader there that durſt ſpeak a word in anſwer to thoſe who had been ſent unto them. For my part, I hold it for certain that it will be no more difficulty to reclaim an Heretique Faction, who ſhould rebel without a powerfull Commander: But I likewiſe think it neceſſary beſides Doctrinal inſtructions, not to ſpare either money or dignity for the gaining of thoſe, whoſe Birth renders them capable of ſuch qualities. Temporal intereſts do much conduce to Spiritual, and though the advantages of Fortune be not the chief motives of converſion amongſt them who are ſtrictly Religious, yet it is moſt certain they are no mean inducements thereunto. Thus *Juſtinian* (according to *Evagrius*) converted many Heretiques by diſperſing ſtore of monies amongſt them. And the Emperour *Leo* the ſixth, made uſe of the ſame device for the gaining of many Jews, and there need no more but the example of *Conſtantine de Bergo*, the Portugal Viceroy in the *Indies*, who drew a number of thoſe people

people to the Christian Religion, by the carresses and favours which he shewed to them that were newly baptized.

*Soubize and the Deputies of* Rochel, *obtain a third succour from the English but in vain.*

WHilest the Duke of *Rohan* was making divers attempts in *Languedoc*, and used his utmost indeavours to preserve those Towns, of which he was become Master; The *Sieur de Soubize*, and Deputies of *Rochel*, were negotiating in *England* for a third assistance, they hoped to obtain it without any great difficulty, for that *Buckingham* incensed as hath been formerly related, did every day rig up more ships and raise new Forces; but they found it a hard task, both in regard of the troubles in which *Buckingham* was then involved by reason of the complaints made against him in Parliament, as also of the impossibility to remove the obstacles in the Channel, according to what the Earl of *Denbigh* had related; yet at last *Buckingham* having overcome all his enemies devices and contrivances; by the favour in which he was with his Majesty of *Great Britain*, had perswaded him to Embark the Army then on foot, and to give him leave to command them in his own person; to which end, all things were put in order for a present dispatch. But as God over-ruleth mens designs, he was pleased by *Buckingham's* death to put an end to this storm, he being assassinated by one *Felton* an English man, discontented, because the Captains place of the Company whereof he was Lieutenant, had been twice vacant, and both times given over his head to another, and who by hearing what complaints there were made against him by the Parliament, imagined, that by revenging his own quarrel, he should likewise do his Country good service in it; yet for all this, the Deputies would not be denied, they continued their instances, perswading the King of *Great Britain*, that the forcing of the Bank was easie, if resolutely attempted, and that the glory of his Crown did in some sort oblige him to make one more attempt, and that more vigorous then the former. The Fleet was then resolved to put forth, and there were added three other ships full of stones, and some other such things, which were to be set on fire when they entred the Channel, so the intent the smoke might hinder them from the sight. The *Sieur de Soubize*, the *Comte de Lavalet*, and all the French Rebels then in *England*, composed the Van-guard, next to them followed those Vessels which were for the relief of *Rochel*, next went the Body of the Army, commanded by the Earl of *Denbigh*, General of the Expedition, and on the twenty eighth being Thursday, they arrived at *Glovne*. The Cardinal having notice of it the very same night, dispatched a Courier to his Majesty to acquaint him with it, who presently made himself ready, got on horse-back, and came to the Camp, and after some discourse with the Cardinal, he sent to discover the Enemy, as also to call the Volunteers who were dispersed, some here, and some there, to be in a readiness together. This once done, his Majesty visited all the Quarters of the Army, that he might put every thing in good order, and got himself an immortal glory by his travel, labour, and diligence, by those dexterous orders which he dispatched both at to the Sea and Land, by his raising of Batteries, designing of Plat-forms, and his firing of the Cannon with his own hand. Upon Saturday the thirtieth, the English Fleet came up to the Road of the *Isle de Re*, and found few of them came before to draw out the French to fight, but the Kings Vessels having order not to fire, because they were onely to hinder the Passage into *Rochel*, not one of them moved an Anchor, onely both parts exchanged some Broad-sides, and the King being in person upon one of the Batteries, caused above thirty to be levelled at them, which did not a little indamage them.

*Politique Observation.*

ALthough shame be the Child of evil Parents, yet it begetteth excellent effects. It proceedeth from some Actions which have a certain infamy with them, and leave behind them some ill tincture upon the reputation; but then the grief which a generous mind apprehendeth at it, when he findeth himself disgraced, maketh him redouble his courage, and carrieth him to glorious actions. A thing very remarkable in the persons of Soveraigns, who being jealous of their glory, the fairest flower of their Crowns, cannot indure that it should be sullied by any misfortune, which may seem to carry a faint-heartedness with it. It grieves them, and not a little, to find themselves deficient in those successes which have Crowned their equals. Hereupon it was that *Cæsar* reflecting on himself, how that during two and thirty years time he had not signalized his Courage by any one great exploit, fell into tears before an Image of *Alexander*, which seemed to reproach him, by those great Acts which he had brought to passe in a lesse time. But who can express, the lively impression which it maketh, when it hath been seen to inflame the most cowardly and faint-hearted, with resolution and courage? History affordeth us many examples of Armies, which after a shamefull rout have been possessed with such fury, that they have regained their Courages, and their lost Victory. Thus the Army of the Persians when they saw their wives come to them holding up their Coats, faced about and charged the Army of *Astyages*, which then pursued them, with so much Courage that they gained the Victory; and in the same manner, the shame which the Romans conceived, upon their defeat by the Samnites, at the Forges of *Caudine*, did so sensibly excite them, that they could not rest till they had been revenged; they marched to *Capua*, but so sad that they could hardly speak, which they of least understanding attributed to their despair; but *Offius Ascalanius*, more judicious then the rest, told the Citizens, that this silence and confusion, which was in their Countenance, did presage no great good, for he could not be perswaded, but that the resentments of such extraordinary grief would transport them to strange attempts for the recovery of that honour, whereof fortune had bereaved them, especially seeing shame, when it spurs on a resolution, is an hope of safety. The Roman Consul *Agrippa*, that he might incourage his Army, would oftentimes take one of his Ensigns, and cast it into the middle of his enemies, to the end the shame which his Souldiers should conceive at it, might animate them the more, and oblige them for the regaining of them, to shew all proofs of an extraordinary Courage.

*The Fights between the Kings Fleet, and the English.*

AFter the English had stood in this Posture two dayes, they sent out between Sunday even, and Munday morn, 10 or 12 floating Petards to set fire on the Kings ships. The Composition of those Petards was of Latten filled with Powder, laid upon certain peeces of Timber, crosse which there was a spring, which touching any Vessel would flie off and give fire to the Petards. But onely one took effect, which did no great hurt, onely cast water into the ship, and that was all, the rest being taken by the Kings Boats; their Petards were answered by good store of Cannon from the Kings ships, yet their Fleet continued still in the same posture, insomuch that many believed that they would either return that day, without any more ado, or else land their men. Now as he who commands an Army is obliged to foresee all accidents, and to prevent them, so the King commanded the Duke of *Angoulesme*, and the Marshal de *Toiras* to guard the Point de *Corbin*, and the Duke *de la Trimoville*, and the *Comte de Alets*, to stand their charge with the Light-horse and the Cavalry, and took his own station at the Point of the *Chef de Bay* with some foot and divers of the Nobility, which he intended to defend in his own person. His Majesty further gave order to several Voluntiers to go aboard the

the ſhips with his Souldiers; all which was done in ſight of the Engliſh Fleet, which had no great mind that day to ingage; but the day following being the 30 of *October*, and conſidering that the reputation of their Maſter was too much ingaged in the defence of the Rochelois, for them to go away without doing of any thing; and having the Wind favourable, they hoiſed Sails, made ready, and came up to the Kings Fleet, which preſently met them in good order. The fight began at 6 of the Clock, and in about four hours time they diſcharged between them near 5000 great ſhot, but never came nearer one another then Cannon diſtance. The Kings Fleet commanded by the Commander *de Valencay*, did as much as could be deſired; and though the Engliſh had the wind of them; yet were they but ill treated by the Cannon; one of their great ſhips being ſo torn, that they were forced to retire to the Iſle of *Oye* to mend her.

*A Ceſſation of Arms for ſome days between the two Fleets.*

IN the mean while the King being in the Batteries of the *Chef de Bay*, which he had but raiſed two days before, cauſed his Cannons to be diſcharged by his particular Order, without the leaſt fear of the danger whereunto he did expoſe himſelf, in regard of the many Bullets which fell at his feet, and came very near him, he took a great delight to ſee his Guns do that execution which he intended, the Elements fight for him, and the Engliſh betray their fear of his preſence, good fortune, and courage. And was it not much more glorious for him, to give order for the ſtanding of this aſſault, and to be himſelf preſent in it by offering his life to God, then to have been in his Chamber at *Paris*, where thoſe of *Marillac's* faction would have ſtaied him? Was it not a greater pleaſure to him, to behold the Sea all on fire, bringing flaming Veſſels to his feet, as if they did him homage, and to command in his own perſon amidſt the Batteries, then to have been idle in the *Lowvre*? In my ſenſe he had been as much coo blame to have been at *Paris* whiles theſe affairs were acting, as it was now glorious to ſee him here reducing Hereſie to his obedience. And this was as much as was done the firſt day.

The next morning the wind being ſtill fair for the Engliſh, they ſet their Sails, began to ſhoot but durſt not come nearer the Kings Fleet, then before; they were anſwered in the ſame language, and for four hours together, the Ayr ſeemed to be all on fire. The little more which they did worth obſervation was this, they ſent 9 Fire-ſhips, ſeconding them with Ships filled with Stones and full of dung; to which they had ſet fire with intent that the ſmoke of it driven by the Wind to the Kings Fleet might cover them, and give the Engliſh means to paſſe the Channel. But his Majeſties ſmall Boats went to the Fire-ſhips at the mercy of the great ſhot, ſeized on them, and divarted their execution, onely loſing one man, without any greater hurt, and the Veſſels which followed them durſt not advance; which the Engliſh Fleet ſeeing, and how much the Forts did trouble them, they drew off to the Road not without great diſorder, leaving the Rochelois to deſpair. Neither was this the onely miſfortune that befell them; for at that very inſtant ſo great a ſtorm aroſe, that they were forced to let themſelves be carried at the mercy of the wind. The Engliſh finding how unlikely they were to do any good, propoſed under hand that ſome accommodation might be made; they thought it would bee more advantagious to retreat after the making of a Peace, then to run the hazards of a worſe ſucceſſe. Monſieur the Cardinal deſired his Majeſty to obſerve that his onely aim being the taking of *Rochel*, this accommodation would much contribute to it; for then the Rochelois would remain without any ſuccour at all, which induced him to give ear to thoſe Propoſals which ſhould be made. But their ſouls being yet exaſperated, the Peace could not ſo ſuddenly be reſolved on, and all the conferences which were had to that purpoſe, ended in a Ceſſation of Arms for ſome few dayes.

*Politique Observation.*

Albeit, they who have been once vanquished in War, may recover the advantage which they have lost, either when their forces are recruited with a sufficient strength, or when shame shall excite their courages, yet so it is, that when neither of these two conditions happen, there is a great reason to apprehend the successe of their second attempt. Fortune hath sometimes smiled on those, who formerly never saw but her frowns, but after she hath been once and again discourteous it will be needfull to imploy more force and greater courage, for she is a professed friend to the bold and prudent. Great Routs are attended with dangerous consequences, whence *Titus Livy*, speaking of a certain faction of *Marcellus*, against *Hannibal* at *Nola*, said that it was much more difficult to worst an Army fleshed in Victory, then that which begins to lose its credit. He gives the same reason for that victory, which the Romans under the command of Consul *Manlius*, obtained against the Gauls in *Asia*, where he saith, that as Victories do heighten the courage of the Victorious, so they do much abate that of the vanquished; and withall the Victorious are desirous onely to fight as may be observed in the example of *Pompey*'s Souldiers after the advantage which they had of *Cæsar* as *Plutarch* reporteth upon the life of *Pompey*; whereas they who are worsted, are hard to be drawn to the Battel; for being seised with their usual fear, and the most part of them fighting by constraint; they behave themselves with so little mettle, that they are eallily overcome a second time. Thus the Duke of *Guise* returning from *Italy* after the Battel of *St. Laurence*, to command those French Troops which had been raised and new listed, writ to his Majesty that he had more ado to put them in heart and courage, then to beat the victorious enemy, and therefore he judged it necessary before he hazarded a second Battel, to cure them of their first battle by getting some little advantage upon the enemy, an advice which he well knew how to execute, as he did in the taking of *Calais, Guines, & Thionville*.

## *The Deputation of* Montague *to the King from the Earl of* Denbigh *Generall of the English Forces.*

During the cessation of Arms, the French Rebels who were in the English Fleet finding they had lost their courages, and despaired of forcing the passage, concluded themselves utterly lost without obtaining the Kings grace. To which purpose they besought the Earl of *Denbigh* to employ his power with their King in the behalf of his Master, the Earl of *Denbigh* thought it reasonable, and upon deliberation had with the Officers of the Army what was fit to be done to procure them this satisfaction, they agreed to send *Montague* to his Majesty in the behalf of the King their Master, to endeavour the making their peace for them. *Montague* came to his Majesties quarter, and having audience, declared that he was sent from the King of Great *Britain* his Master to beg a pardon for the Rochelois, that he would be pleased to promise them the liberty of their consciences, to forgive the Sieur *de Soubise*, and the Comte *de Leon*, and to give quarter to those English which were in *Rochel*. The King answered them, that as for those of *Rochel*, they were his own subjects, and therefore King of *England* need not intermeddle in their interest, and as for the English who were there in garrison, that they should receive the like usage as the French prisoners in *England*; yet his Majesty received him with a great deal of honour, shewed him the Forts of the Camp, the Batteries, the Bank, the Pallisadas, and the range of Vessels which cover spread the Channel. The truth is it was not done so much to gratifie him, as that upon the relation of what he had seen, the rest of his party might be discouraged from making any further attempts. After he had been an eye-witnesse of those things, he returned to *England* to the King his Master to reduce him to some accommodation.

*A Treaty between the King and the Rochelois.*

THE Ceſſation of Arms being expired, the Engliſh to teſtifie it was not out of fear, that they retreited, or had made thoſe propoſals, renewed the fight on the twenty third of *October*, which lafted above two houres, yet all this while had they not the courage to come up to his Majeſties Fleet; whereupon thoſe French who were with them reſolved to ſend ſome Deputies to the King in their behalf, to caſt themſelves at the Kings Feet, and to emplore his mercy; Firſt of all they ſent four to Monſieur the Cardinal, who humbly requeſted him, that he would be pleaſed to obtain the Kings favour and grace for them, which they heartily beſeeched, with all real acknowledgements of their faults. The Cardinal anſwered them, he would ſpeak to his Majeſty concerning it, and commanded they ſhould be kindly entertained, and put into ſome place apart, that they might not enter into diſcourſe with any one; The King was eaſily perſwaded to grant them what they demanded, the Cardinal having told him, how neceſſary it was to win them off from the Engliſh, which if he could once bring to paſſe, the Engliſh would withdraw of their own accord, and leave *Rochel*, to ſhift for it ſelf. He then acquainted them how his Majeſty had granted them the mercy and favour, which they had beſeeched of him, yet however he thought good, that two of them, ſhould remain with him, whom he would make uſe of as I ſhall hereafter declare, for the regaining of the Rochelois, to their former duties and obedience. Thoſe Rebellious mutineers when they ſaw there was no hopes of ſuccour from the Engliſh, and that they died by thouſands of the famine, made divers propoſals of accommodation. Hereupon his eminency told them how that thoſe of their party on board the Engliſh Fleet had withdrawn themſelves, and had obtain'd the Kings pardon; that the Engliſh finding it impoſſible to force the Bank & relieve them, had interceded for them; that they had moreover ſent *Montague* to make propoſals of peace unto his Majeſty: who had kindly received him, that thereupon he was return'd into *England*, to encline the King his Maſter, to hearken to an accommodation, and that things being thus, they had no other hopes, but, to die by famine, if they had not recourſe to his Majeſties mercy by a true confeſſion and humble acknowledgement of their faults. This news gave an Allarum to the whole City, The diſcreeteſt of them repreſented to the reſt how the Rich did now begin to dye of famine: as well as the poor, having ſold the greateſt part of their victuals to thoſe that had none, upon hopes of the Engliſh relief, that death made an harveſt of them, that ſince the laſt ſix moneths there had died between eight and ten thouſand of famine, inſomuch that not having where withal to bury the dead, and indeed having hardly any people ſtrong enough to make their graves, or carry them, inſomuch that they were forced to draw them with cords into the Church-yards, and there to let them rot, that diverſe had been ſeen to crawl with much ado to the Church-yards and there lay down and dye; hereupon the reſt of the people languiſhing, and touched to the quick, with the remembrance, or indeed the preſent image of ſo many horrible ſpectacles, reſolved to try their fortune to appeaſe, if poſſible, the Kings juſt indignation by imploring his mercy: They entreated the Sieur *Arnoult* to procure a ſafe conduct that they might ſend their Deputies to his Majeſty, which upon his Requeſt was graunted; But his Majeſty would that they ſhould firſt make their propoſals to Monſieur the Cardinal, to whom they went with an unſpeakable joy, & therupon this grand Miniſter producing thoſe Deputies which he had kept to that purpoſe, let them diſcourſe with one another who having aſſured them that they themſelves had obtained the Kings pardon, repreſented to them that they likewiſe had nothing now to hope for, if they did not totally ſubmit themſelves to the diſcretion of his Majeſties mercy; but miſerably to dye by famine, his Majeſty being reſolved never to depart from thence, till he was Maſter of the Town.

They were much ſurpriſed at this newes having not heard of it till then, yet they were inſolent enough to make propoſitions of peace, ſtill reliſhing of their former mutinie. This grand Miniſter declared to them, they muſt not think of any other

conditions, than abſolutely to ſubmit to his Majeſties will; but however promiſed them that he would employ his utmoſt power in their behalf; ſo they returned promiſing to diſpoſe their Fellow-citizens to it, as much as in them lay, teſtifying as much ſatisfaction and joy as they who are reprieved from the Galleys. After this meeting they publiſhed all over the Town, how kindly the Cardinal had entertained them with aſſurances he had given them to employ his intereſt with his Majeſty to obtain the ſame grace for them, which he had for thoſe with the Engliſh, whoſe Deputies they had ſpoken with, conjuring every one to accept of it: The height of that miſery to which they were reduced did at laſt quaſh their mutinies, although ſome of their Miniſters not ignorant that power was the worthieſt ſtipend of their inſolencies, animated them by the hopes of glory, which they ſhould obtain by dying for the liberties of their Religion; ſo they could not preſently reſolve to ſurrender to the Kings mercy, but propoſed to make a general peace for all thoſe of their party that they might chooſe a Governour, that they might chooſe a Mayor, and Sheriffes, and generally the preſervation of their priviledges, to which end their Deputies made diverſe journeys to and fro, but Monſieur de Cardinal, who never omitted any thing that concerned the glory of his Maſter, and on the other ſide knew the extremities to which they were reduced ſtill told them; They muſt either all dye by famine, or ſubmit to his Majeſties diſcretion. This plain dealing of his did at laſt force them to ſtoop, whereupon they choſe twelve of the principal amongſt them, moſt of which could hardly creep to beg his Majeſties pardon, to aſſure him that they would live and die in the obedience which they owed unto him, without demanding any other conditions, then what his Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to give them, and one of the beſt Orators amongſt them made their ſpeech, which was all to that purpoſe. The King graunted them the pardon which they deſired and the Sieur *d'Herbant* Secretary of State read the Pattent to them, by which his Majeſty pardoned their Rebellion, diſcharged them of all acts of Hoſtility ordained that they ſhould be reſtored to their goods, graunted them the exerciſe of their Religion in the City, and commanded that all the Souldiers in the City ſhould enjoy the ſame grace; and that the chiefe Captains and Gentlemen ſhould go out with their Swords by their ſides, and the Souldiers with Cudgells in their hands, but firſt they were to ſwear, never to bear Arms againſt his Majeſties ſervice.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THough Rebels have been ſo ſtout, as to let themſelves be forced by a long ſiedge and with great expence, yet it is more glorious for a King to deal mercifully then ſeverely with them. It is enough that they have already ſuffered great miſeries, unleſſe there be a neceſſity of continuing the War againſt others of their party, for in ſuch caſe the evils they ſuffer are examples to terrifie others, and get moderation toward them is a charm which may reduce thoſe who are unconquered to reaſon. This moderation is ſometimes like a precious balm, which takes away the pain of any wound how mortal ſoever, whereas too too ſtrict ſeverity drives to deſpair, I ſhould not be of this opinion where Rebels are forced in a few dayes, but where they have endured the miſeries, which accompany long ſiedges: Then I muſt confeſſe, it were not amiſs to expiate the crimes of all by the lives of ſome, which were a cruelty too ſuparlative after the rigors & unconceiveable miſeries of many moneths; for then, a true courage is rather touched with compunction than revenge. The Roman Valour is often commended for this by Antiquity, and who knoweth not how ſenſibly compaſſionate they were at the ſight of their miſeries, whom they had vanquiſhed? *Marcellus* having maſtered *Syracuſa*, and conſidering the ruine to which it was reduced, could not forbear weeping: Neither could *Pompey* endure that *Tygranes* King of *Armenia* ſhould remain *Proſtrate* before him, whatever War he had made againſt the Roman people, but raiſed him up and reſtored him his Crown; and the Emperour *Titus* ſeeing the calamities of *Jeruſalem*, cauſed by his ſiedge the multitude of dead car-

kaſſes

kaſſes which filled up the Citie, proteſted he was not the Autho r of it and that he was onely the inſtrument of Gods juſtice.

### *His Majeſties Entrance into* Rochel.

VPon the thirtieth of *October* the Duke *d'Angouleſme*, the Marſhal de *Scomberg*, the Sieurs *de la Curee*, *Vignolle*, *Hallier*, *St. Chaumont*, and divers other Lords, fourteen Companies of the Regiment des Gardes, and ſix of Swiſſes, began about ſix in the morning to enter into *Rochel*. The Cardinal perſwaded his Majeſty for prevention of any confuſion which might ariſe in the Town, by reaſon of ſome curioſity, or other that the people might have to go into it; to command, that none but they who were appointed ſhould preſume to go within the Gates, or into any Houſes, until leave obtained, both to ſecure the inhabitants from being pillaged, as alſo for purifying of the place, and men, who were moſt infected by dead Bodies, inſomuch that the ill air, bred many diſeaſes. The King placed himſelf upon the Fort *de Beaulieu*, to ſee the Forces march into the Town, and having ſeen a certain Souldier, not belonging to the Companies appointed to take poſſeſſion of the Town, but of that of *Sourdis*, he commanded him to withdraw, teſtifying by this procedure, that he had a moſt particular knowledg of moſt of his Souldiers. They who commanded theſe Forces, ſeized on all the Gates of the Town, the Ramparts, Cannon, and munition, and ſent away the Souldiers, the Engliſh by Sea, & the French by Land, who looked more like Ghoſts then Men. There were as many Citadels as Gates, and as many Caſtles, as Towers, and this was it, as made the City be eſteemed impregnable, eſpecially ſeeing it had an out-let by Sea, which could never have bin broken up, but by his Majeſty extraordinary power and prudence, yet all ſerved but as Tropheés, raiſed to his Majeſties glory.

*Monſieur* the Cardinal entred the ſame day with divers Lords and Gentlemen without any fear of infection, becauſe his preſence was very neceſſary both for his Majeſties ſervice, and to ſettle things in order, but he beſeeched his Majeſty to forbear his own entrance untill All Saints day, that his Quarters might be purged from all ill ayr, and that every thing might be made ready to receive him, according to his quality and that occaſion. The day being come, his Majeſty made his entrance not with that magnificence which the ancient Emperours and Kings uſed, into ſuch Towns as they had taken, according as Hiſtory hath obſerved, but cloathed with Piety and the Mercy of a moſt Chriſtian King, Virtues however, which made him ſhine with ſo much ſplendour, that thoſe poor Rebels proſtrated themſelves as he rid by them, that they might the more acknowledge the mercy and favour he had done them: He had his Arms on, and rid in on Horſeback without any Ceremony, onely four Companies of his Guards, two of Swiſſes, his two Troops of Light-horſe arm'd *Cap-a-pe*, his Dragoons, and the Life-guard marched before him, all the Nobility following him, without any order to avoid the diſputes of Precedency.

The inhabitants caſt themſelves on their knees, as his Majeſty paſſed along the ſtreets, crying, *God ſave the King who hath been ſo gracious unto us:* And he frequently ſaluted thoſe who ſeemed to be of the better ſort amongſt them. They redoubling their cries and acclamations, proteſted they could not ſufficiently admire his Majeſties Bounty, who inſtead of putting them all to death, as their Preachers had perſwaded them he would, did even receive them with reſpect and honour. But thoſe ſubmiſſions and acknowledgements were much more increaſed when they received the ten thouſand Loaves of Bread, which his Majeſty diſtributed amongſt thē the ſame day, together with divers other Alms which his Ma. beſtowed on them; but when they beheld that there came three thouſand Carts laden with Wheat and Proviſions into the Town with a proportionate number of Beaſts, & Cattel, which his Majeſty commanded to be brought and ſold at the uſual rates of the Army, they could then no longer forbear to confeſſe, that he knew how to pardon, as well as vanquiſh. They did not ſo much admire that his Majeſty ſhould be victorious, as

that

that he ſhould Crown it with an Olive branch of ſo great mercy. The King went and alighted at Saint *Margarites* Church, which had been conſecrated by the Biſhop of *Bourdeaux*, and where *Monſieur* the Cardinal with divers Eccleſiaſtiques, had that morning celebrated Maſſe by way of Thankſgiving for the happy Victory, which Heaven had beſtowed on the Crown of *France*, he was received by the Arch-Biſhop, aſſiſted by the Clergy and divers other religious, who ſung the *Te Deum*, and he himſelf too ſung it, with ſo great devotion, that a certain Gentleman who ſaw him, and one of the Townſmen, profeſſed they would ſhake hands with Hereſie, proteſting they could not beleeve but that ſo fervent a devotion muſt needs be the Index of a better Religion, then that in which they had till then lived. About two days after his Majeſty cauſed the Holy Sacrament, which had of late been ſo much ſcorned and neglected in the Town, to be carried in Proceſſion, which was performed with as much Devotion as Pomp.

Laſt of all, that he might render thanks unto God whom he looked on as the chief giver of this Victory, he writ to the Arch-Biſhop of *Paris* that a publique Thankſgiving might be made, and himſelf returning to *Paris* paſſed by *Noſtre Dame des Ardilliers* that he might pay his vows there; for to his devotions there he aſcribed his firſt Victories, as that of the releeving *Ree*, upon which the whole ſucceſſe depended.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is but reaſonable to give God thanks for a Victory, which is his own gift. But he much more loveth thoſe who do it in effects, not by words. There can be no greater return of thanks then to imitate his bounty which is pleaſed to do good unto us. A generous Conquerour ought not to ſpill the Bloud, and deſtroy the lives of thoſe whom he hath overcome. Amongſt the Pagans it was a uſual thing to ſuccour and aſſiſt the wounded, to relieve them with their own hands, and do good unto them: how much more reaſon have Chriſtian Princes then, to imitate ſo Chriſtian-like a verrue? It is not leſſe glorious to overcome an Enemy by Clemency and meekneſſe, then by Force and Prudence. Jeſus Chriſt hath promiſed a reward to ſuch as do good for evil, and he ſaith, Mercy is that which maketh men known for the Sons of his Father, who hath made the Sun to ſhine both upon the good and bad; and Kings had need make themſelves acceptable to God, whoſe Image they are, by reaſon they have a greater accompt to render him then the reſt of men. God Almighty ſaith, *With the ſame meaſure that you meaſure, will I meaſure out to you again*: inſomuch that the vertue of Clemency & mercy uſed towards poor vanquiſhed Creatures, ought no longer be eſteemed a vertue, but a neceſſary means of ſalvation. I ſhould add one more reaſon out of *Polybius* his Hiſtory, which is, good deeds are a Chain of Gold, which do much more fix and eſtabliſh the intereſts of Kings then thoſe of Iron; and if Religion ſeem to invite them to practice it, neither doth reaſon of State any whit leſſe; what was it which tied the *Celtiberians* ſo ſtrictly and affectionately to the Roman intereſt, but that generous and noble Act of *Scipio* the African, who reſtored a noble Lady his Priſoner to her husband, without doing her any violence or injury, and returned him all the Gold which had been brought for her ranſome? Did not *Cyrus* gain by his handſome treating of *Creſus*, after he had vanquiſhed him? Did not that tie up the hands of all *Greece*, who would out of the great affection they did bear to him, have highly reſented any injury done to him? The Roman Senate did much blame their Conſul, *Popilius* for his rude treating of the *Genois*, and commanded reparation to be made them, becauſe they eſteemed the honour of a Victory, not compleat, where it was attended with any cruelties or rigours. Thoſe Princes who are good to their Priſoners, and thoſe whom they have vanquiſhed, are not onely commendable, but delightfull to thoſe they rule over. The Romans having reduced *Capadocia* to a Province diminiſhed the Tax which they uſed formerly to pay unto their own King, becauſe they

they knew that the clemency and sweetneſſe of their Empire, would invite others to ſubmit to them with the leſſe reluctancy and reſiſtance.

*His Majeſties Declaration for eſtabliſhing of the Catholique Religion in* Rochel.

IF it be glorious to overcome, it is no leſſe important to take ſuch care as may confirm the Victory. To this purpoſe his Majeſty before he left *Rochel*, publiſhed a Declaration comprehending that order which he would have obſerved there for the future, both to eſtabliſh Religion, and to prevent this people from relapſing into their former Rebellion. This Declaration contained, that the exerciſe of the Roman Catholick and Apoſtolick Religion, ſhould be freely exercised there, both in the City and Government of *Aunis*; that the Churches which had been lately deſtroyed thereabouts, ſhould be re-edified and reſtored to them in whoſe poſſeſſion they formerly were, together with all their appurtenances; that a ſufficient maintenance ſhould be given to ſuch Curats as had not means to live on, out of thoſe lands which belonged to the Town-houſe. That the *Religieuſes de Sainte, & les Religieuſes Hoſpitalieres*, ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in the Hoſpitals of the Town, to attend upon all ſick perſons. That a Croſſe ſhould be raiſed in the Caſtle-yard, at the foot of which an Inſcription of the taking the City ſhould be inſcribed; and that every firſt of *November* a Proceſſion general ſhould be made, to give God thanks for his mercies; that the Church-yard conſecrated in the lands of *Coreille*, where thoſe of the Camp, who died during the ſiege had been buried, ſhould ſtill be conſerved to that uſe; that a Convent of *Religieux Minimes* ſhould be built there, who might pray unto God for them, and perpetuate the memory of the thing; this is that which his Majeſty did for thanks-giving to God and the conſolation of the Catholick party in the Town.

*The Courſe his Majeſty took to keep* Rochel *in Obedience.*

IF his Piety were ſo admirable in that particular, his Prudence was no leſſe commanding all ſuch things as were neceſſary for the preſervation of the Town in its duty. He depoſed the Mayor, who had fomented the Rebellion with ſuch inſolent ſtubbornneſſe, and diſcharged the Shrievalty and Commonalty of the Town without hopes of reſtauration. He ordained that the moſt ſeditious perſons of the City ſhould forſake it, and amongſt others, *Guiſian Mayre, Godefroy, Seibret*, and *Deſerbrieres*; not ſo much excepting the Duke *de Rohan*, who was exiled to *Niort*, by the Duke *de Eſchuy*, Lieutenant for Guyenne deſigned. Next he revoked all the Privileges and Charters heretofore granted to the City. He commanded the Walls, the Ramparts, the Baſtions, and the reſt of the Fortifications to be razed, and the Ditches to be filled up, leaving only the Towers *de St. Nicholas*, *de la Chaine*, *& de la Lanterne* ſtanding, with that part of the Wall towards the Sea to preſerve the Town from Pyrats. He further conſtituted and appointed, that no ſtranger ſhould have a houſe or family in the Town, without his Majeſties permiſſion had and obtained, or that any Heretiques ſhould return to their former dwellings: To be ſhort, he ordained for the better keeping them in their obedience, that there ſhould be an Intendent of Juſtice in the City, Country, and Government of *Aunis*, who ſhould ſee the execution of his Ordinances, and have an eye to that which concerned his ſervice, all which was inſerted in the ſaid Declaration. He then commanded the inhabitants to be diſarmed, and that certain Regiments ſhould remain in the Town until it were quite demoliſhed. After all theſe things thus appointed, he returned to *Paris*, where he was received in great magnificence, the Companies of the City, making Oration unto him: But I paſſe by the priviledges of theſe Ceremonies, and confine my ſelf wholly to my deſign of writing nothing but what relates to the Government of the Peace.

*Politique*

*Politique Observation.*

*Annibal* was discommended for not knowing how to pursue a Victory when obtained; and that Soveraign doth little or nothing, who after a reducing of those Rebels that attempted to shake off the yoke of their obedience, neglecteth to fix and settle them by all necessary orders and rules, for the continuation of them in their duties. His orders ought to be proportioned to the quality of the vanquished; who if they be Rebels, ought to be treated in another manner, then such as were under another Government: It ought likewise to be remembred, whether they who are vanquished be of the same Religion with the Conquerour; and in case they are not, then to establish divers such persons there, who professe the same with his own, and this he is obliged to by Prudence as well as Piety: It being an assured remedy of weakning a people if they be divided, and that a party be made sure of amongst them. The ancient Kings of *Egypt* did wisely tollerate and establish all sorts of Religion in their Countries and Kingdomes to the intent the diversity of opinions might dis-unite them from any Revolts: On the other side, if those whom a Soveraign overcommeth be his own natural Subjects, he ought not totally to destroy their Cities and Towns, for that were to weaken his own power. Which is the same thing that *Craesus* perswaded to *Cyrus*, when he had been vanquished by him, do not (quoth he, I beseech you) destroy the Towns of *Lydia*, for by it you will not destroy me but your self, to whom by right of Arms they now belong; but however this rule admitteth of exception. For if a Soveraign hath the least suspicion that they may revolt a second time, he is then bound to deprive them of all possible means to effect it, be it either by disarming the inhabitants, or dismanting their Fortifications, nay by levelling their very Walls too, if they are of any considerable strength. Thus did the Romans destroy *Velitre*, by reason of their frequent revolts, turned out the Senate, and commanded them to live on the other side of *Tyber*. The strength and Fortifications of a Town do often invite the people to rebel, as *Tacitus* observeth, speaking of *Hierusalem*: To which same purpose did *Xerxes* prohibit the use of any Arms to the Babylonians, and *Cyrus* to the Lydians, both of them commanding those people to study Arts which might divert them from War. It were not much amisse to deprive them of the means of making assemblies. The Romans have shewed the way of it, by destroying all form of Government amongst those of *Capua*, after they had overcome them, whereby they had not any occasion of assembling any more together as formerly they had used. To this same end too hath the Turke inhibited the use of Clocks, amongst the Christians, or any others over his whole Empire, to prevent the meeting of any Assemblies, which might be contrary to his will, and the obedience he requireth from them. But they who are Victorious ought alwaies to accompany their commands with some sweetnesse, which may tollerate to them the exercise of their Religion, the assurance of their goods or the like, but then at last he must be sure to take from them all possible means of a future Revolt and Insurrection.

*The Honour which his Majesty got by the taking of* Rochel.

The most ingenious of men, & even the Pope himself, extolled the glorious atchievment which his Majesty had obtained; indeed he could not be praised enough, considering he had defeated three English Fleets, releeved the Ile of *Re*, and overcome a City which through all Christendome was thought impregnable, and by such a means too as was no less admirable then the taking of the Town it self and without the losse of almost one man, although *Charles* the ninth lost the lives of many great Commanders, and shot ten thousand great Guns at it, and could do no good upon it. How glorious was it for him, to have restored this Monarchy to its ancient splendour and lustre, by destroying a Faction which had so often armed some of his Subjects against the rest, which hindred him from being assisting to his

Allies,

Allies, and prevented him from regaining that honour and esteem in *Europe*, which his Predecessours had held as their due. This rebellious Town had for above two hundred years banded against their Kings, whenever they were upon any great expedition, as against *Lewis* the eleventh, during the broyls of the Duke *de Guienn* his Brother against *Charles* the Eighth, when all *Italy* expected him at *Fornove* against *Lewis* the Twelfth, whilest he was in the Wars for the *Milanois*, against *Francis* the first, whiles he was ingaged with *Charles* the fifth, against *Francis* the second, and *Charles* the ninth, doth in his minorities, against *Henry* the third, arming his brother to oppose him, against *Henry* the Great, just as he was ingaging against the Duke of *Savoy*: And lastly, against his Majesty himself, upon whom they had thrice made War; but now their strong Walls being overthrown, served for Monuments of his eternal glory.

## Monsieur *the Cardinal did much contribute to the taking of* Rochel.

THe Cardinal being the chief Minister in this Affair as well as that of the State, it were unreasonable to deny him some part of the credit: They who writ concerning those Subjects made the lesse difficulty of it, in regard his Majesty attributed the whole management of it to his Councils, as by divers Declarations published abroad was apparent, neither could it indeed be denied unto him, seeing he it was that advised the besieging of *Rochel*, who had contrived the means of releeving *Ree*, who had beaten off the English, who had first laid the Foundations of the siedge, who had drawn the Lines and Works, who had preserved them in good order, who had kept the Forces from disbanding, who had made them live in such a Discipline, as was formerly unheard of in *France*, who had contrived the Bank, and at last concluded a League with the English, who were come a third time to releeve the place. But as the most glorious acts expose men to most envy, so some malignant Pens there were who dis-esteemed and spoke lightly of him; nay would have made his greatest services have been esteemed for attempts against his Majesties Crown, yet all would not do, some impression indeed they made upon them of the Cabal, who could not behold without envy so shining a Star; they who are well acquainted with him, cannot but know how that he always, and upon all occasions, avoided what ever might expose him to envy, that he did ever ascribe all the glory of his conduct and government to his Majesty; and that on the other side, the most that he ever pretended to in his greatest Actions, was onely the honour to have served him faithfully and not improfitably; they cannot but know he could not more fitly be compared to any one then unto *Germanicus*, Nephew and adopted son of *Tiberius*, who having obtained a great Victory in *Germany*, prepared a fair Trophy, at the foot of which was inscribed, *The Army of* Tiberius *Cæsar*, as *Tacitus* hath observed, after the reducing of the people between the *Rhine* and *Elbe*, raised a Monument to *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Augustus*, but mentioned not himself: And thus the honour of doing those glorious actions which he every day atchieved, was by him esteemed both his satisfaction and reward.

### *Politique Observation.*

VVHat ever honour is attributed to second causes, upon the effecting of great things, yet the chief glory redounds unto the first, not onely because he communicates all the power which second causes have to operate; but withal, because those effects depend upon his particular influence. It cannot be denied, but second causes deserved commendation, and indeed without injustice, it cannot be gain-said, but that they have likewise much contributed. The Sun, in the Universal *Principium* of the generation of all Plants, he it is who extracteth the Germinative quality, wherewith the earth is replenished, who produceth the

Flowers and Fruits, wherewith it is adorned: it being most assuredly true, that without his influences the earth would remain fruitlesse, dry and barren: Which though it be so, yet what Philosopher did ever deny, that the earth was not one of the chief causes of all those effects? Have they not all confessed that the earth produceth Lillies and Roses? And was not that Sophister esteemed a Novice who denied the Title of Mother to her? In the same manner, God is doubtlesse, the first Authour of every thing done in the World, yet no Philosopher will deny, but that the Sun and Man beget Man, that the Sun and Horse beget a Horse, they having some part of his glory, by the honour which they have of being his Subjects; and God himself jealous though he be of his own glory, as he protesteth in one of the Prophets, hath he not commanded us to honour his Saints, as the second causes of Miracles, to build Churches, raise Altars, make Vows unto them, and to publish their praises, for those Miracles which his omnipotent hand hath wrought by them his instruments? And were he not besotted, who should refuse this honour to the Prince of the Apostles, when his very shadow cured so many diseases, though effected by a divine power, really lesse inhærent in him, then that which grand Ministers have in themselves for the publick good? If perverse obstinacy should transport any one, to deny them this respect, may they not easily be convinced by Gods own example, when he spake unto *Moses* saying, *Thou hast led my people out of Ægypt*, though indeed it was the work of his own hand? God well knew that he had made use of *Moses* his servant, as the chief Minister of his Kingdome, and for the Conductor of his people, and therefore how jealous so ever he were of his own glory, yet he would ascribe it to him, as well knowing, that the honour attributed to second causes, doth not at all diminish that which is due unto the first. This is the true image of honour which ought to be given unto Ministers, for the services which they pay unto their Soveraigns; and who need be jealous of it, seeing God is not? A King and his Minister are so strictly united, as the hand and instrument in the Artificer, so that nothing but malice and envy can oppose that praise which is due to a Minister, who hath effected any enterprise with successe, tending to the publick good of the Kingdome. As the King is first and chief, so the first and chief honour is his, but then without injustice, his Minister cannot be denied the sharing of some part with him, who hath been his instrument to obtain it.

## *The expences of the Siege of* Rochel, *amount unto forty millions of Livres.*

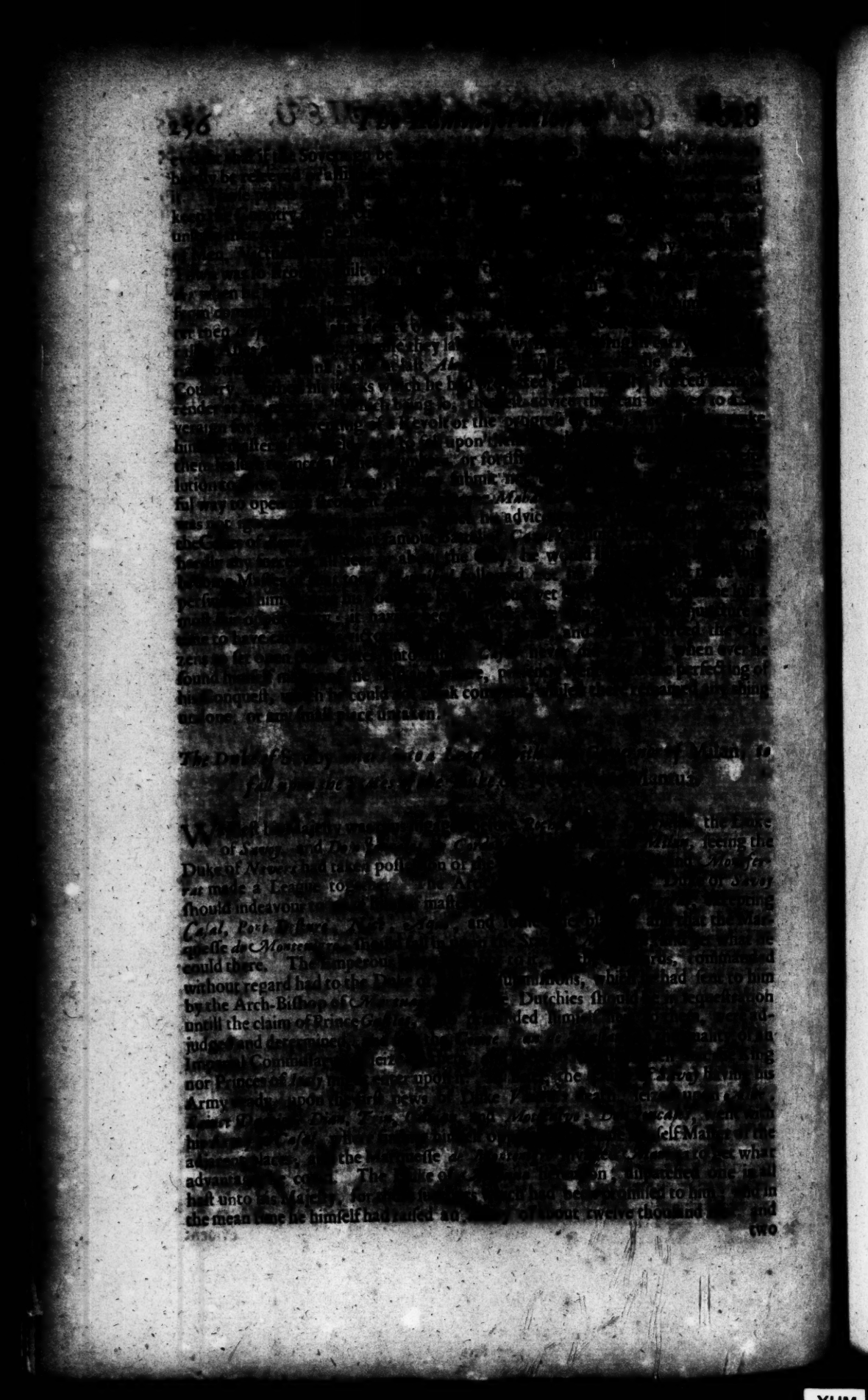
THe greatnesse of the expence before *Rochel* can hardly be imagined, without considering the particulars, as the punctual paying of the whole Army, the building of the Bank, Munitions of all sorts and the like. They who disbursed the several sums reckon it at forty Millions, but the particular diligence and care of the Marquesse *d'Effiat*, Superintendent of the Exchequer to provide all, that there might not be any want, deserveth (and undoubtedly so will) to passe in History for a particular commendation. He entred upon the Treasuries at a time when they were fifty millions of Livres in debt, and the Treasurers hardly perswadable to assist his Majesty in any of his occasions, by reason of the review which had so lately been made amongst them; the Parliament too had much ado to be perswaded to ratifie Edicts for to raise money, yet he used such addresse and diligence, that not onely there was no want of money, but the charge was lesse then formerly it had used to be, and in such expeditions where the Souldiers were hardly paid at all, such and so great care did he use in the charge of the Treasuries. There was a necessity of making some new Edicts, but the chief means he used were, according to the Cardinals instructions, to cut off all superfluous expences, to commit the management of those sums which were expended unto persons of known fidelity and trust. The Cardinal did not onely lend out upon this occasion what monies he had in his own Coffers, but ingaged his credit as far as it would go, to raise more

it repossessed themselves of all the places [illegible] a few days; for they thought [illegible] became that might have [illegible] *Monsieur* the Prince presently [illegible] which were of great importance [illegible] the Frondeurs [illegible] Commissioners. Not [illegible] that he might confer with the Duke [illegible] mu, who were to be there to [illegible] sed by *Tarride* he had [illegible] Castle *de Vincennes* [illegible] himself obliged by many [illegible] conditions to [illegible] ge [illegible] pose unto them, [illegible] upon his journey to *Tholouse*, [illegible] having had the intention of reducing that place, he arrived there with great content: and after some conference had with those Lords who met there, it was [illegible] that the Duke of *Vendosme* should raise some forces in *Vivarais*, [illegible] proceedings in the *Sevennes*, where the Duke of [illegible] *Milhaud*, *Pont-Vaux*, the Count *de Carmain*, which the Duke of *Rohan* had many [illegible] and [illegible] should [illegible] *Thalouse*, until *March* [illegible] the [illegible] ments [illegible] prevail [illegible] Duke [illegible] to be executed as [illegible] declared [illegible] be [illegible] [illegible] *Monsieur* the Prince [illegible] [illegible] and sometimes [illegible] they [illegible] my to good success, especially in matter of [illegible] from *Tholouse* [illegible] *Vivarais* [illegible] *January*, [illegible] the Rebels as possibly he could, he had [illegible] issued out of *Nismes*, scouring up and [illegible] all kind of disorder under the command of the [illegible] and *d'Aubay*. Hereupon he commanded [illegible] Cavaliers, and that of his guard to follow him, [illegible] my: that he engaged them broke them [illegible] ers, and put the rest to flight.

## *The taking of* Pamiers, *and other* [illegible] *of* Conde.

ABout the same [illegible] the *Sieur de* [illegible] fell upon six hundred foot of *Mauvirac's* Regiment, [illegible] with a hundred Carabiers, and fought with them. *Marmiere* [illegible] of his Cornets, one Ensign, and about one hundred Souldiers were killed [illegible] place, the rest were pursued to the very Gates. As for *Monsieur* the Prince, and the Duke *de Montmorency* they departed from *Tholouse*, directly [illegible], where *Beaufort* the Duke of *Rohans* Lievtenant General in *Foix*, had [illegible] a Citadel, which by the [illegible] he had, was made very strong; they led up the Army to it, and made their approaches so happily, that they onely [illegible] two [illegible] *Monsieur* the Prince [illegible] a Battery, filled up the Ditches, and prepared every thing for a Breach, the Battery was so quick that in a few hours there was a reasonable way open, which the Prince having notice of, he would needs go with the Marshals of the Camp to view it, who drew out some of every Regiment to fall in upon the [illegible] which they did, and being got over, lodged themselves under the Wall, being unable to passe further on, by reason of the Trench they met with; but the [illegible] which they had was so advantagious, that the inhabitants could not offend them at all, and not a man of the Town could appear, but they presently fetcht him off with their Musquets, insomuch

HE who hath perſwaded any Town [illegible], muſt not expect to keep them [illegible] any long time, unleſſe he be Maſter of the Field; his hopes of maintaining them in his [illegible] will vaniſh, and he will ſoon ſee them re-taken by his Soveraign, before he [illegible] if once he be maſter of the Country. For as there is not any place how weak ſoever, which doth not hold out ſome ſmall time, eſpecially if it be aſſiſted; ſo there is not any place how ſtrong ſoever, that can alwaies hold out if not releeved, that is, unleſſe there be a ſufficient power on foot, to force him who is ſate down before it to raiſe the ſiege, or at leaſt to ſend Forces and Ammunitions into it. Places cannot defend themſelves, but muſt have men to do it for them; neither can the men ever do it, unleſſe they have refreſhment both of victuals, munitions, and ſouldiers, otherwiſe the travels, neceſſities, and diſcommodities of a Siege, will inforce them to ſurrender whether they will or no. It is evident



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two thousand horse; part he sent into *Montferrat*, the rest he kept in *Mantua* and thereabouts, to hinder the Marquesse *de Montenigro's* progresse in the *Mantuan*. The King being informed of these violent emotions, permitted all *Monsieur de Mantua's* friends to go to his assistance, and his Highnesse to raise what Forces he thought fit in the Kingdome of *France*; insomuch that shortly after the Marquesse *de Beuuron*, carried with him store of French over the Mountains of *Savoy*, who cast themselves into *Casal*, and so incouraged the inhabitants that *Don Gonçales* began to lose his former hopes of so speedily taking it. The *Sieur de Guron* was likewise sent by his Majesty thither presently after, who so got the good Will of the people there, that they parted willingly with any thing they had; nay the Women would deliver up their Rings and Jewels, that the Souldiers might not want their pay. The Spaniards in the mean time were not idle, but used their best indeavours to gain the place, but were alwaies repulsed with such courage that they never went off but to their great losse. The Marquesse *de Beuuron* made divers Sallies upon them, and did as often put them to disorder, but was at last killed, after he had on many occasions testified, that fear had no corner in his heart, and that his courage could have made him withstand a Puissant Army with a handfull of men. The *Sieur de Guron* commanded in the town after his death, where he so behaved himself, that the Townsmen were perswaded to hold out in expectation of relief from *France*.

The King having given leave to the Marquess *d' Uxelles*, to make Levies for Monsieur *de Mantua*, he had at last raised as many as he thought would be sufficient for the business. which was about fifteen or sixteen thousand men effective. The Rendezvouz was appointed in the Bailiages of *Ambrun*, *Gap* and *Briancon*, where being all come together, they who had the orders to make the muster, and pay them, and make provisions necessary for their passage over the Mountains, were so neglectfull, that they were forced to stay thereabouts in those Bailiages about twenty dayes time, during which they committed many insolencies and wasts, which the Marquesse *de Uxelles* finding he was almost in despair, to see such disorders, all that he could do to remedy it, was, he procured the Country people to provide a certain quantity of Provisions both for Man and War, and to carry them after the Army over the Mountains, some part of their money he paid them down in hand, and for the residue he obliged himself in his own name to pay them, upon the first Muster. Whereupon he began to march, and on the twenty seventh of *July*, entred into the Mountains, where he no sooner appeared, but the Duke of *Savoy* came up to them and opposed them where-ever they went. The resistance which he here met, did not very much trouble him, for he often beat them before him; but it was his misfortune, that the Provisions promised by those of *Dauphine*, did not follow the Army; insomuch that the Souldiers having marched some dayes without any bread, he was at last forced to resolve upon returning back again; their retreat indeed was honourable enough; for the *Sieur de la Ferte* Marshal *de Camp* facing the enemy with three Regiments upon the tops of two Mountains, gave opportunity to the rest of the Troops to retire into *Dauphine*, which the Duke of *Savoy* could not perceive until they were quite gone.

*Politique Observation.*

THE Laws of military policy require the preparing of great Magazines neat the places designed for an enterprize, before the first attempt; and especially not to enter upon an enemies Countrey without making sure of a dayly provision for the Souldiers, that they are not brought to want. Armies are oftner ruined by hunger then by Battel; whence it happens that he who is not very carefull of carrying his Provisions with him, or sure of finding them where he comes, will soon see himself destitute of Troops, and in such confusion as will render him contemptible to his enemies, and despicable to his friends. This was one of the rules *Cambises* taught his son *Cyrus*, as *Xenophon* relateth it, and *Cyrus* was no lesse carefull

to

to practiſe it in the Wars which he made againſt the Aſſyrians, as the ſame Author obſerveth. The Turks are very exact at it, indeed their temperance gives them one great advantage, becauſe the carriage of them is not very difficult, amongſt them, who uſe neither Wine nor other dainties. It were to be wiſhed that ours would follow their example, becauſe the plenty in which moſt of our Commanders have uſed to live, renders them unable for labour, or to make any great enterprizes upon the Spaniard, by reaſon of the difficulty of carrying proviſions with them. The Romans were not ignorant of this truth, when their Empire was in its moſt flouriſhing condition; and for this reaſon it was, that they accuſtomed their forces to great abſtinency, and thoſe Nations which were leaſt brought up in delicacies, were alwaies by them eſteemed the moſt war-like. Thus *Julius Cæſar* thought the Flemmings more valiant then the reſt of the Gauls, becauſe they lived upon harder fare. *Hannibal* to his coſt found what loſſes befell his Army, after they had been accuſtomed to a little eaſe and plenty, when after the battel of *Cannes*, warring with leſſe fear of the Romans, he permitted them to live in all pleaſure and abundance, and afterwards being to make uſe of them, he found that by that means they had loſt their courages. A Captain however in avoiding this delicacy, ought not to be defective in carrying that which is neceſſary for his Souldiers. The inconveniences which will follow by ſuch neglect, are not onely as hath been ſaid, that he will ſee them disband, but withall he will find them to run to his enemies Quarters, in hope to find there better maintenance. Thus did the moſt part of *Afranius* and *Petrius* ſouldiers flie to *Cæſars* Camp, and thoſe of *Cæſar* upon the like neceſſity went unto *Pompey*; beſides all this, want occaſioneth diſeaſes, as the French found at *Carignan* (as *Guicciardin* reporteth) and ſometimes cauſeth a Mutiny: In fine, it is impoſſible in ſuch occaſions but a Commander muſt ſoon ſee his forces in confuſion among themſelves, and vanquiſhed by their enemies, as *Vegetius* hath very judicially obſerved.

## *The King takes care of the Affairs of his Allies the Griſons.*

ALthough his Majeſty was carefull of *Monſieur de Mantua* his affairs, yet did he not abandon thoſe of the Griſons his ancient Allies; but indeavoured to put them into the enjoyment of that, which had been accorded them by the Treaty at *Mouſon*: He had about the end of the laſt year ſent a Declaration to the *Sieur Neſmin*, his Embaſſadour with thoſe people; which imported, that according to a Clauſe of the firſt Article in that Treaty, the agreements made at *Lindau* and *Coire*, between the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, the Governours of *Milan*, and the three Cantons of the Griſons in the year 1617. untill the day and date of the Treaty at *Mouſon*, ought to be null and void, and that all the Embaſſadours aſſembled in Treating with the Spaniards, were promiſed as much; yet now the Spaniards would needs give other interpretations for their own advantage to that firſt Article, though in it ſelf nothing could be clearer, upon which great conteſts did ariſe between the Griſons, the Spaniards, and the Arch-Duke *Leopold*. Now the Griſons deſiring his Majeſty would clear the doubt, he could not onely not refuſe them, but moreover promiſe them that they ſhould enjoy the benefit of the ſaid Treaty, and that he would aſſiſt them with his Arms, againſt any that ſhould pretend to make uſe of revoked Treaties to their prejudice. They received this Declaration with a great deal of joy from the *Sieur de Meſmin*, but that was not the onely difficulty in the execution of the Treaty. The Deputies of the Griſons and the Valtolines, did preſſe his Majeſty for an expoſition of other Articles, each of them pretending to interpret it according to his own advantage, they that they ought to be eſtabliſhed in the right of Soveraignty over the Valtoline. The *Comte de Chiavennes* and *Bormio* which they had in the year, 1617, excepting what had been nominated in the Treaty; to wit, the Juſtice and civil Government over the Valtolines; for which they were to pay them the yearly rent of twenty five thouſand crowns. The other were animated by the Spaniards, that they ought abſolutely

lutely to be exempted from the Soveraignty of the Valtolines, without being obliged to any other duty then the bare payment of the 25000 Crowns. Now it was likewiſe agreed in the ſaid Treaty, that in caſe any doubt ſhould ariſe upon any words, the interpretation of it ſhould be referred to the two Crowns, who ſhould freely declare their ſence of it. His Majeſty had oftentimes, by his Embaſſadours, requeſted the King of *Spain* his Brother in Law, that they might make a Declaration together for the quiet of that people; but the Spaniard who onely ſought advantage from their diviſion, delayed the Embaſſadour ſo long, that his Majeſty was at laſt forced to make a Declaration himſelf conformable to the true meaning of the intent of the Treaty, which implied, that not onely the Treaties made at *Lindaw*, *Coire*, and *Milan*, ſhould be void and of no effect; but withall that conformably to the ſecond Article, the affairs of the Griſons and Valtolines ſhould be reduced to the ſame ſtate they were in, in the year, 1617. by which the Griſons were reſtored to the ſame Authority and Soveraignty, which they that year had over the Valtolines, and the ſaid Comtes; and that conſequently it belonged to them alone, and not the Valtolines their Subjects to make Treaties of Peace, Alliances, War, to coin monies, to grant or refuſe the Paſſages of the ſaid Countries, to impoſe Taxes, Contributions and the like, and that the Valtolines could onely pretend to the Juſtice and Civil government, which for quietneſſe ſake had been granted to them under the yearly payment of twenty five thouſand crowns to the Griſons, who had the power of confirming the Magiſtrates and Poteſtates by them elected. This Declaration was ſent by the King to the *Sieur Meſmin*, that he might by his Prudence procure it to be accepted by both parties; to the end they might live in Peace; but with order however not to deliver it untill both parties had agreed, to ſubmit to it according to the form and tenure of it; as alſo not to diſcover it to one or other, if he imagined both of them would make any difficulty to receive it, that he might not put his royal authority into their hands. This was a remarkable effect of the Cardinals Prudence, who knew that a Kings authority ought never to be expoſed to the contempt of his Allies; and not knowing clearly how the people were inclined, perſwaded his Majeſty to commit the execution of it to his Embaſſadours diſcretion: The *Sieur Meſmin* finding the Griſons and Valtolines not diſpoſed to accept the Declaration according to all its Clauſes, after he had under hand diſcovered the pretenſions and deſigns, which the Spaniards had put into their heads to hinder their good intelligence, that they might not ſhut up the Paſſages of the Valtoline againſt him, did not propoſe it in publick to have their common approbation of it; onely gave his Majeſty notice of what he had done, who approved of it, and left the deciding of thoſe differences, untill ſuch time as he ſhould carry his Arms into *Italy*, and have that in his hands which might maintain the juſtice of the cauſe.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

PRudence teacheth a Miniſter that diſtance of place doth hinder the knowledge of the particular inclination of ſtrangers, and that thereupon it is neceſſary to commit many things to the Embaſſadours who are with them in the behalf of his Maſter; and eſpecially concerning the form of executing ſuch Orders as are ſent him. It is a commendable diſcretion to be perſwaded that he hath not knowledge and power enough to do all things of himſelf; whereas, they who ſuffer themſelves to be led by a vain preſumption, upon their own parts, do uſually commit their Maſters authority to the inconſiderateneſſe and inconſtancy of neighbours, expoſe them to ſcorn by the little reſpect they give his Orders, and in fine leave them without effect. For this very reaſon a diſcreet Politician laughed at the Florentines and Venetians, who in his time would needs give themſelves all particular Orders in their Army, even to the appointing of the places for their Batteries. We ſee in Hiſtory that the Romans did commit the execution of their Commiſſions to the Prudence of thoſe whom they imployed, were it in Peace or War. *Ceſar* upon

his resolution for an expedition into *England*, gave the command of three Legions and two thousand horse to *Labienus*, to look after *France* in his absence; but he gave him no particular Orders, onely to act as the necessity of affairs did require. *Tiberius* one of the wisest of the Roman Emperours did the like (as *Tacitus* reports) when he sent his son *Drusus* into *Hungary*, for the reducing of some revolted Legions unto obedience, giving him no other order for his Conduct, but that which himself should think proper to be done, when he was upon the place. He must needs be ignorant of the Roman customs, who knows not that it was their use to insert in their Commissions whom they imployed, a particular command that they did not interest in any thing which they did in the publick concerns of the State; and if any one should suffer him to be carried by his own will to do otherwise, they were never wanting for the most part; but to confesse that it was not possible for them being at a distance, to know all that is proper to be done. As when the Consul *Fabius* had beaten the Tuscans near *Sutrol*, and had resolved to pursue them through the Forrest *Simine* to invade *Tuscany*; the Senate misinformed of what he might do, sent two Senators to him to dissuade him from the attempt; but before the Senators had come to him, they found he had already passed the Forrest, and obtained the Victory which he sought for, at which they were much astonished. This serves at least to shew that a great liberty ought to be left to those who are imployed, especially when by reason of distance there cannot be a particular information of all Occurrences; and that he who doth otherwise, loseth many advantages in War, and also in negotiations of Peace, and instead of getting glory, renders himself contemptible both in one and in the other.

## *Anno* 1629.

NO one can with drie eys behold a Vessel in which divers of his friends are driven by a storm, beaten by winds and waters, now raised up on high, and anon cast down again, and sometimes ready to be swallowed up by the Waves: But when the Tempest is once over, then the whole pleasure is, to discourse in what danger they were, and the future remembrance of it is a satisfaction and delight. In the same manner, who could behold the violent emotions, in which *France* was agitated during this year, and not be moved to pity! Surely he must be devoid of a French heart, and destitute of all those resentments which nature infuseth into all men for their own Country: But now his joy and delight must be equal too, the storm is blown over, and it is become a pleasure to discourse the hazard she hath escaped.

### *The King after the taking of* Rochel, *releeveth* Cazal *in person.*

THe King having reduced *Rochel*, his courage invited him to relieve *Cazal* in his own person. The enterprise was difficult, and there was no hopes of any good successe, but after great labours, hazards, and difficulties. There was a necessity of passing the *Alps*, and that at a time when the Ice and Snow was enough to have stopped up the wayes; but besides this, the Duke of *Savoys* Army must be passed through likewise; many strong places were of necessity to be taken in, and an inevitable necessity of marching five or six days through an enemies Country, where they were sure to find no Victuals, where by reason of the ways, it was as hard to get any to be carried for the relief of the Souldiers. These difficulties would have troubled a resolution lesse couragious then his Majesties, but it being his

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onely desire to obtain glory, by the hardest things, especially where his Justice is concern'd, he was not so much as moved at it. He assembled his Councel to consider of it, presently after his return to *Paris*; some of them indeed were against it, as doubting lest the French falling thus directly on the Spanish forces, might make a Breach between the two Crowns, which experience had evinced to be very prejudicial to the State. The Spanish power had by little and little become terrible, untill the Cardinal pulled away the Visard, and made it apparent, that those were onely *Chimera's* and vain Clouds, which would soon be dissipated by the lustre of his Majesties Arms; insomuch that his Eminency (who is not to be shaked in any thing where his Masters glory was concern'd) began to discourse the businesse, that at last every one of them submitted to the reasons which he produced; and it was then concluded that *Cazal* ought to be releeved, Sir (said he) seeing the taking of *Rochel* hath ended a most glorious enterprise for your Majesty, and the most profitable for your State, that can possibly happen again in your whole life: *Italy* now oppressed for almost a whole year by the Duke of *Savoy* and Spaniards, attendeth a relief from your power, and a deliverance from their evils by your most victorious Arm: Your Honour obligeth you to defend those neighbors and Allies of yours, who are unjustly despoiled of their States: But besides these important reasons, your own interests do oblige you, to turn your thoughts and arms thither; and I dare assure you, that if your Majesty resolve upon it, and it be executed as it ought, the issue of it will be no lesse happy and honourable to you, then that of that rebellious City. I am not I confesse a Prophet, but I am confident that if your Majesty lose no more time, but carry on the design, you shall both releeve *Cazal*, and settle *Italy* in Peace before *May*; from whence returning with your Army into *Languedoc*, you shal likewise settle all there before the end of *July*; so that I hope your Majesty will in *August* be returned both safe and victorious to *Paris*. These were the chief points of his advice, spoken with such Grace and Courage, that not a man in all the Assembly but approved of it, and I have the more willingly inserted them here, for the preservation of them to posterity, as an Oracle of his Prudence, which might indeed passe for a Prophecy, seeing that every thing fell out just as he had Prognosticated.

### *Politique Observation.*

I must be confessed that eminent Souls have extraordinary fore-sights, and somewhat, I know not how, more then humane, they see all effects by their causes; they do commonly speak of things with assurance, and prognosticate things to come, as if they saw them presently acted before their eyes; they behold all dangers long before they happen, which they fear not, because their Prudence applies fit remedies; they know the weaknesse of their enemies, when and where they ought to be assaulted; they know all their stratagems, all their designs; and thus it is that their Prudence maketh them frequently judge of things with certainty.

Some have been of opinion that these extraordinary knowledges have been communicated to them by their *Genius*, and to speak more Christian-like by their good Angels, which me thinks cannot well be denied; seeing the like hath befallen the Grandees amongst the Pagans, as *Socrates*, *Brutus*, and *Cæsar*, and of latter ages divers other experiences of the same kind: But I may well add, the Angels do but seldome afford those their favours; and as seldome, as that eminent Prudence whereunto they add their fore-seeing quality, is rare.

### *Prosecution of the History.*

THe Cardinal did clearly fore-see that this expedition being well managed, it would be impossible for the Spaniard or Duke of *Savoy*, to raise a force sufficient to oppose that of his Majesty: He knew that in all *Italy* there were hardly three thousand natural Spaniards; that their forces were but small, and divided; that

they were moniless, and harassed with losses on every hand; that there was such an inclination in the minds of most part of the Italians to revolt, that there need no more then to tell them they should be set at liberty and discharged of their great burthens, and that this would be enough to make them take up Arms; that there could not a more favourable conjuncture be wished, then this, for the securing of *Monsieur de Mantua* from the violence of *Spain*, and that it were as great imprudence to lose this opportunity, as it would be discretion to lay hold on it. This was that which made him deliver his advice to his Majesty with such confidence, and which induced his Majesty first to an assurance of it, and then to command an extraordinary diligence to be had for the raising of Levies, and providing all necessary munitions for the expedition into *Italy*.

*Politique Observation.*

THe discreet Pilot guideth his Ship, and spreads his Sails according to the Wind, that he may come in safety to the Haven; and a Prudent States-man, ought to make his resolutions and to regulate his Conduct, according to circumstances and the advantage of the time present, the former would be much found fault with, if he should lose the Wind when it is fair; and the latter would commit a deplorable over-sight, if he should neglect those advantages and opportunities which should present themselves unto him. Opportunity is oftentimes of greater advantage then several Troops; and Experience hath dayly evidenced to the World, that the advantages of time is the onely thing, which if laid hold on, carrieth great actions to a prosperous issue. Nature observeth her time to put forth her works, we never see her bedight with Flowers, but when the Sun smiles gently upon her; just thus is it with a Prudent man, he must strike when the Iron is hot, and not strike untill it be hot. For this reason it was, that the Pythagoreans held opportunity to be the first cause of all things; and it is but truth, that opportunity is that which giveth them all their perfections, and causeth them to terminate in a happy successe. Antiquity did much esteem of *Pittacus* his advice, which was comprehended in two words onely, know thy time, that is, lose not thy opportunity, but make sure of it; it being certainly true, that the least smile which she bestoweth is the groundwork of great successes, above all, an enemy ought to be assaulted at his weakest, before he be fortified, and that his other Troops come to joyn with him. The valiant *Scipio* would no longer defer his fighting with the Carthaginians, when he foresaw that if he gave them time, *Asdrubal* would come up and joyn with them, which would augment the difficulties to overcome them, *Marius* in the 25 Book of *T. Livy*, resolved to prosecute the enemy, because his Prudence fore-told him, that in case he deferred it, their whole force would in a small time joyn themselves together, and then instead of one Captain, and one Army, he must incounter with three Generals and three Armies. *Cæsar* as himself observeth in his first Book of the War with the *Gauls*, having learnt that there were certain forces comming from the Swedes, which were to passe the *Rhine*, presently advanced to fight with *Ariovistus*, as doubting least if those forces should come up to him, he might be too weak to encounter them.

## *The King having resolved upon his Italian Expedition, commits the Government of the State to the Queen his Mother.*

THe King before he departed from *Paris*, would as reason was, settle the affairs of his Kingdome and State in the hand of a person, of whom he was well assured. He knew that Kings being out of the way, gives opportunity to seditious minds to act and stir, who in their presence, durst not think a thought that way tending. Whereupon he concluded it necessary to intrust the management of all things with some one person, upon whose Credit, Fidelity, and Ability he might

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rely. The Cardinal who was never deficient in procuring all kind of honour to the Queen Mother, adviſed his Majeſty to fix upon her, as he had done at the ſiege of *Rochel*; though indeed he was but ill requited for his pains, it being at that time, that ſhe conceived the firſt ſeeds of her hatred againſt him, and ſuffered her ſelf to be deceived by the falſe Impoſtures of her and his enemies. That which did moſt of all claſh with the Cardinals thoughts, in perſwading the King to devolve his power upon her, was, that ſhe ſtill was guided by thoſe very perſons, who laboured nothing more then the increaſing her Majeſties hatred againſt him, and who would act to that purpoſe with ſo much the more inſolency, when they found themſelves ſupported by her authority. But as he ever preferred his Majeſties before his own Intereſts, he did not long ſtick at it; but finding it moſt fit for the Government of the State, he adviſed his Majeſty to reſolve upon it. For, firſt the Government of the State could not have been left with any other, but it would have raiſed great broils in the State; and ſecondly, he had much rather have been thought improvident in fore-ſeeing what might hurt him, then ingratefull in not procuring to her all poſſible honour, lying in his power; and laſtly, he had ſome reaſon to hope, that the abſolute power which his Majeſty left with her during his abſence, might open her eyes, to diſcern with what zeal and fidelity he had ſerved her. In fine, his Majeſty give the Queen his Mother, full, and abſolute power, and cauſed the Commiſſion which he had made for that purpoſe, to bee read in the Parliament.

*Politique Obſervation.*

NOthing doth ſo much allay the hatred of a woman, as to procure ſome honour to her, for as they are naturally paſſionate of ruling, ſo there is not any thing doth more pleaſe them then power. It ſhould ſeem, that nature having created them to obey, they become ſo much the more ambitious of governing both in private families and in States too, for either of which they are very improper. Hence it is, that they arm themſelves with fire and anger, againſt all who oppoſe them, unleſſe they are mollified and appeaſed by love; next to which, nothing doth ſo much pleaſe and ſatisfie them, as the procurement of ſome extraordinary power and honour unto them. It is a long while ſince a Philoſopher ſaid, no water doth ſo readily extinguiſh the fire of anger, as good deeds, which as they make a greater impreſſion on the mind, by how much they come nearer to their inclination, ſo there is nothing which doth more pleaſe or delight them; and hence it is, that they are the fitteſt and moſt dexterous ways to recall and reclaim their unjuſt and groundleſſe anger and diſpleaſure.

*The King chargeth the Lord Keeper* Marillac, *to chuſe out the beſt rules which had been eſteemed proper, for the good of the Kingdom, by the States met at* Paris, Anno 1614. *and to propoſe them to the Councel to be drawn up into Ordinances.*

AT the ſame time, the King who cheriſhed Juſtice as the beſt Flower in his Crown, reſolved to publiſh divers Ordinances, relating to his peoples good, ſuch as he had choſen out of the beſt rules, which had been thought moſt proper by the States General at *Paris*, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and fourteen, and by the Aſſembly at *Rouen*, in the year 1617. and at *Paris* in the year one thouſand ſix hundred twenty ſix. His Majeſty knew, that God who had put the Scepter into his hands, had not more commanded him any one thing than to adminiſter Juſtice indifferently to all; whereupon he gave order to the Lord Keeper, to pick out from thoſe rules ſuch choice ones, as might be thought moſt advantagious for his peoples good, to propoſe them to the Counſel, that they might be made Ordinances, after mature deliberation had upon them; all which was done accordingly,

dingly, and thence sent to the Parliament of *Paris*, whether his Majesty went, to hear them read in his presence, as his predecessours had used to do, who have ordinarily deposited their power into the hands of this assembly, as being the chief of the Kingdome, and that to which they have always given most power and authority; with intent that the people might the more readily give obedience to them. Now this Parliament consisting of a great multitude, which cannot be without many diversities of opinion, some of them made Remonstrances to his Majesty upon several of the Articles presented to them, and beseeched his Majesty would grant them time to consider of them. The Lord keeper, in his lofty humour thinking nothing like his own judgment, was offended with them who would contradict what he had resolved on, and believing he had another Egerian Nymph, which would not let him conclude on any thing but what was conformable to the will of Heaven, he perswaded his Majesty with his utmost power, not to grant them the time they desired for deliberating on the Articles proposed to them: But his Majesty, who knew that the greatest Monarques, ought to accompany their Authority with Meekness as well as Justice, granted them their desires of six month's time, to consider of them, and to draw up their Remonstrances, which however were to be referr'd to his Majesties disposition and judgment.

*Politique Observation.*

AMongst the many and sundry powers which are in the Persons of our Kings, as so many Glorious Rayes which encompasse their Majesty, Justice is one, and one of the greatest Suster; The Scepter which they carry in their hand, is an Index of it, and seems to say, that their will is the Rule by which their subjects must be govern'd: whence a Lawyer defining Law, confoundeth it with the will of the Prince declared to his subjects. It is true, they hold Justice in their left hands, that they may remember their Commands ought always to be accompanied with Equity. But besides all this, they are not bound to give an accompt to any one. It is onely God from whom they receive their Scepter, and it is to him only that they are to be accomptable for the Reason of those Laws which they establish: Their power is high and so absolute, that there is no refusing of what they ordaine; and indeed their Laws are of force and power, not so much because they are Just, as because they are by them commanded. However Prudence obligeth them to be advised by their Parliaments, whensoever they would make any Laws or Ordinances. This was the ancient form as History observeth, when any General Ordinances were to be established: and this is it which maketh the people receive them with the more submission and willingness; for nothing is so acceptable to them as that which carrieth the least shew of absolute Soveraignty; and besides Kings do no lesse Rule their people by Prudence then Power. Now this Prudence requireth, that nothing ought to be acted but by the deliberation of those who are to give a Credit to it, for the observation and obedience which is expected to be payd unto it. All our Kings have allowed their Parliaments to make Remonstrances, and give their opinions, as occasion should require: Indeed they have always done it with great submission and respect, as being a thing without the limits of their power. *Solomon* the wisest of Kings saith, It is a folly to play the Wise man before a Kings presence, in the seventh of *Ecclesiastes*; and *Quintus Curtius*, did much extol *Ephestion*, that giving his opinion or Judgment before *Alexander*, he always did it with such great respect, that every one who beheld him, might know he did not speak as his due, but as an Honour permitted to him, and no more. Some Kings, it must be acknowledged, are not thus absolute, but are dependant either upon their States or people; and the reason is, because they first accepted of the Crown upon such and such conditions. But the thing is not so with ours, they are onely accomptable to God for what they do, and do acknowledge no other Superior, in any thing which relateth to their Temporal Government; as St. *Gregory* said of our French Kings, they are saith he as Eminently above other Kings of the Earth, as they are above inferiour men.

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*The King before he goeth into* Piedmont, *findeth the Hugonots in* Languedoc *ready to rise, he compelleth them to lay down their Armes, and to declare in form before his Parliaments and Judges, that they will live in all duties and obedience hereafter.*

ONE thing more remained to be considered, before his Majesties Journy into *Italy*, which was this; The Hugonots in *Languedoc* could not resolve to live in that absolute submission which they owed unto his Majesty, notwithstanding they saw the proud Walls of *Rochel* thrown down before their faces, which might have served them for a sight of fear and confusion. His Majesty was advised of what assistance they had demanded from *Spain*, *England*, *Holland* and other places. That several of those Towns accorded to them for their security, were resolved to revolt, and resist his Majesties Armes, if he should attempt to ruine those Walls which were the Protectors of their Insolent Rebellions: Whereupon the Cardinal perswaded his Majesty, that it was absolutely necessary to reduce those places to their obedience, and his own mercy, before he passed into *Piedmont*; as also to make a Declaration, importing an expres Command to all Heretiques, who either were or had been in actual Rebellion against his Majesty, that they should lay down their Armes, return to their duties, and make Declarations of their future obedience, in ample manner and form before his Parliaments, or the Judges Presidiaux dwelling next unto them; and that all Towns should send their deputies, to make protestations of their fidelity; promising them, on the word of a King, that upon their so doing, they should quietly enjoy their goods, and the Liberty of their pretended Religion; but protesting that if they should refuse so to do, and continue in their obstinacy and Rebellion, without regard had unto his grace and mercy, that he would then proceed to punish them as for *de crimine læsæ Majestatis*, from the greatest to the lowest: ordaining and requiring, that their goods and persons should be proceeded against accordingly, and in the utmost rigour of his said Declaration. His Majesty caused his said Declaration to be read in Parliament, himself being present, which put a stop to all the Hugonots affairs until after the taking of *Suze*.

*Politique Observation.*

HAppy is that Kingdome, whose people live under one Law and the same Religion; for the least Diversity which is in either of those two parts, breedeth unfortunate disorders in the whole. If any should be so unhappy, as to fall under either of those Afflictions, they may learn how to remedy it, by this Declaration of his Majesty, which produced most admirable effects, in hindring the progresse of the present Rebellion.

It cannot be denied, but that Kings have an absolute power to compell their subjects, who are Heretiques, to forsake their false, and turn unto the true Religion; and in case they become obstinate, to punish them by the Ax. *Heresie* is a Crime *læsæ Majestatis Divinæ*; and as Heaven hath endued them with no lesse Authority, to punish those offences committed against God, then those against their own persons, so it cannot be doubted that they have an absolute and Just power to punish Heresie, with all the severity that it deserveth. But however, discreet Princes have alwayes used much moderation in this particular, because they ever conceived violent means were proper in the first growth, and when it might quickly destroy Heresie, without any likelihood of its springing up again; but that being once spread abroad and increased, Rigors and Severities would more fix and confirm it; besides the confusions and disorders which would follow in the State, by such cruelties and punishments. It should seem that for the confirmation of this their judgment, the Son of God prohibited his Disciples from picking out the Tares from the wheat, which grew together in the field, and were hard to be divided, it being

being most certain, that it is full as difficult, nay no lesse impossible to exterminate Heresie, when multiplyed, without great confusion even to the State where it is, and some trouble to the true Church it self. But granting all this to be so, yet the Laws of Prudence, do not allow, of at least, whilst a Prince may avoid it, that he should grant them any Towns or Places for the exercise of their Heresie; for that were to divide his Kingdome to nourish an Enemy, in his bosome, to foment a Rebellion against himself, and to furnish them with arms and means to cut his own throat; It is also to give advantage unto strangers, who are still fishing in troubled States, and hindreth a Prince from assisting his Allyes, when their necessities and his own Interests invite him to it: and in fine it were to expose himself, the true Church and Professors of true Religion, unto a thousand affronts and tyrannies. That Prince, who allows them but weapons, submits himself to greater troubles then he is aware of, but he who employeth his power to destroy them, doth an Act not onely of Religion and Generosity, but also of great Prudence and discretion.

*The Kings departure on the fifteenth of* January, *in the year one thousand six hundred twenty and nine, towards* Piedmont.

THe same day, that his Majesty went to the Pallace, to publish his Declaration & Ordinances, and to cause the Power which he had comitted to the Queen his Mother to be read, he likewise departed out of *Paris* towards *Cazal*. But I may not passe by the observation of a singular act of Prudence, in his Majesty, who had already advanced the most part of his Forces to *Auvergne*, under the command of *Monsieur de Theyras*, immediately after the taking of *Rochel*, that he might every day draw them neerer and neerer to the place, where he intended to make use of them, insomuch that he lost not one hours time, upon which he knew the successe of affairs did often depend. His Majesty, desired to go by the way of *Bourgogne*, and *Champagne*; as well to avoid the sickness, which was very hot, upon the Road of *Lion*, as also because he had not as yet, passed by the Towns of *Troyes*, *Dion* or *Chaalus*, Where he made his entrance with great Splendour and Magnificence shewing the people by this, what respect, they were obliged to shew unto him.

*Politick Observation*

WIse *Politicians* have not thought it proper for a King to let himself be often seen by the subjects, yet they have all concluded it fit, that he should visit at least once the principal Cities of his Kingdome. This gives them an acquaintance of the people, whom they are to governe, and the magnificence with which they are accompanied makes impressions of obedience in the thoughts of their subjects; Which magnificence doth so much the more contribute to beget respect, because the people are often guided by their own sences, and Kings ought not to neglect occasions of making themselves, reverenced and esteemed. The Sun is venerable in our eyes by reason of his lustre and Splendor, and with the vulgar nothing doth breed so great a reverence towards the persons of their Princes, as the pomp where with they are accompanied: whence it comes to passe that many have been of opinion, that a King ought not to make himself be feared, yet none ever thought but he was obliged to use all means to beget a respect and obedience toward him. Humility is a virtue, which in this particular is to be dispenced with, because the meanuess of his train or reception could diminish the respects of his people, and for this reason it is that God hath obliged them to enforce that honour, which is due unto them, and to maintain themselves in a State correspondent to their Majesty, in reference whereunto the wisest Kings would not permit any to approach near their persons, but with great respects, and seldome would appear in publick, but when with great attendance. The ancient Kings of the *Persians*, *Medes* and *Indians*, required their subjects to salute them prostrate on the ground: Amongst those

those of *China* they are adored like Gods, others are served upon the knee and suffer themselves to be seen but seldome, and then with great Ceremony too, and men do the more readily reverence them in regard God Almighty hath stamped his image upon them for their greater honour, and that there is still something in their face that speaks them more than humane.

*The Duke of* Lorrain *comes to visit the King before his departure and promiseth after his return to come and do him homage for the Dutchy of* Bar.

WHiles the King was at *Chaalons*, the Duke of *Lorrain* came thither to wait upon him, hoping that by his bare complements & civilities he might satisfy his Majesty without doing homage for the Dutchy of *Bar*, which was in his possession by the death of his predecessour. The King had often called upon him to do his homage, knowing that as God had put the crown upon his head, so he was by it obliged no lesse to preserve the Authority which he had given him over stranger Princes, then over his own subjects. The Duke refused it not, but pretended that the Dutchy of *Bar* belonged to him in chief, as also that of *Lorrain* by virtue of a certain Salique Law, which had been likewise confirmed by those of his Family, and was yet to be seen amongst his old Records, and thereupon would do homage in his own name and not in his wifs to whom really it belonged. The King, who could not endure injustice, would not permit that the Dutchess his wife, who had put the Ducal Coronet upon his head should be so dealt with; but resolved that either shee should do the homage, or he in her name. Upon this account it was that he came to assure his Majesty, he would suddenly after his return acquit himself of the homage in that form, which should be thought reasonable, and in the mean while to beseech him, that he would excuse him for some little time. He presented unto his Majesty a Kennel of as find hounds as could be seen, which his Majesty kindly accepted of, and yet to let him see that he looked upon hunting onely as a diversion, when other important State affairs gave him some leisure time, he hereupon made him a discourse which is not amisse to be observed in this place, for the instruction of Soveraigns, in what degree they ought to hold those recreations, which tend to their pleasure. 'Cozen, said he, I have left off hunting, I must confesse, I delight in it, when other affairs give me leave; but at present my thoughts are altogether taken up to show how affectinately I intereſt my self with my Allies; after I shall have relieved the Duke of *Mantua*, I may perchance return to my old recreations, till some other of my friends may have occasion to make use of me. And most certain it is, his pleasures never withdrew him from the ears of his State. He would be informed very exactly of all affairs how mean soever, neither would he allot any time for the recreations which other Princes used to allow themselves, because his piety forbid him, as knowing them to be contrary to the Laws of God.

*Politique Observation.*

HUnting is a kind of war, not onely, not misbeseeming, but sometimes very commendable in a Prince. It was *Xenophons* advice in his *Cyropædia*, It teacheth them, saith he, to rise betimes, It inures them to heats and colds, habituates them to riding and all other labours. The resistance which salvage beasts make against them teacheth them to fight, and to use their Weapons seeing they ought to observe a time when to beat them, when to prevent them, and to have the free command of their body to cast themselves to and fro when once they come up upon the pursuit. Doth not the chasing of those who may endanger them accustome them not to fear any perils? I have often observed that those Princes who are great hunters, have been likewise esteemed very valiant. History tells us so in the examples of *Ulysses*, *Pelopidas*, *Pompei*, *Alexander*. The Prince of *Roman* eloquence, saith that a man at

hunting uſeth a kind of military exerciſe. *Plinius Secundus* thought it the more agreeable for Princes, it being a ſolitary and ſilent exerciſe, and giving them leiſure to think on their State affairs; to which give me leave to add one effect more which renders this recreation very commendable in Kings, and that is, it keeps them from vice. It is reported that *Hippolytus*, *Theſeus* his Son, did uſe this diverſion to live chaſtly and avoid idleneſſe, the ſource of all vices and evills. The Poets feigned that *Diana* ſpent moſt part of her time in that manner in the company of *Arethuſa*, *Caliſta*, *Crana* and divers other Nymphs, who were all deſirous to preſerve their virginities, each of them knowing, that they were expoſed to many Shipwracks, by the divers companies with whom they converſed. *Plutarch* obſerved upon the life of *Pompey*, that this great conquerour imagined that Princes get no little honour by this exerciſe, and after he had vanquiſhed *Domitius* in Africque, and reduced all in thoſe Countries to his power, himſelf ſpent ſome dayes in hunting Lions and Elephants, to the end, quoth he, that the ſtouteſt beaſts themſelves might not be ignorant of the Romans good fortune and courage,

## *A Victory obtained by the Kings Forces againſt thoſe of the Duke of* Savoy *upon the* 14. *of* February, 1629.

THe King departing from *Chaalons*, paſſed by *Lyons* (but did not go into the Citie, by reaſon of the ſickneſſe) to *Grenoble*, where he ſtaid 7. or 8. dayes, during which he oftentimes ſent to the Duke of *Savoy* to acquaint him that he was come thither, reſolved to relieve *Cazal*, and to demand paſſage through his States, which he was obliged by Treaties to grant, under aſſurance of not doing any acts of hoſtility or any other damage. The Duke being engaged with the Spaniard, and having promiſed them to aſſiſt them in the taking of *Cazal*, as *Comte Louis d'Aſt*, one of his Reſidents at *Rome* had openly declared, had recourſe to his uſual artifices, and returned many complements and fairs words: he beſeeched his Majeſty to give him leave to find out ſome expedient to diſ-engage him of thoſe promiſes he had made to the Spaniard: The Duke propoſed ſeveral overtures, but ſo void of reaſon and Juſtice, that it was no hard matter to diſcern his intent was onely to ſtay the King until *Cazal* was taken, which as was well known, could not hold out above ---- dayes, but it was all in vain: for the King (a perſon not to be delayed but with juſt reaſons, and who was well aſſured that *Cazal* would yet hold out in expectation of him two full moneths) marched from *Grenoble*, and by great *Journies* came to *Oux*, a place bordering upon the Frontire and paſſage of *Suze*. The Duke having but ill intelligence, heard not of his Majeſties advancing, for indeed he made ſuch haſte, that it was hardly credible but by them who were eye witneſſes of it. The Duke thought he had been ſtill at *Grenoble*, when indeed he was not far off *Suze*: But for fear of that ſtorm which threatned him, he reſolved to ſend the Prince of *Piedmont* his Son to delay his Majeſty, by giving him ſome hopes of opening the paſſages, not without expectation that *Cazal* would in the mean while be taken. The Prince was hardly come to *Chamberry*, but he heard the Kings Army was paſſed the Mount of *Geneva*, this made him return directly to *Chaumont*, where he found the Cardinal already arrived with the Vanguard. He had at that place a long diſcourſe with his Eminence, who no leſſe powerful in his words than arms, entertained him with a great deal of addreſſe, and preſſed upon him ſuch reaſons, that he at laſt promiſed to do whatever ſhould be deſired of him. The Cardinal at firſt told him, he was much aſtoniſhed that notwithſtanding the Treaties between *France* and *Savoy*, that his Majeſty and his Army ſhould be denied to paſſe his Country, to aſſiſt one of his Allyes; Hee remonſtrated to him, how injurious this procedure was to the honour of a Prince, it being contrary to his word and faith; that his Majeſties Arms marched in a juſt cauſe, but that his did unjuſtly protect injuſtices; That if he ſhould have the advantage at any time to hinder his Majeſty from entring into *Italy* (which however he could not well hope for) yet it would be as great a diſcredit to him, to

ſupport

ſupport an unjuſt oppreſſion, as the deſign of a protecting a Prince would be glorious to his Majeſty: withal that he did apparently deceive himſelf, if he imagined to raiſe any advantage by aſſiſting the Spaniard in the taking of *Cazal*: that his hopes of ſharing the *Montferrat* between them, was vain, and that they would ſuffer him to have no greater a part than in ſix hundred and thirteen, when they abſolutely oppoſed him, and that the moſt he could expect, was ſome paltry Town: whereas adhering to his Majeſty, he would find means to induce *Monſieur de Mantua* to let him have *Trin*, and other handſome places to the yearly rent of fifteen thouſand Crowns. That withal he diſobliged the Princes and extreamly much wronged himſelf by favouring the growing greatneſs of *Spain* in *Italy*, upon which they had already teſtified but too great a deſign: That *Cazal* would give him great advantages and that he had the more reaſon to be ſuſpitious of it himſelf, he being ſo near a borderer upon *Milan*; and that the Spaniard having drawn him off from France would quickly invade his territory, as being aſſured himſelf alone could not reſiſt him. It were much to be wiſhed that we knew the Cardinal's whole diſcourſe in this conference, or that I could diſcribe the gracefulneſs and authority, with which he ſpoke. But that not being, I ſhall content my ſelf to ſay, that it is impoſſible to defend ones ſelf againſt his diſcourſe, when he undertakes to perſwade any thing, his words being accompanied with certain charms which in a little while force a ſurrender. It is not poſſible long to deny him, his diſcourſes are repleniſhed with ſuch an, I know not what ſweetneſſe, which inſinuateth it ſelf into the heart, his geſture and complaſance do no leſſe ſecond his diſcourſe, and they ought to be eſteemed for ſuch, as the beſt wits have confeſſed, it was impoſſible to defend themſelves from him, whatever promiſes they had made of ſticking cloſe to any reſolutions of theirs contrary to his deſires.

*Politique Obſervation.*

ELoquence is an ornament, ſo much the more neceſſary for great States-men, in regard they are obliged more then others to perſwade diverſe things to the people, and thoſe Grandees with whom they treat. The Roman Prince of Eloquence ſaith, It is Rhetorick which raiſeth men above beaſts, and I may add that it is Eloquence and a volubility of diſcourſe gives a States-man great advantages over thoſe with whom he treats. Prudence teacheth him good counſels, and the wayes to obtain his ends, but Eloquence is that which gives him the perſwaſive power, ſo that in ſome ſence, it is the ſoul of Counſels. Raſh Eloquence would do him no good, it being like counterfeit Gold, glitters indeed, but is worth nothing; and a mute prudence, where there is a defect of good expreſſion, is of no great uſe, but is like a fair ſtatue whoſe proportions and ſculpture are admired by every one, but cannot ſpeak, whereas Eloquence and Prudence joyned together work miracles. The Ancient Sages, ſaith *Cicero*, who have eſtabliſhed the foundations and Laws of the moſt famous States, as *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Pittacus* and the like were equally endued both with one and the other, with prudence for the invention of thoſe juſt Laws, which they publiſhed, and with Eloquence for the perſwading the people to receive them. It cannot be denied but that Eloquence was one of thoſe qualities which did inſinuate into the peoples belief that Doctrine, which Jeſus Chriſt preached, ſeeing the Goſpel it ſelf recorded it, where it is ſaid, that the ſweetneſſe of thoſe words which came from his mouth, raviſhed the people with admiration. And who can doubt of the power which Rhetorick hath on mens minds, ſeeing that tongues were the firſt Arms given the Apoſtles, when they were ſent abroad to preach? Indeed there cannot be an handſomer ornament added to the dignity of great Miniſters, then to diſcourſe well, nor really ſtronger Arms to their Prudence. Their affairs will continually lead them to treat with Grandees, who muſt be ſatisfied with reaſons, which when well expreſſed, are the more perſwaſive. They muſt know how to appeaſe, to mollifie, or provoke paſſions by the addreſſe of their diſcourſe according as occaſion requites. Is it moſt certain that naked reaſon is

commonly weak, whereas clothed with the ornaments of Rhetorick, it captivateth the ſoul, inſinuateth into the moſt unreaſonable, cureth the diſaffected, ſoftneth the moſt obdurate hearts, reclaimeth the moſt irregular actions; and in a word exerciſeth an abſolute empire over the will? The Athenians were not ignorant of it, when being oppreſſed by *Alexanders* Arms to deprive themſelves either of their Captains or Orators, they choſe rather to baniſh the former than the latter, preferring the Gown before the Sword. Eloquence in the perſon of a States-man is then moſt powerful, when accompanied with affability and complaſance; for theſe virtues rendring his perſon as well as his reaſon agreeable, do inſinuate themſelves with ſuch power and charms, that it is impoſſible to hold out againſt them.

### *Proſecution of the Hiſtory.*

THE Prince of *Piedmont* had promiſed to return the next morning with the Duke of *Savoy's* ratification, but however he came not, his perſwaſions not having that power over the Dukes reaſon, as the Cardinals had over his. He only ſent the *Comte de Verrüe* with Complements and Civilities, in ſtead of a poſitive reſolution. The King was not ſatisfied with it, and *Monſieur* the Cardinal, who is in nothing more ſenſible, then that which concerneth his Majeſties glory, took theſe delayes of the Duke of *Savoy* with a great deal of regret and Impatience; So that his Prudence telling him, there was no more time to be loſt, he ſent word unto his Majeſty, that the next morn by day-break he would ſecure the paſſages; who unwilling to let the attempt be made without him, told him he would make one of the party; to which end he preſently took Horſe, and accordingly having taken order, and given inſtructions concerning the main Body of the Army then neer him, he came away about ten or twelve at night, and march't four leagues in ſo great a darkneſſe, that he was forced for the moſt part to walk on foot; yet at laſt he came to *Chaumont*, where he met the Marſhals *de Crequy*, *Baſſompierre* and the *Schomberg*, with the Cardinal contriving every thing for the aſſault, and for carying of the Baricadoes upon the very firſt break of day, which they were all reſolved to do, notwithſtanding the ſnows, the wearineſſe of the Souldiers, and the fight it ſelf, which could not be but furious, in regard the Duke of *Savoy* had laid his choyſeſt forces for the guarding of thoſe paſſages, which of themſelves were ſo ſtrait and ſtrong that a hundred men might defend them.

### *Politick Obſervation*

IT is no leſſe advantagious than ſeemly for a Prince to give Orders in his Battels, and to appear in his own perſon to ſee them executed as well by his example as command. I ſay it is ſeemly, in regard Kings have not received their ſwords from the hand of God, onely to devolve the charge and conduct of their Armies upon their Captains; Their crowns are not beſtowed on them ſo much for the honour of their own perſons, as to oblige them to maintain and encreaſe by the prudence of their counſels, and the force of their Arms, the glory of their States: they are like the Sun, who doth not onely communicate part of its light and influence to the Stars, to the end they might contribute to the generation and conſervation of all things here below; but doth likewiſe himſelf daily go round the world to co-operate with all particular cauſes, and doth in ſome ſence do all in every thing; thus likewiſe a great Prince ought to watch whatever happens of importance in his Army; to paſſe from Quarter to Quarter, and to iſſue out all principal Orders from himſelf, without relying on his Officers, but in things of leſſe conſequence; remembring the excellent Counſel which *Saluſt* gave *Ceſar*, when he told him that they, who are advanced to an high degree of honour in a State, are obliged to be much more vigilant and careful than others. Who can expreſſe the advantage which happens to a King by being himſelf the Oracle of his Counſels, who obligeth his Soldiers to obſerve his Orders, as well by his example as command. The example

of

of a King needs not indeed any words of command, for it inſinuateth it ſelf into their courages, and animateth them with ſuch reſolution, that it leads them to all enterpriſes how dangerous ſoever; his courage is the fire which heats all his Soldiers, and the leaſt action which he ſhall do among them, will more powerfully perſwade them to fight, then any words he can give them, be they never ſo many or fair. Was it not for this reaſon that *Germanicus*, as *Tacitus* relateth, uſed to open his Helmet in his Battels, that he might make himſelf known to his Soldiers; that the Kings of *Perſia* went bare-headed, and that *Cyrus*, as *Xenophon* witneſſeth, would often call his Captains and Soldiers by their names, and give them ſuch Orders, as himſelf ſaw fit? and doth he not give a good reaſon for it, where he ſaith, that if a Phyſitian were to be blamed for not knowing the names of his medicines, and the artificer for being ignorant of the uſe of his inſtruments; a Prince deſerves much more to be diſcommended, if he knoweth not the names of his Officers and Soldiers, the inſtruments of the glory which he acquireth in Armes?

*The Proſecution of the Hiſtory.*

THe Duke of *Savoy* had great advantages in this fight, the paſſages were of themſelves very ſtrait and uncouth, that there was no great need of any forces to hinder their aſcent; a few perſons are enough to ſtop them, excepting againſt his Majeſty, whom all things obey: he had placed for the defence of them the very choiſeſt troops of his Army, whereas thoſe of his Majeſty were newly come off from the diſorders of a ſiege, which had laſted above a year, and had alſo ſuffered the hardſhips of a march near 200 leagues long, during all which they had been fought by the rains, ſnows, and colds of a ſharp winter. But his Majeſty knowing what mettle his preſence infuſed into his Soldiers, and ſeeing there was not a man amongſt them, who thought not himſelf happy in being expoſed to all ſorts of hazards, he reſolved that all thoſe hardſhips ſhould not divert him from acquiring freſh victories: However knowing that it is Gods providence, which doth contribute more then mans force to happy ſucceſſes, he would hear Maſſe before he engaged with the Enemy, to recommend his enterpriſe to God; then he came into the field with the Cardinal between 6 and 7 in the morning, and gave order what troops ſhould make the onſet. The Duke of *Savoy* had formed 3 Baracados before the paſſages, the firſt a Quarter of a league from *Chaumont* near upon the borders between France and *Savoy*, the 2 about a quarter of a league farther of, and the 3 under the Fort *de Gelaſſe*, ſcituated upon a rock, at the foot of which they muſt of neceſſity paſſe at the mercy of the Cannons and muſket. All 3 were 12 foot thick and large, 20 high, the Ditch deep, and 8 foot over to defend the Avenues; He had likewiſe made between 25 and 30 Redoubts guarded by 2700 choiſe men. Upon the firſt diſcovery of their ſcituation, the victory was thought difficult, but as there is nothing impoſſible to the King and the Cardinal, they lead up their forces at the firſt peep of day. The King had ſent the *Sieur de Comminges* to the firſt Baracado, to demand paſſage for the Marſhals of his Majeſties Army, to the intent they might go to *Suze*, as friends, and under aſſurance of doing no hurt. The *Comte de Verrüe* appeared, and demanded ſome time to acquaint the Duke of *Savoy* with it, who was not then far off, and told him that he did not come to demand it with any ſhew of peace, but however they ſhould be ſure to guard their paſſages, and that they had not now to do with the Engliſh. The *Sieur de Comminges* replied, he had not any order to wait, and that he ſhould ſhortly find the French knew as well to beat the *Piedmontois* as the Engliſh: at the ſame inſtant, it being no longer time to dally, the Marſhals *de Creqny* and *de Baſſompierre*, aſſiſted by the *Sieurs d'Auriac* the Commandeur *de Valençay* and *de Thoiras* Marſhals of the Camp, made ready for the fight. *Le Comte de Sault* advanced with the forlorne hope being about ſix ſcore, next to them followed the Kings Muſkettiers and the Regiment of the Guard, the Duke *de Langueville* being in the head of the Voluntier Nobility. The Dukes *de la Trimoüille* and *de Halloin* led up the files, as alſo the *Sieurs de Lyon Court*, *de Breze*

and *de S. Simon*, the troups being seconded by the Regiment of *Suisses*, *d'Estissac* & *de Navarre*, who advanced upon the left wing. The *Comte d'Essaule* falling on with his Forces, came up to the Barricado's, defended by *Marc Antonio Belon* one of *Piedmont*, assaulted and forced them in the midst of a shower of musket shot which fell upon them. The Enemies endured the first charge with great courage, both parts being equally resolute; so that the one defended themselves as gallantly as the others assaulted them, till at last a party of the French foot opening one of the passages fell like lightning upon the Duke of *Savoy's* forces, and Barricado's, presently forced them and became Masters of the passage, and also of *Suze* after they had slaine, wounded and routed whatever resisted them. Amongst those who were wounded, the *Comte de Verrüe* was observed to have a shot in his cheek, and the *Marquisse de Ville* General of the Horse had his shoulder broken by a musket shot. There were 9 Colours taken which were without any great trouble presented to his Majesty because he was himself in that action, and amongst diverse Prisoners there were 10 or 12 Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns.

*Politique Observation.*

A Generous mind is never dismaid at the fear of danger, or if perchance it make any impression on him, it is onely to oblige him to give necessary orders to overcome them. It is enough that he know he must vanquish and that his duty obligeth him to make a virtue of necessity. He is more apprehensive of the discredit to loose an occasion of glory, then of the mis-fortune, and is alwayes more careful to preserve his honour, than his life, his courage fortifies him, and makes him confident of the means dictated by his prudence; he doth not fight rashly with his eyes shut as the Andabates, or precipitate himself into dangers without looking what is necessary to secure himself, but guiding his courage by reason, he takes such Order as is fit and needful, and then engageth without fear. There is no courage so commendable as that which is accompanied with prudence, and when the heat of Anger exciteth an obligation to repel al obstacles, his reason ought to serve him in examining his designs, his prudence to make choise of those means which are most likely to obtain an happy successe, and his Anger to make him quick in action. Last of all he delay, not the exposing himself to combates, where his prudence tell him there is not any danger, but knowing that fortune is the friend of courage, and doth often favour the bold, he assaults his enemies as soon as ever his prudence hath given Orders for the fight: he carrieth deeply engraved in his heart that saying of *Salust*, They who are most fearful, run most hazards; and sure it is, confidence is a rampart, and every thing gives way to him who fals in with courage, as every thing repelleth him who is carried away with cowardize. To apprehend resistance is to be half overcome and he who scornes danger is half master of his enterprise. Valour is very needful for the obtaining of an happy successe in all affairs. Fire is the noblest of all the Elements, because it worketh quickest, and nothing resisteth it; and that man is most to be commended for his courage, who acteth the most boldly, and whom no dangers are able to affright: It is also true, that resolutenes doth oftentimes bring a good issue, where prudence and counsel had no part: whence it happears that in many affairs of war, long deliberation is unnecessary and often prejudical in the successe of attempts, besides the diminishing of his honour, who conducteth them. Something must be ventured, and where there is no clear demonstration of a good successe, there a good resolution seconded with judgment will go far, which once concluded on, then comes action into play and the sword to execute.

## *The Prince of* Piedmont *comes to* Suze *with full power from the Duke of* Savoy *to Treat with the King.*

PResently after this victory the King sent to summon the Governour of the Fort *Jaillon*, belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, bordering upon *Suze*, to surrender: he refused it, but not long after fled with 300 men into the mountains, and left the Fort to the Country people, who left it to the King, who put 100 Soldiers in guard there. At the same time his Majesty caused some forces to march to *Roussillon*, a league and half from *Suze*, being in all about an 1000 foot and 2000 Horse, under the Command of the Marshals *de Crequy* and *Bassompierre*, who were saluted by those in the Cittadel of *Suze* with about 1000 musket, and 200 great shot, but no hurt, onely the wounding of about a dozen men; This insolency of theirs made his Majesty resolve to assault the Cittadel, and for that purpose the Regiment *Estissac* was drawn out upon the top of *Mount Brunet*, which adjoyneth to it; In the mean while hearing that the Duke of *Savoy* began to repent his being engaged with the Spaniards, and opposing of the French, fearing belike (and that not without good reason) that his State would be seized on as a punishment of his rashness, his Majesty sent the *Sieur de Seneterre* towards him to understand with he did intend to do, and to let him know, that if he would hearken to an accomodation, that his Majesty out of his natural goodness, and in consideration of Madam his Sister, would forget what was past, without making any other advantage of his victories, onely for the assisting of his design to raise the siege of *Cuzal*, he expected to be assured of the passages for the conveyance of victuals to his Army, and to be furnished with all things to revictual it, paying for what he had. The Duke thought himself very happy to be quiet upon such slender terms, and presently dispatched the Prince *de Piedmont* towards the Cardinal, to make the Treaty, impowering him to give his Majesty all content. The Prince came to *Suze*, and the same day it was concluded with *Monsieur* the Cardinal, that the Duke of *Savoy* should give free passage through his Country to the Kings Army, that he should furnish the markets both to *Cuzal* and back again, that he should contribute to the revictualling of *Cuzal*, by furnishing victuals and munition of war, for which his Majesty should pay him; withal, that in future he should open such passages as the King should desire, and should set out as many Soldiers for the securing of *Montferrat*, if need were, as his Majesty should think fit; that for the better assurance of his promise, his highness should presently deliver the *Cittadel de Suze*, a the Fort *de Gelasse* into his Majesties hands, and shortly after things being thus concluded, he came to salute his Majesty, and tendred him all kinds of respect.

### *Politique Observation.*

NOthing is so requisite in a Prince as to attempt all things with Justice, and such as are within his power, without this he will inevitably fall into confusion, and see himself exposed to as much shame, as he proposed glory. Imprudence is the spring of ill successe, and rashness throws a Prince into the Gulph of confusion; it inforceth the courages of those who have more heat than judgment, charming them with a certain show of glory, for which it makes them hope; but indeed, onely to engage them in greater disasters. True generosity consisteth not in a blind impetuous rage, which adventures upon all, without considering the power, or weighing the design by the Laws of prudence; but it follows a *medium* between defect and excess; Holding the head too high doth oftentimes throw down into *precipices*: and the want of prudence is no lesse dangerous, for it oftentimes obligeth to discover not onely a deficiency of power, but also of heart. That Prince is greatly to be blamed, who falls upon a King incomparably more powerful than himself, and who pretends with an handful of men to oppose that, which at last he will be forced

to

to grant. It is no ſhame for neceſſity to take the Law of one that is more powerful, but if power prevail, the who is forced to it, is diſcredited with intereſt: beſides, in paſſages, how ſtrait or difficult ſoever they be, he cannot be able to defend himſelf from the danger which is falling on him, unleſs he be very ſtrong ſeeing that enemy, who comes to aſſault him with a great Army, will at laſt force him, although they looſe ſome men in the gaining it: Commonly there is not above one or two difficult places in a paſſage, and it is impoſſible, but that a great Army of reſolute men ſhould gain them. In fine when they who defend them ſhall find an whole Army thundring in upon them, it ſtrikes a terror into them ſo that they are forced to fly, and by that means deſtroyed, for this reaſon the Romans would never put themſelves to the trouble of keeping any paſſes, unleſs they ſaw it neceſſary to expect the Enemy, becauſe they who were in the chief Stands, ſhould be alwayes aſſiſted: but it is not the ſame thing when a Garriſon hath nothing to ſecond it, or where there are no reſerves to aſſiſt thoſe whom an Enemy ſhall firſt have routed.

### *The Duke of* Mantua *is delivered from the Spaniſh oppreſſion by his Majeſties Forces.*

*Dom Gonçales de Cordua*, Governor of *Milan*, who commanded the ſiege of *Cazal*, upon his firſt hearing of this Treaty, reſolved to break up the Leager; It had been concluded by one of the private Articles, for the ſatisfaction of him, That the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhould give him information, how his Majeſty upon the ſaid Dukes aſſurance of him, that the Spaniards had not any intention to deſpoile the Duke of *Mantua* of his Eſtates, had been contented, that there ſhould be ſome Swiſſes put into *Nice de la Paille*, who ſhould declare they held it in depoſit in the name of the Emperor, but upon promiſe and aſſurance, to reſtore it unto the Duke of *Mantua*, or his Aſſigns, at the end of one month, whether the Emperor ſhould by that time have inveſted him in the ſaid Dutchee or not; and that as to the reſt, his Majeſty had not any deſign to fall upon any the Territories, of his Brother in Law, the King of *Spain*, but did deſire ſtill to continue in friendſhip and a good Correſpondency with him. This was the leaf wherewith this Spaniſh Pill was guilded, *Dom Gonçales* ſtaid not long for any farther Illuſtration of this Article, but raiſed the ſiege before his Majeſty came neer him, as doubting leaſt his ſtay there, would only ſerve for an addition of glory to the French Army, which they had all ready got at *Suze*; ſo he marched away about the fifteenth or ſixteenth night, leaving the City to rejoyce, that they were now delivered from thoſe miſeries, which for two months laſt paſt they had endured, in which time they had eaten all the Horſes, Doggs and Ratts, which they could lay hold on: The Duke of *Savoy* relieved them, with thoſe Victuals which he had promiſed, and thus his Majeſty obtained all the Honor, and ſucceſſe in this enterpriſe, that his heart could deſire; this Fortune and Courage ſeemed in emulation of each other to conſpire his glory, which indeed was a debt, due to the Juſtice of his cauſe, who though he might at that time, have over-run all *Italy* and made himſelf maſter of it, as was well known to every one, yet he contented himſelf, with the having delivered the Duke of *Mantua*, from the Spaniſh Tyranie and oppreſſion.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

ALthough Prudence have a great ſhare in good Succeſſe, yet the greateſt Captains have held, that Fortune, hath no ſmall part in it; Prudence alone may indeed make ſome progreſſe towards it; but Fortune is at laſt needful to be joyned with it towards the obtaining of the propoſed end: hence it was that *Octavian* making wiſhes for his little Son, deſired he might have the Gravity of *Pompey*, the Courage of *Cæſar* and his own good Fortune. For this reaſon likely it was that *Seyravenaes* a Perſian, as *Plutarch* in his Morals hath recorded it; anſwered unto

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ſome who were admiring that his enterprizes ſhould have ſuch ill ſucceſſe; ſeeing in his diſcourſe he ſeemed to be a very prudent and diſcreet man. That he was onely Maſter of his Language, but that Fortune was Maſter in Military Affairs. And do we not for this reaſon likewiſe, ſay, that the diſcreet man is not obliged to render an accompt of thoſe enterpriſes which depend as much on Chance, as Conduct, but onely of his Councels, which is the onely thing that was in his power to diſpoſe? It is ſometimes onely Fortune which raiſeth a ſiege without a ſtroke; it is Fortune which doth ſometimes ſtrike a terrour into an enemies Forces, that they have hardly the courage to defend themſelves; Fortune it is which hath often opened the ſtrongeſt places at the firſt Summons; and it is Fortune, which at the appearance of an Army, hath cauſed many Provinces to ſtoop under their Power and Obedience. But notwithſtanding all this, we muſt not conceive Fortune to be, as the Heathens did, a blind Goddeſſe, who over ruleth Battels, and giveth the Victory to what ſide ſhe pleaſeth; no, it is of the divine Providence, that I ſpeak, which is uſually ſo called, when any thing befalleth us above our expectation, or beyond our hopes. God is the firſt cauſe of all good ſucceſſe, and it is his onely gift, he it is who bleſſeth Councels, and it is by the favour of his influences, that we ſee good fruits or follow ſage reſolutions. Neither may we imagine, that the Prudence of great men doth not contribute to an happy ſucceſſe; for they are the inſtruments of Gods power, but not ſuch as are dead and void of life, or ſuch as want motion and action to co-operate with the firſt cauſe. As it may be ſaid that *Alexander* was fortunate in all his enterprizes: But this fortune was improved by Prudene, conſerved by cares, preſerved by Labours, and ſeconded by Courages. Moſt certain it is, thoſe extraordinary events which the vulgar attribute to hazard, do for the moſt part arrive by the Prudence and Conduct of wiſe, eminent men, who operate by Springs, which are the more eſteemable by bein inviſible to the vulgar, yet ſuch as procure no leſſe glory in the minds of them who are able to judge aright of things, though they fall not under the Rules and Laws of mean and ordinary underſtandings.

*Proſecution of the Hiſtory.*

HIS Majeſty in this Treaty had obtained as much advantage as could be deſired againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, yet he deſired to let him ſee, or at leaſt ſome of his party who might relate it to him, that he had power enough to have forced it from him, if he had not done it by fair means. His Majeſty laid hold on the occaſion, upon Madam, the Princeſſe of *Piedmonts* comming to *Suze* to viſit him, he entertained her with a great deal of kindneſs, according to the particular friendſhip which he had alwayes for her, and deſigned that the honour wherewith he treated her, and the Prince of *Piedmont* then with him might learn him, that he had no reaſon to ingage ſo eaſily with the enemies of *France*. His Majeſty went before her, and cauſing part of the Army to follow him, he placed the reſt in Battalia by the way ſide, in ſuch places where they might beſt be ſeen; that the Prince of *Piedmont* might with his own eyes behold, that he ought not upon a ſmall occaſion, ingage ſo many of the brave Nobility and reſolute Souldiers, to return a ſecond time into his Fathers Country of *Savoy*, leſt they made him pay for all his Treacheries together.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is no leſſe Policy in a Prince to make himſelf feared by ſtrangers, then beloved by his own Subjects. To pretend that he is in friendſhip with them were a vanity, for they having no end but intereſt care not for any one longer then he is uſefull. The greateſt peece of their friendſhip, is, not to offend their neighbours, or attempt upon their Territories, and there are but a few who are thus reſerved; whence it happens that he who ſheweth them his Power, and ſometimes lets them feel his

ſtrength, that he may curb them by fear, is the moſt of all to bee commended.

I do not approve that he ſhould make himſelf feared by abuſing of his power, or by uſing any injuſtice or cruelty upon them, as the Houſe of *Auſtria* hath for a long time together; but that he ſhould let them know he hath wherewithal to puniſh them, in caſe they attempt to do any thing repugnant to their duties. There are but two ways to retain men in moderation, love, and fear, if the firſt be not ſufficient, then the ſecond muſt be made uſe of. No one will eaſily be provoked to offend a Soveraign, who hath ability to revenge it; and nothing is more natural then to reſpect them whoſe power is feared. They ought to render themſelves reſpected and feared according to the example of God Almighty, whoſe ſtretched out Arm is terrible through all the World, not becauſe he imployeth it to do evil, but ſeverely to chaſtiſe thoſe who offend and provoke him to indignation and diſpleaſure.

## *Certain Intreagues of the Ladies at* Paris, *concerning* Monſieurs *pretended Marriage with the Princeſs* Maria *of* Mantua.

DUring that little ſtay which his Majeſty made at *Suze*, there happened a dangerous Intreague at *Paris* about the Queen Mother, ſhe had deſigned to match *Monſieur* with a daughter of *Florence*; but finding how particularly he was inclined to the Princeſſe *Maria* daughter to the Duke of *Mantua*, ſhe was much troubled at it, although that Princeſſe by reaſon of thoſe admirable qualities both of her perſon and birth, was not thought altogether unworthy of ſo great a match. The King himſelf was much of this opinion, out of the particular eſteem which he had for the Princeſſe although at that time he had not poſitively reſolved on it, by reaſon it was ſo lately that *Monſieur* had buried his Lady. Now it happened that certain Ladies of quality, who were alwaies near and about the Queen Mother, uſed their utmoſt indeavours to hinder *Monſieurs* marrying with the Princeſſe *Maria*. Some of them becauſe they had hopes of having him to marry into their Alliance and becauſe it was againſt their particular Intereſts; otherſome who did not aſpire ſo high, made uſe of it to incenſe the Queen Mother againſt the Cardinal, pretending that he ſupported this of *Mantua*, in excluſion of her choice of that *Florence*. The Queen Mother had never diſcovered any violence in her Conduct; but ſhe was at laſt ſo beleaguered by thoſe of this Cabal, that they tranſported her ſo far as to command the *Sieur de Cuſac*, one of her Gentlemen in Ordinary to take ſome Archers of the Garde, to go to Columniers and Arreſt the Princeſſe, with the Dowager *de Longueville*, and to Conduct them to the *Boys de Vincennes*, whither they were accordingly carried.

*Monſieur* was at that time at *Fountainbleau*, but ſo troubled at the impriſonment of the Princeſſe, whom he much reſpected; and eſpecially, for her ill uſage at the *Boys de Vincennes*, that inſtead of comming back to *Paris*; as the Queen Mother expected, he went in a diſcontent to *Orleans*; and true it is, the diſpleaſure that he conceived at it, was one of the chief reaſons which afterwards carried him into *Lorrain*, where all thoſe wicked deſigns which have ſince been acted were contrived. The Queen Mother preſently diſpatched a Courier to *Suze*, unto his Majeſty to inform him of the reaſons which moved her to this impriſonment: And they on the Cabal having perſwaded her to lay all the blame on the Princeſſe and *Monſieur*, ſhe did ſo, though indeed their innocency might well have exempted them from any blame; beſides the intereſts of the Duke of *Mantua*, were ſo joyned with thoſe of *France*, that there was great reaſon to treat the Princeſs his daughter with all kindneſs and civility. The Queen Mother was eaſily perſwaded to follow their advice, her honour being ingaged, not to be diſowned by his Majeſty, and alſo to lay the whole fault upon them who did not deſerve it. They did uſe the

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more addreſs to confirm her Majeſty in her reſolutions becauſe they fore-ſaw that *Monſieur* the Cardinal muſt of neceſſity have a Breach either with the Queen Mother or *Monſieur*, which would much advantage their own intereſts and deſigns; Oh damnable devices! not ſufficiently puniſhable, though with the greateſt rigors, but yet ſuch devices as rendred the Queen Mother ſo much the leſs faulty, in regard, it was almoſt impoſſible for any, the moſt Prudent, to defend themſelves from ſuch baits, laid by the moſt dexterous perſons in that Art of embroyling; ſo that I cannot but aſcribe the whole blame unto thoſe women of the Cabals.

*Politique Obſervation.*

AS all Womankind hath by birth received certain qualities contrary to the good conduct of a Kingdome; ſo it is very dangerous for them who govern, to lend an ear to their charms. I cannot more fitly compare them to any thing, then to the Sun in the Spring-time, who hath then power to raiſe and attract vapors into the ayr, but not to allay or diſſipate them: Juſt thus it is with them, many are the broyls which they raiſe and foment in a State; but the remedying of any one of them lieth not in their power. It ſhould ſeem that whatever is proper to trouble the repoſe of a State, is naturally imprinted in them; every one knoweth what diſorders violence breedeth, and who can be ignorant that the heats and emotions of their Paſſions, are like impetuous torrents, which pull up Rocks, root up Trees, overthrow whatever ſtandeth in their way? they do nothing by halfs, all their deſires are accompanied with fire, and although few of their reſolutions are grounded upon any conſideration or foreſight, yet there is not any obſtacle which they will not force themſelves to overcome, in the executing of their Wills and Inclinations. Imprudence too carrieth no leſſe broyls where it goeth; this is natural to them, and dayly experience ſheweth us, that they have in all their actions more raſhneſſe then diſcretion. *Pallas* her ſelf, the Goddeſſe of Prudence, was born of *Jupiters* brain, to let us know (ſaith *Lucian*) that this virtue is hard to be met with in any women, who are born the uſual way. The ſpirit of revenge where it is Lord Paramount, is enough to ſet a State on fire; for whileſt they who are poſſeſſed with it, indeavour to execute their wills upon perſons in power, upon the leaſt reſiſtance they flie out into extremities, and by force attempt to repel force; but who are more prone to revenge then women? their natural fearfulneſſe doth the more eaſily ingage them, becauſe they attribute the moſt part of their faults, unto ſome neglect or diſ-eſteem. They have not wit enough to diſſemble thoſe many defects which are in them, though it were moſt for their advantage, eſpecially in ſuch miſcarriages as happen more by their weakneſſe then malice. Their Soul is offended at the leaſt touch, whereas great perſonages ought to know, that it is more glorious to pardon then to puniſh; Briefly, the irreſolution which they diſcover in all their actions, and which they cannot for their lives hide, is the cauſe of a thouſand diſorders, eſpecially when any one ingageth to follow their advices and directions; now they counſel one thing, and by and by another, then they know not what to reſolve, and the leaſt difficulty they meet with, maketh them change a thouſand times over. Not but that they have a reaſonable Soul, as well as the greateſt Princes that have governed on the earth; but are, as it is ſaid of the Flowers of *Ægypt*, alwaies ſoaked with the vapours of *Nile*, which being groſſe and earthy, are the cauſe that they do not yeeld ſuch fragrant ſmels as thoſe in other Countries; juſt ſo their Souls being troubled with a thouſand Paſſions, which proceed from their weakneſſe and violence, are unable to produce ſuch generous Counſels as thoſe of men, who are endued with a ſtronger and more vigorous conſtitution. I could alledge ſeveral other reaſons; but I ſhall content my ſelf with that ſaying of God himſelf, ſpeaking by the mouth of *Iſaiah* the Prophet: The Government of women (ſaith he) is one of thoſe afflictions wherewith heaven puniſheth Mankinde and that other amongſt the Verſes of the *Sybils*. A Womans Reign ſhall be eſteemed as the overthrow of the whole world.

*Proſecution of the Subject.*

THE King both Prudent and Juſt, would not condemn *Monſieur*, where he was not guilty; and yet that he might give ſome ſatisfaction to the Queen Mother, and not diminiſh the Authority, which he had committed to her in his abſence, by a diſowning of her, he reſolved on a *Medium*, which was this, he ſent the *Comte de Noient* unto *Monſieur* then at *Orleans*, to tell him, that his Majeſty would be very much pleaſed, if he would ſend unto the Queen Mother, to beſeech her to let the Princeſſe be freed from the *Boys de Vincennes*; and at the ſame time, he writ to the Queen Mother, that ſhe had done diſcreetly to hinder *Monſieurs* marriage, for which he thanked her, and aſſured her he could not willingly conſent to it: Whileſt ſhe was againſt it, onely he deſired her to deliver the Princeſſe from the *Boys de Vincennes*, in caſe *Monſieur* ſhould deſire it of her. This was as reſpectfull and ſatisfactory as the Queen Mother could have deſired; for the King did not condemn her proceedings, but ſeemed to beleeve her information, that *Monſieur* would have married the Princeſſe *Maria*, without his Majeſties permiſſion; and did moreover ſo confirm her Authority, that he would not of himſelf order the Princeſſes being ſet at liberty, but referred it to her whole diſpoſal, and deſired ſhe would rather not do it, unleſſe at *Monſieurs* intreaty. Yet notwithſtanding all this, thoſe who got the Maſtry over her ſoul, were become ſo dexterous in putting into her ſuch thoughts and motions, as were proper for their own intereſts and deſigns onely, that they perſwaded her this anſwer of his Majeſty was a diſguiſement, and not ample enough to juſtifie her Procedure, and that it was (in ſome kind) a diſowning of her. They who were the craftieſt amongſt them, durſt not openly as yet, accuſe *Monſieur* the Cardinal unto her for not contributing his utmoſt power in the procuring her a full ſatisfaction in this buſineſſe, leſt they ſhould have ſplit themſelves upon that Rock which they deſigned for his deſtruction; but they inſinuated unto the Queen Mother, that it had not been much amiſſe if the Cardinal had perſwaded his Majeſty to ſend the Princeſſe *Mari* out of *France*, without any more ado, becauſe now *Monſieur* might ſtill watch his opportunity and marry her: By this they knew, that no Logick could ſo ſoon learn the deducing of conſequences, as that of a Womans choller and ambition, which can quickly do it without teaching; and thus it cannot be imagined, what, and how many contrivances and devices they made uſe of, to incenſe her againſt the Cardinal; who in the mean while, imployed his utmoſt both of Prudence and Juſtice, to hide the violence of her Proceedings.

*Politique Obſervation.*

WHen it happeneth as oftentimes it doth, that Miniſters are to redreſſe the diſorders committed by Grandees, who are perſons tenderly to be dealt withal, they ought to follow the example of the wiſe Pilot, who though the Wind be contrary, yet he ſo ordereth his Sails by turning and winding too and fro, that he nevertheleſſe goeth on in his voyage. It is with them as with Mettals, the nobleſt are the moſt flexible, and if they want diſcretion and addreſſe to bend and comply, when occaſion is, they will be ſure to meet with enemies, who will ſtick upon their skirts. If there be any Ulcer in their minds, they muſt never open it with Iron, unleſſe there be firſt of all ſome ſoft cotten tied about it, though in a caſe of extremity, I muſt confeſſe, they are bound to make uſe of fire and Raſors to cut and burn out that which corrodeth within them, or grateth without them. Great freedom of ſpeaking the naked truth, is not proper in a Court, or amongſt Grandees, with whom all kinds of devices and Artifices are to be uſed for the diſguiſing of it; nay ſome, diſguiſe it how you will, do not willingly love to hear it. The reſpect which is paid unto them in this kind, is not ſo much a bare complaiſance or ſimple ſubmiſſion, as an effect of a good judgement, which knoweth that their diſ-

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content doth often raiſe great broils in the State, which by this means are prevented, becauſe it keepeth them from anger, and allayeth any of their heats and emotions. When Miniſters are, as oftentimes it happeneth to treat with Women, who are perſons of quality and concernment in affairs, they ought to remember there is no way to ſatisfie them, but by doing whatever they deſire good or bad, their Souls being uncapable of bearing a denial, how juſt and reaſonable ſoever, when as they are once bent upon it; wherefore it is not ſafe to diſcommend their Proceedings, unleſſe they have a mind to have their eyes ſcratched out. But at laſt Prudence doth oblige them to do that which is fitteſt and moſt proper to be done; ſo that having once done that which is juſt and reaſonable, they ought to ſit ſtill and leave the reſt to Gods Providence, who is the King of Kings, and Governour of all Kingdomes.

## *His Majeſty departeth from* Suze *towards* Languedoc, *after* Cazal, *and the ſtrong Towns in* Montferrat *were revictualled.*

HIS Majeſty having ſtayed at *Suze* as long as was needfull for the ſecuring of thoſe advantages which he had got; as alſo for the conveying of Wheat and all other neceſſaries into *Cazal* and the places of *Monſerrat* in caſe they ſhould be again ſet upon after his with-drawing back, he at laſt reſolved to paſſe through *Languedoc*. His deſign was onely to bring the revolted Heretiques under obedience, who had of late ſhewed their teeth againſt him, upon all occaſions and opportunities whatever. Notwithſtanding his Majeſties Declaration made at *Paris*, as hath heretofore been obſerved, they had made an Aſſembly at *Niſmes*, where they publiſhed a ſedition manifeſt, by which they indeavoured to repreſent his Majeſties gracious proffers, for ſo many ſnares to intrap them; and that notwithſtanding his Kingly word, he intended to put them all to the Sword; whereupon it was reſolved not to lay down their Arms, but by and with the conſent of the King of *England*; to which effect, all they of the Town and Party, were to bind themſelves by oath, which was as much as to ſay, they peremptorily reſolved to continue the War as long as ever they could. The King of *England* being troubled for the affront which had been given his forces both at *Ree*, and before *Rochel*, deſired nothing more then to ſee *France* divided, and at War amongſt themſelves, which would be a great dimunition of his Majeſties ſtrength and power. *Monſieur de Rohan* had likewiſe been with the King of *England* in the behalf of the Aſſembly, to implore his Protection, and to let him know that they of his party having built all their hopes upon the expectation of his ſuccours, did humbly beſeech him not to defer any longer his aſſiſting of them. Were not theſe ſo many evident ſigns and tokens of an intended bloudy War, for the ſecuring of themſelves in thoſe Towns which were ſtrong, and in their own powers? did they not hope his Majeſty would find work enough to be diverted in *Italy*, and that he might neither have time nor power to fall on them, or oppoſe their deſigns? And after all this what reaſon was there to give any longer way to this rebellious people, to fix and root themſelves any more in their obſtinacies and willfull perverſeneſſe? Muſt not his Majeſty in ſo doing have been defective both in Prudence and Courage? But the Cardinal was too induſtrious to ſuffer any ſuch blemiſhes to lie upon his Maſters glory; ſo that he perſwaded his Majeſty, that it was now high time, to call them to accompt, and that he ſhould forthwith ſet forward to curb in their inſolencies, and to ſet bounds to their unlimited Pride and Rebellion.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

REvolts are the moſt dangerous Convulſions in a State, and as in mans body there are Symptoms which are as ſo many Prognoſticks, to tell us the event of them, ſo thoſe of States are moſt commonly accompanied with certain circumſtances, which give a juſt cauſe to fear, leſt they may end in the ruine of the King-

domes

domes, where they are firſt born, without preſent remedy to prevent it. The wiſe Pilot when he fore-ſees any ſtorms, as uſually he doth, by ſome ſecret Winds and I know not what tremblings upon the ſurface of the Waters, provideth himſelf againſt they happen; and a wiſe Miniſter, diſcovering by a revolt, ſuch ſigns which may make him ſuſpect their conſequence ought no longer to defer the imploying of his utmoſt power, to divert thoſe mis-fortunes which are threatned. Now among all ſuch Prognoſtications, none are more apparently evident then manifeſt Declarations, unlawfull Aſſemblies, Levies of men, keeping of watch in Towns and Cities againſt their natural Prince. For theſe things are indeed the fore-runners of tying aſide all reſpect and duty; and in ſome ſence the dividing their Kings Authority and his Kingdom too. Theſe are manifeſt Symptomes of a mortal diſeaſe which threatneth the State.

Now as a wiſe Phyſitian when once he diſcovers in his Patient any one, or more ſigns of death, doth no longer delay his applying of all neceſſary preventions. So a Miniſter when he finds any people either reſolved or inclined to it, is obliged to make uſe of his maſters forces to prevent it, and allay ſuch ſtorms in their firſt growth, which if delayed would perchance indanger the whole ſtructure. In ſuch occaſions, he ought to uſe an extraordinary diligence; for if vigilance and care be neceſſary in ſuch enterpriſes as are made abroad, much more is it in thoſe nearer home; eſpecially when it concerneth the keeping of a people (inclined to Rebel) within the limits of their duty. By this means was it, that *Alexander* prevented that general inſurrection which was intended in *Greece*; for he appeared there in the head of his Army, before there was a word heard of his being upon his march. And how much recommended was that vigilance of *Rhodoginus* King of the Perſians, who being one day told whileſt he was waſhing of his head, of a certain rebellion newly began amongſt his people, had not the patience to ſit until he had made an end; but tying up his hair, mounted on horſe-back to go and take care about it, well knowing that Rebellion is like a Viper, eaſily killed in the Birth; but much more difficultly overcome, if let alone until it gain force and ſtrength.

## *The King of* Spain *treateth with the Duke of* Rohan, *for the raiſing of more troubles in* France.

THey who have once delivered themſelves up to a revolt, are eaſily led into all extremities, upon hopes of a good ſucceſſe. Thus was it with the Duke of *Rohan*, he had ſo much forgot himſelf, as to demand aſſiſtance from the King of *Spain*, who glad of any opportunity to trouble the Waters in *France*, cauſed his Agent *de Clauſet* to be received with honour, and aſſured him of all aſſiſtance; for which he could reaſonably hope. A Treaty not long after was concluded, in which the Duke of *Rohan* obliged himſelf to continue in the War in *France* ſo long as his Majeſty of *Spain* ſhould think fit; and generally to further and defend all the intereſts and affairs of *Spain*. And laſtly, that he ſhould not treat or conclude of any League or Peace, without his Majeſtie of *Spain's* conſent and approbation; and the King of *Spain* did reciprocally promiſe him all manner of aſſiſtance, particularly that he would pay him down at two payments ſix hundred thouſand Duckets of Gold, towards defraying of the charge of the War, and to make a diverſion in *Provence*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphine* and other ſuch places, as his Catholick Majeſty ſhould think moſt convenient for his intereſts and deſigns; and beſides, did grant unto him a Penſion of forty thouſand Duckets yearly, and eight thouſand to his Brother the *Sieur de Soubize*, and ten thouſand more to be yearly diſtributed amongſt his Officers, as he ſhould think fit. O moſt blind madneſſe! thus to run into the Arms of *France's* ſworn enemy, and to uphold a Rebellion againſt his own Country: But with what Juſtice could *Spain* pretend to protect ſuch Rebellious Subjects, and thus openly to maintain Hereſie? What was now become of Religion, that ſpecious Cloak of theirs, which had ſo often been the ſtalking horſe to their ambition.

ambitious deſigns? Did he not herein evince to the whole World, that his pretended zeal and counterfeited devotion, was onely a Vail to cover the injuſtice and violence of his deſigns, ſeeing he did not ſtick to maintain Hereſie, when it ſerved to ſupport his pretences? He was no long while deliberating upon the giving this aſſurance to the Duke of *Rohan*; for that he clearly ſaw, if his Majeſty did once abſolutely overcome the Hugonot party, or reduce them to an inability of raiſing any more broils, that he would then ſoon bound in his Ambition, and force him to renounce thoſe deſigns which he had ſo long contrived againſt *France* and our Allies; becauſe if *France* ſhould but once unite and become one, he would then find himſelf prevented in all his deſigns againſt them; nothing of good ſucceſſe could in reaſon befall him, and beſides there was no way left to ſecure himſelf from theſe and many more miſ-fortunes.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is not lawfull for one Prince to ſupport the Rebellions which another Princes Subjects raiſe againſt him, ſeeing he is no leſſe bound to deal juſtly with his neighbours, then with his own Subjects. If Equity doth not bound in his Ambition, God who is the Judge of all Kings, dealeth juſtly with him, if he be whipt with the ſame Rod; and as there is not any Crime in a Subject, ſo bad as that of Rebellion; ſo neither can one Prince do a greater out-rage to another, then by protecting it; ſeeing it is that which woundeth the very heart of a State, and diſordereth the moſt powerfull Spring by which Soveraigns govern their people. Juſtice is without doubt the ſtrongeſt Pillar of Kingly Government; that which makes them long to Reign; that which ſecureth them from forraign enterpriſes, and the ſtrongeſt Bulwark to defend them. as the wiſeſt of Kings hath ſaid in his Proverbs; and it may be truely ſaid, that, that is it, which renders their Government exempted from the Dominion both of Time and Fortune. That King who offendeth another, inviteth him to retaliate the like; and he who ſupporteth a Rebellion, enforceth him who is ſo injured to arm himſelf with fury, that he may repay him in his own kind, and thus both are ingaged (by this means) in one anothers ruine. God Almighty doth ſometimes (indeed) permit the Ambition of a Prince to obtain great ſucceſſes againſt his neighbours for their puniſhments; but although he doth permit it to be ſo, yet he doth not approve of it. That which is unjuſtly got, will not long laſt unleſſe preſerved by Juſtice: Kingdomes are ſaid to be like Tortoiſes, which as long as they keep within their own Precincts are ſafe and ſecure; but in danger when once they are abroad. And I do verily believe, that, that which hath made the French Monarchy of ſo long a continuance, is, becauſe it never yet carried its Forces without its own bounds, unleſſe for the juſt defence of its Allies, or at leaſt to preſerve that which belongeth unto it. It hath imitated the River *Nile*, never over-flowed its own Banks; but it inriched thoſe places where it paſſed. Whereas, they of the houſe of *Auſtria*, ambitious of aſſaulting other Countries, are now aſſaulted by every one, and receiveth notable decreaſes of its power, though it hath been but of a few Ages; and they find that ancient ſaying, to be true, to their loſſe: That although Earthly power doth promiſe an eſcape for all Violences whatever; yet Heaven doth never grant any long duration of it.

*His Majeſty Summoneth* Privas.

HIs Majeſty being well acquainted with all theſe Paſſages, concluded that it was not fit any longer to ſuffer the Inſolencies of the Heretiques; but that they ought to be prevented before their aſſiſtance from *Spain* were yet come unto them. This made his Majeſty depart from *Suze* with ſome part of the Army, directly towards *Privas*, the Capitol Town of the *Vivarets*, which place he reſolved firſt of all to chaſtize, for the Rebellion of the reſt; this having been the chief Fire-brand of the Rebellions, which had happened in ſixty years laſt paſt; but in the *interim*,

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(there being little or no credit to be given unto the Duke of *Savoy's* promises, who made no reckoning of his word, but when it stood with his advantage,) his Majesty thought good to leave the residue of the Army at *Suze* with *Monsieur* the Cardinal, for the better securing of his victories, and gave the Marshal *de Crequy* full power to command all the Souldiers, who were designed for *Italy*, after the Cardinal had repassed the Alyes. Not long after, to the same purpose, the three Regiments of *Villeroy*, *Rabarac*, & *la Grange*, were sent into *Montferrat* who were quartered in *Nice de la Paille*, *Agoni*, *Pouson*, and other neighbouring Places, under Command of the *Sieur de Theyras*, then Marshal of the Camp, that in case either the Duke of *Savoy*, or the Spaniards, should attempt any thing, those forces might be in a readiness, to make head against them.

*Politique Observation.*

THere ought not to be any Tye more indissoluble between Princes, then that of Treaties; but seeing there is little Trust in them, by reason that most Princes are apt when they have any mind to it, to raise pretences, whereby to break them; it is therefore great prudence so to conclude them, if possible, that a Prince be not alwayes necessitated, to keep upon his Guard. With a Prince, who hath formerly used, to break Treaties and Leagues, this care ought to be the greater, seeing he, who hath once been worse then his word, ought ever to be suspected. A Minister ought to know this for a certain Truth, that most States have ruin'd themselves, in the abundance of their confidence; That this is it, which hath been the inlet, to so many disorders, and that he who is the least distrustful is the easiliest surprised and ruined. He ought to be like the Lion, who sleepeth with his eyes open, and so to be upon his Guard, even after the conclusion of a Treaty, that he be not within the reach of a surprise. Distrust is the Mother of good successe, whereas Credulity, and the Confidence which one man hath of another, serveth most commonly to ruine. This same Frankness of believing every one, is very prejudicial; It cannot indeed be called an offence, because it is grounded upon the esteem of others: but surely it is a great deficiencie, when it maketh any one live in a secure neglect.

It seldome happens, that distrust brings any danger with it. Princes are the more obliged, not to rely at all on the promises or words of any one, because they have only interest for their end, and make it their profession, of being more faithful to their own Grandeur, then to their Allyes. As for those Princes, whose inclinations carry them to believe the promises of others, for Truths, and are not in league with this same diffidence, they are not to be discomended for it, onely I would advise them, so to stand on their Guards, as if no such promises had been made at all.

*Prosecution of the Subject.*

HIS Majesty being come neer to *Privas*, took up his Quarter in a House, where he might both see the Town, and his whole Army; within a few houres of his arrival, he commanded the *Marquis d'Uxelles*, to go view the place and its fortifications. He went out accordingly; but perchance too well accompanied for his safty, for the inhabitants of the Town, shooting out upon them, he was wounded by a Musquet, of which he dyed within four or five dayes. But at last the place having been viewed, his Majesties Army, began to take up their Quarters, and after a hot skermish the Inhabitants were beaten out of the suburbs, within the Precincts of their Town Walls. The Peace with *England* had been concluded and signed at *Suze* but not as yet sworn, so his Majesty thought good; (to the intent he might dispossess them, of all hopes from that part,) to cause it to be read a loud unto them, at such a distance, that they might easily see and hear the publication of it. They were not a little surprised at it: but that which more troubled them was, they saw two Batteries raised in an Instant, which so belaboured their Walls, that in two dayes

dayes there was a breach made, at which very time, the Cardinal arrived from *Suze*; who concluding the breach was ſufficient, it was reſolved to give an aſſault. All the Army was very reſolute and high, every one wiſhing, it might be his good luck to fall on where moſt danger was, that he might curb the Inſolence of thoſe rebellious Heretiques. The aſſault was begun about eight at night, and laſted until ten, at which time, the Regiment *de Falsbourg* entered the Quarter where they fell on, and thoſe of *Champagne* and *Piedmont* became Maſters of Fort *Saint André* and *Tourlon*. The Inhabitants fought more like mad men, then any thing elſe, ſo that the whole Town could not be carried at this bout: yet the taking of thoſe places, ſtrook ſuch a terrour into the City, that the next morning, not a man durſt appear, though *Montbrun* the Governor commanded them to follow him, every one flying for his own ſafety, and *Sainct André* himſelf trying to make his peace. The Cardinal thinking it juſt, for the terrour of others, and for the puniſhing of a great many, that ſome ought to pay their lives, for their Rebellious Inſolencies, would not admit of them; but upon condition to ſurrender themſelves to his Majeſties Mercy: This redoubled their Fears who were in the City, and made many of them to get out, ſome here, ſome there, amongſt the *Mountains*, who being met with, by the Souldiers were all put to the Sword. His Majeſty having notice of what diſorder was in the City, Commanded the *Sieur de Gordes* and the *Marquis d'Effiat*, to go into the Town under pretence of ſpeaking with the *Sieur de Sainct André*, who had ſent unto the *Sieur de Gordes*, to deſire him to make his peace; but in effect it was only to diſcover, if the place were ſo deſerted, as had been informed. They marched up to the Gate, and finding no reſiſtance, took ſome more with them, went in, and ſoon became Maſters of the whole Town, which was preſently given to the Souldiers to pillage. Thence they paſſed up to the Caſtle, and the Souldier whom they ſent, telling who he was, and his buſineſs, The *Sieur de Sainct André*, came preſently out unto them, but could not be perſwaded at firſt, to yeild unto his Majeſties mercy, but ſtood very reſolutely upon Quarter for his own life, and theirs, who were with him: but at laſt, being told, once and again, that there was no other way to ſave himſelf, and ſeeing the Town entred and given to be pillaged, he conſented, and went to the door of his Majeſties lodging, where the Guards ſeized on him, and by his Majeſties order carried him to *Baſſompiere* and *Marillac*, to be by them lead in the head of the Regiment *des Gardes*, before the Caſtle Gate, to ſummon them this laſt time, to ſurrender unto his Majeſties mercy, which was done accordingly, and they forthwith yeilded: But being juſt upon coming forth, ſome amongſt them ſet fire on a Barrel of powder, which killed ſeveral of his Majeſties Souldiers, & ſoincenſed the reſt, that they ſlew all they could lay hands on; The reſt inſtead of comming forth quietly, as had been promiſed, that they might be conducted to his Majeſties feet, ran away, ſome this way, and ſome that way; and others leaped over the very Walls, inſomuch, that it was with much a do, that any of them had their lives ſaved: But beſides all this, as if Heaven had not yet been ſatisfied for their Inſolencies and Rebellions, the fire kindled over all the Town, on a ſodain, neither could the Author be diſcovered, nor the fire extinguiſhed, until the Town was quite conſumed to aſhes, notwithſtanding his Majeſties care and Command to ſave the Churches, or at leaſt ſome Houſes which might ſerve for a Church.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is no leſſe juſt then prudent, to chaſtiſe one, for exemples ſake, amongſt many, be they either men or Cities, engaged in a Rebellion together. The Inſolency of them who hold out a Town againſt their Soveraign, obligeth him, to be deaf to all their laſt entreaties, which they only fly unto, when all other hopes have left them: If his Clemency hath been ineffectual to reclaim them, he is then obliged to let the Arme of his Juſtice thunder upon them, to puniſh their inſolent fury and raſhneſs. If love cannot force them to eaſe their Rebellion, nothing but fear, can

then make them lay down their Weapons. And indeed, upon whom can a King with more Juſtice, excerciſe the rigour of his Arms, than upon his Rebellious ſubjects, who by their Inſolencies have rendered themſelves unworthy of his Mercy? He ought but ſeldome to employ his Revenge, but unleſſe he do, on ſuch an occaſion as this; he will quickly find his whole Authority, trampled under foot. He who accuſtometh himſelf, in his uſual Actions, to violence, cannot avoid being hated by all men, which will in fine be his ruine: And he who in Rebellions ſhall totally neglect it, will ſoon be ſcorned by all men, and that will ruine him, on the other hand. Princes who endeavour to make themſelves be feared, ought not to be diſcommended; but only when they do it, by undue wayes. Man being free, ought to be govern'd by ſweetneſs, but if his paſſion ſhall tranſport him to abuſe his Liberty, he muſt be reduced by the ſeverity of Juſtice, to his duty. The Horſe who is only uſed to walk, and never put to any ſwifter motion, may be ruled with a ſilk thread; but if he be reſty or fiery he will need a bit to hold him in: Juſt ſo it is in this caſe, The goodneſs alone of a Prince, is enough to Govern a people, who endeavour and make it their buſineſs to live in Peace; but if they ſhall attempt to ſhake off their yoke, they then ought to be retained by fear, which is the moſt propper Curb to compel them, not ſo much to fear their Princes power, as to refrain themſelves from thoſe actions, which deſerve to be puniſhed: It is to imitate God's own order in his Government, who rendereth himſelf terrible, to affright men from ſin, which is as much for their own good, as their Kings Glory. Fear is not in exceſſe, but when it impreſſeth an apprehenſion of Rigor and ſeverity, from an unjuſt Tyrannical Cruelty.

## *The* Sieur de Marillac *cometh from the Queen Mother unto his Majeſty at* Privas.

IMmediately after the King was come before *Privas*, the *Sieur de Marillac*, came to wait on him from the Queen Mother, with new Juſtifications concerning her procedure in the affair of the Princeſſe *Maria*, and to deliver unto him ſuch other letters of recommendation, as ſhe had then writ, unto his Majeſty, deſiring to make him a Marſhal of *France*. The Letters were of ſuch a tenour, and with ſo many Commendations, that his Majeſty never thinking he deſerved the one half, was much ſurprized at them: and that which is more conſiderable, is, they were contrived by the Cabal, the Enemies of the Cardinals glory. This Cabal was compoſed of ſome of the ableſt perſons; of the whole Court, in matters of Sedition, Faction, or Broyles, who did forſee that the onely means to withdraw her affection from *Monſieur* the Cardinal, (whom ſhe did then much honour,) was, to ingage her in a good eſteem of *Marillac*, the perſon by them deſigned to ſucceed in the Government of all affairs, together with his Brother, the Lord keeper, whom they both knew to be Favourers of their deſigns. Every one made it his work, as if it were in Emulation of one another to ſpeak well of him, before her Majeſty, who was the ſooner overcome by their devices, in regard ſhe ever had a good eſteem of him, and theſe Praiſes ſeconding it, made no ſmall impreſſion upon her. They of the Cabal, ſeeing that her opinion of him, was now grown up to a height, and confirmed in her ſoul, thought it beſt to looſe no more time; as alſo that they could not have a more favourable occaſion, ſeeing the Queen Mother, had expreſſed ſome little diſguſt againſt the Cardinal, upon the Princeſs *Maria's* Buſineſs: So they inſinuated into her mind to procure him to be made Marſhal of *France*, and to bring him into favour with the King; They told her he would be a perſon totally at her devotion, one who would carry on her Intereſt, both with and againſt all; as himſelf too would commonly ſay, to encreaſe their eſteem of him; That ſhe had ſo much the more need of a Man of his Temper, ſeeing the Cardinal, was moſt commonly out of the way, and much taken up in affairs of State. Theſe were the ground-works which they laid to work upon her, and to induce her to write effectu-

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ally unto his Majeſty, to make him Marſhal of *France*. They thought all well, if the Queen Mother did but once requeſt it, for then, in caſe his Majeſty did make any difficulty of it, they could eaſily perſwade her that it was a loſſe to her Honour, and the whole Kingdome would take notice, of the little credit or power ſhe had with his Majeſty her Son: This their contrived deſign was accordingly put in order: For his Majeſty did at firſt refuſe to do him that Honour, which by the Queens own apprehenſion and their inſtigation did much incenſe and provoke her; neither were they hereupon deficient to add oile unto that fire, they had made already in her mind againſt the Cardinal; as yet indeed they durſt not ſpeak againſt him with that inſolence, which ſhortly after they did; but they ſo played their game, that they well knew the jealoſie of him which they had already infuſed into her, would ſoon overcome that little kindneſs, which ſhe had then left for him; only they thought it enough for the preſent to diſcourſe to her how injurious this refuſal was to her, how powerful the Cardinal was with her Majeſty, how he retarded and altered his Majeſties inclinations, who never denied her any thing; but they never told her the Reaſon of it, which was, becauſe ſhe never asked any thing of his Majeſty but what was unreaſonable. But I pray was not this to hint to her, that ſhe had leſſe power with his Majeſty then the Cardinal, the ready way to touch her to the quick? and to the quick ſhe was touched, for ſhe laid all the Blame of the Kings denial upon his ſcore, ſhe began to be offended and in an ill humour againſt him, teſtifying to him, that it was her abſolute deſire he ſhould be made Marſhal of *France*, and forcing him to obtain that honour for him from his Majeſty; The Cardinal uſed preſently his utmoſt power with his Majeſty to perſwade and incline him to it; he repreſented to him, that there is a neceſſity ſometimes to beſtow Honours and Offices upon them, who deſerve them not, but upon divers other conſiderations; and that the Queen Mothers ſatisfaction was one chief reaſon, inſomuch that his Majeſty did at laſt beſtow a Marſhals ſtaffe upon him; The Cardinal, who could not be ignorant of all their Contrivances, aſſured himſelf, that theſe Inſtances of the Queen Mother, proceeded from the Suggeſtions of ſome Cabal or other, & not from her own Natural diſpoſition: But however his *Genius* did acquaint him with the Remedy, as ſoon as the deſeaſe, he intended rather to hazard his own Intereſts, (though it were with ſome repugnance) and to take his own advantages againſt this new Officer of the Crown, then to deny the Queen Mother, governing himſelf in this particular by the Laws of Prudence, which oblige a man, to wink at ſome diſorders, for want of means potent enough to redreſſe them.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

NOthing is more dangerous, then to advance an Ambitious man, to high Honour; It is the ready way to put a Sword into a mad mans hand; That Miniſter who contributes to his advancement, cheriſheth an Enemy, whom he muſt not long after, fight with. The Honour which is done to an Ambitious perſon, ſerves him only to be the more active and ſtirring; and as he believeth all things to be his due, ſo he thinketh not himſelf obliged for any thing procured to him: and beſides all this, The paſſion which he hath, ſtill to be ſoaring a loft being greater then the Remembrance of him, who procured him his Honour, will engage him in deſigns againſt that very perſon, who hath obliged him, if he doeth but once apprehend it to be for his private intereſt. Nay I ſhall go a little farther and ſay; It is very unſafe for the Publique affairs, to advance perſons of this temper into high employments. Ambition is commendable, and deſerveth to be cheriſhed, when it excites generous Courages, to great Actions, for the getting of Glory, but that, which leadeth men to obtain the higheſt dignities by all, nay by any means, whatever, is as much to be diſcommended, in it ſelf, as it is pernitious to the publique good. They who are once over-powered by this paſſion, think on nothing, but how to advance their Fortunes; they are not concerned at any miſhaps in the publique,

provided, they obtain what they aime at, in their particular affairs; what care they to put the State into disorder and trouble, if they encrease their own power by it? There is not any one person, in the whole Kingdome, how advantageous or useful soever he be, to the General and Publique good, whose ruine they will not procure, if they apprehend his downfal, may serve for a Foot-stool, to their own advancement. The more power they have, the more dangerous they are, for an accesse of Authority addeth fuel to their fire. They care not though the whole world perish, so they may but arrive to that pitch which they propose to themselves. If any obstacle encounter them, Oh! they are all in fury against him, whom they suspect to have occasioned it; and if they see their fall inevitable, it is their proud pleasure to see all fall with them. Princes, (not necessitated by other considerations) take a good Course, when they bestow honours on them, whom they know to be more faithful to the State, then Passionate for their own particulars, and on such, who study not so much to grow great, as to obtain that glory, which doth inseperably attend on vertue.

## *The King after the taking of* Privas, *prosecuteth his Victory into* Languedoc, *and gains great advantages by it.*

THE siege of *Privas* being ended, his Majesty designed to advance into *Languedoc*, and to visit some other of the Hugonot Towns. Those whom he could not reclaim by fair means, he resolved to do by force. He had already commanded the Chiefest of them to be forraged, which had been done accordingly, as *Montauban*, *Castres*, *Nismes*, and *Millaut*, and the Marshal *d'Estrè* being gone to make the Forrage about *Nismes*, had cut off a good party of their Forces, who sallied out, to hinder him. The King no sooner advanced, but the Towns of *Gorse*, *Vallon*, *Vaguas*, *Sainct Ambroyse*, and many other of the Sevennes returned to their obedience: So without loosing more time, he went before *Alets* which he besieged. The Duke of *Rohan*, had used his utmost art to perswade the Towns-men to be courageous, and had sent them Souldiers, there being only two hundred in the Town, which was very strong by scituation and Art; but as ill luck would have it for those whom he sent, it was their mis-fortune to be most of them cut off, before they got to the Town; which was thus. They attempted in the obscurity of a very dark night to break through the Kings Army, they had wounded the first Sentinel, but the second discharging at them, gave the Allarum, and the Cardinal, who never sleeps but when all is safe, came thither in a moment, at the head of two hundred Horse, and charged them so resolutely, that the darkness of the night, and the lightness of their own heels, was their best security. Some were however taken, and put to death; This defeat of their succours and the sad example of *Privas*, wrought upon them in the Town, so that they resolved to yeild, and accordingly they sent to begg his Majesties pardon, which was granted, with liberty for the Garrison to withdraw where they pleased.

This happy successe, was of great advantage unto the Kings Forces, and did so perplex the Duke of *Rohan*, that he could not tell how to steer his course. Some who were well affected unto his Majesties interests, gave notice of the trouble in what *Monsieur de Rohan* then was, and the Cardinal, who is sure never to loose any the least occasion of serving his Majesty, found means so to work on him, that he got him to submit unto his Majesties mercy; he represented to him, how rash he was in supporting this revolt; That nothing but mis-fortune could arrive to him in particular by it, for that his Majesty was fully resolved to cut the wings of heresie and Rebellion; That he ought in reason to be satisfied, with the excercise of his Religion, as also those of his party, and that returning to his duty, he might in time hope to receive those honours, which were due to his Birth. The Duke hereupon went privately unto his Majesty, promised in future to continue Loyal, and protested to live in an exact obedience. The King freely pardoned him, on condition, that he

should

ſhould ſpend ſome years out of the Kingdome. Now he being the head of the party, his repentance could not be ſo cloſely carried, but that many began to perceive it, and follow his ſteps. Divers Deputies of the principal Hugonot Towns came in and did the like. The reſt being alarumed by the happy ſucceſſe of his Majeſties forces, & fearing to become Subjects of their fury and rage, diſpoſed themſelves to accept of peace, and made divers Propoſals for a general accommodation, which were brought unto the Cardinal, but thought unworthy for the King to grant. But the Duke of *Rohan* having made his accommodation, though as yet not publickly known, perſwaded his Majeſty to give him leave to call a general Aſſembly of the Deputies then at *Niſmes*, to be kept at *Anduze*, which was approved, and being there met, the Duke ſo dealt with them, that they were a little more reaſonable in their demands then formerly. The Cardinal obſerving his time, ſo wrought with them, though of a fiery, harſh, and ſtubborn nature, that what by his preſence and diſcourſe he at laſt overcame them; inſomuch that they relied on his onely word, which was, that they ſhould have the free exerciſe of their Religion, and enjoyment of their goods. Whereupon they reſolved to beg his Majeſties pardon, and to ſubmit themſelves to his will and pleaſure; withall, they were contented that their Fortification ſhould be demoliſhed, according as his Majeſty ſhould command, to take off all occaſions of any future revolts, and to give Hoſtages for the performance of their promiſes. The King pardoned them, and Proclamation was made of the favour his Majeſty had granted them, which was to the great joy of his Subjects in general, and particularly to the ſatisfaction of the Hugonots themſelves.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THere is no better way to prevent Civil Wars, then by diſabling thoſe who are diſcontented from fomenting a party, or at leaſt to make ſure of their Loyalties. And when once a Revolt is on foot, no ſurer way to diſſipate it, then by winning thoſe who are the Leading men amongſt them. There ought to be great care had, that ſuch men grow not great in the State, or if they be already, then ought they to be tied to their Princes Intereſts by ſure and ſtrong obligations; when things are once at this paſs, there is no danger; well may the people grumble and ſtir, but all will ſoon end in nothing. They are then like Ivy, which indeed grows cloſe together, but yet creeps on the ground, or like the Boughs of Trees, newly cut off, which bear no fruit, and in two or three days wither to nothing; or like a Ship, which though it have a Maſt, Cords, and Sails, yet without a skilfull Pilot, ſhe runs at randome where-ever the Winds will carry her, and at laſt daſhes upon ſome Rock, and is there ſplit in peeces. Or I may well compare them, to thoſe lofty raging ſtorms, which for a time ſeem to threaten Heaven, but at laſt weary out themſelves upon the ſides of the Rocks which are not moved at it; or to thoſe thick black Clouds which hang in the Ayr, and are driven by the Winds this way and that way, but are ſoon diſſipated by the weakeſt Rays of the Summers Sun.

The Chief is the Head amongſt a mutinous rabble, who if once he leave them, they have no more life or motion then a Carkaſſe. He is the *Primum mobile*, who draweth them after him, like ſo many little Stars, and he is called their Head; onely in conſideration that as the parts of the body are without motion or life, if that be taken off, ſo are they without him unable to go or ſtand.

*His Majeſty entreth into* Uſez, Niſmes, *and other Towns with the Edict of Peace.*

SOon after the accommodation was concluded, his Majeſty made his entrance into *Uſez* and *Niſmes*, to the great joy of the inhabitants. During his ſtay there, he cauſed an Edict to be publiſhed, containing that Order which he required to be obſerved in all the Hugonot Towns, who untill that time denied the exerciſe

erciſe of the Catholick Religion amongſt them. He pardoned the *Sieurs de Rohan*, *Soubize* and all others, who had born Arms under them. He ordained that the Roman Catholick and Apoſtolick Religion, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in every place. That the Goods of the Church which had been taken away, ſhould be reſtored to the Eccleſiaſticks, together with their houſes, Churches and Monaſteries; that every Pariſh ſhould be provided with good and able Curates: And in fine, that the Religion pretended to be Reformed, ſhould be allowed as free exerciſe. But to ſecure them from all future Revolts, the Fortifications of all their Towns and ſtrong Holds were to be raſed and thrown down, onely leaving them their Walls ſtanding; and that for ſecurity of their Peace and good behaviour, until their works were demoliſhed accordingly, they ſhould deliver Hoſtages unto his Majeſty, to be by him kept untill the execution of it. This Edict being thus finiſhed, and according to the Articles and Conditions which had been agreed on, gave a great deal of ſatisfaction to the Hereticks, who all of them now thought on nothing elſe, but to live in Peace and Quiet, excepting thoſe of *Montauban*, who proud of their ſtrong Walls became ſo inſolent, that they refuſed to accept of thoſe conditions which the reſt had with ſo great joy and gladneſſe. They imagined themſelves able a ſecond time to reſiſt his Majeſties forces, but conſidered not how things were altered, and that affairs were not now managed, as formerly they were, how that his Majeſty had by a Prudence, eternally happy for *France*, committed the Conduct of all things to the Cardinal, who had furniſhed him with all the means of taking *Rochel*, a place lately thought impregnable, who had broken all the deſigns of *Spain*, who had repulſed the Engliſh force ſo often, who in one hours diſcourſe, had reced the Prince of *Piedmonts* Spanialized ſoul, to become abſolute French, wo had perſwaded the Duke of *Savoy* to whatever he had a mind; and upon whoſe onely word all the reſt of the Hugonot Towns were reſolved to have ſuffered their Walls and Fortifications to be demoliſhed and thrown down. The obſtinacy of the Town was ſuch, that his Majeſty thought himſelf obliged to go before it, that he might overcome it with force, ſeeing no fair means would work upon it. But the Cardinal conſidering how the ſickneſſe began in the Army, and in divers Towns of *Languedoc*, beſeeched his Majeſty not to hazard his perſon, which was of greater concern to *France*, then any other thing whatever; and that he would be pleaſed to leave him to fight with the reſt of this Rebellion; with much ado his Majeſty was at laſt overcome, and reſolved to return to *Paris*, as he did, after he had in ſix moneths time, taken *Suze*, ſaved *Cazal*, forced *Privas*, and reduced the moſt part of the Hugonot Towns under his obedience.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

HEreſie and Obedience are inconſiſtent with one another, whileſt there is any hopes left of force. The Poets ſeem to have alluded to it. in a Fable which they tell of *Juno*, who being angry that *Jupiter* had gotten *Pallas* on himſelf, ſhe would needs breed ſomething on her ſelf too; but inſtead of a Child ſhe brought forth *Typhon* a mighty ugly Serpent, who making War againſt *Jupiter* himſelf, was looked on as a Monſter of Rebellion; juſt ſo it is with Hereſie, who having ſeperated it ſelf from God (who in his Church begetteth children full of reſpect and obedience) would needs have children of its own; but what are they? Children of revolt, and incapable of any ſubjection; never did a perfect Heretick yet love his King. And I wonder who can doubt or think it ſtrange, that they are ſuch enemies of Temporal, ſeeing they cannot indure any ſpiritual Monarchy. Hereſie hath never any ſound, ſolid reaſons or arguments to defend its beleef; and therefore the next thing it flies to is force: Beſides they finding that Kings have both an Authority and Power to puniſh them, und that they do allow and approve of the true Doctrine in all Schools, which is in prejudice to their falſe Tenents, they preſently become their mortal enemies, and do their utmoſt to ſhake off the yoke of their Obedience. How many wars and jars have they raiſed on every hand of us? No

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one but knoweth that the Arians filled all the East with troubles. That the Macedonians raised a great party in *Greece*, and that the Donatists put *Affrick* into confusion. How many Revolts and Rebellions have been in processe of time, set on foot in the West by the Iconomiques, by the *Albigeois*, by the Lutherans, by the Calvinists? *France*, *Germany*, *England*, and *Holland*, have been Theaters where they have played their pranks. They pretend that Gods cause and their Religion goeth hand in hand; and they do therefore the easilier beleeve, that Heaven will protect, assist, and go along with them, and upon this ground-work, do they build any insurrection, revolt, or rebellion. But why do they not remember, that the Laws of true religion, published by the son of God himself, do onely permit them to die or flie, but never to break the ties of their obedience, or to take up Arms against their Prince? Union in Religion, is the strongest Bulwark of a State, whereas diversity is the certain foundation of Revolts, of which there cannot be any doubt raised; for that God hath said in the holy Scripture, *A Kingdome divided within it. self cannot avoid destruction.*

## *Cabals against the Cardinal.*

AT the same time that his Majesty began his journey towards *Paris*, the Cardinal mounted on horse-back, for the reducing of *Montauban*; but I cannot behold him thus blindly sacrificing his own interests to the good of *France* (whilest sundry great ones were contriving his ruine and destruction) and not answer that malicious pen, which being unable to asperse him with any truth, takes the liberty and boldnesse to find fault with, and condemn those actions of his, begun, carried on, and finished with so much judgement, zeal, and good successe for his Majesties glory. This Calumniator searching for pretences, whereby he might incense the Queen Mother against him, and instigate her to complain unto his Majesty, and whereby she might be provoked to do her utmost for his destruction; amongst other forgeries, writeth, That she could no longer indure to see him expose his Majesties person unto so eminent dangers, as passing over the Alps in the dead of the Winter, and commanding of an Army infected with the Plague, and thorough a Country full of sickenesse, in the very heat of all the Summer. But how senceleslly hath he alledged it, how without truth or judgement? Surely nothing but passion and heat, the two enemies of reason and truth, could thus guide his Pen, whose onely quarrel is the meanesse and disorder of his Fortune, which he thinks must all be attributed to the Cardinal, without considering that it is the effect of his own misdemeanours and ill behaviour. Is there any man living so senceleslle, besides himself, as to beleeve, that the Cardinal should hazard his Majesties life and person, when as all his Fortune and hopes depend onely upon him? Was he not at that time well acquainted, how mortally the Queen Mother hated him? that *Monsieur* had no affection for him? and that by consequence, if his Majesty should miscarry his disgrace and ruine were unavoidable? The Queen Mother could not possibly be of his opinion, seeing her complaint was, that the Cardinal was too much tied to his Majesties Interests; which one consideration alone, were enough to have kept him off from hazarding his Majesties health upon a slight occasion, if his Loyalty had been capable of so great an Infidelity: But what would not the detaining of his Majesty have been, to ravish from him one of the greatest Subjects of glory that had been presented to him since his Reign? had he stayed at *Paris*, he had been hindred from his journey to *Suze*; from the raising the siege at *Casal*, he had never forced the Alps in despight of the Duke of *Savoy*, though seconded with the forces of *Spain*; he had not returned by *Languedoc*, and there brought all the rebellious Hugonots under his obedience, who had had the boldnesse to take up Arms against him. The Kings Generosity was such, that should the Cardinal have dissuaded him from the expedition withall his Art, yet I am confident he would never have been perswaded to let any one else go and gather the Harvest of that glorious expedition. Besides the Cardinal had much forgot himself, should he have

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attempted to divert the King from this deſign, ſeeing there could not be any apparent hazard of his health; doth not every one know, that his Majeſty was uſed from his Infancy, to endure the ayr, and that he could not ſuffer much more in this Journey then he commonly did in his huntings? I ſhall only add this one conſideration more. His being there was an abſolute neceſſity, for the incouraging of his Forces, which were newly come off from the troubleſome ſiege of *Rochel*, and juſt then to begin a new voyage, no leſſe laborious and painful.

The preſence of a Prince is the ſoul of his Army, and without it the Souldiers are never ſo courageous. The Duke of *Savoy*, the Spaniard and the Hugonots, were to be overcome, they were no ſmall encounters, and it was to be doubted whether his Majeſties Army could have gone through with them, without his preſence, to whoſe ſight they were formerly wont to aſcribe all their victories. Without all peradventure, ſome trouble and labour he muſt needs endure, and who knoweth not, that never any great Prince, did yet refuſe it, for the obtaining of an honorable victory?

*Politique Obſervation.*

THE way which leadeth to victory is Thorny, to think of arriving to it, without labour, is a vanity That Prince who cannot compoſe himſelf to endure labour, and travail, ſhall never attain to any great matters. Crowns are only proper for their wearing, who win them by fight; and our *Caſar* and *Alexander*, had never been ſo much commended, had they not expoſed themſelves to all kind of Labour, Hazard and Danger. A generous courage never apprehendeth any pain, and he who feareth it, is not worth a thought. To Labour, was the firſt leſſon which the Romans taught in their military Art; and I cannot ſufficiently commend that Invention of theirs, whereby they deſigned to traduce it to poſterity; They built the Temples of Honour, and Victory, in ſuch a manner, that there was no comming to that of Honour, but through that of victory, where there was nothing to be ſeen, but Swords Javelins Darts Helmets, Bucklers and the like, to teach all people, that there was no Glory without Labour, and that there was no comming to victory, but through the induſtrious painful exerciſe of Arms. I have oftentimes much admired that deviſe of the Emperour *Severus*, who gave this for his word, *Let us labour*; and that of the Emperour *Pertinax*, *Let us fight*: Both which ſeem to teach all Princes whether in Peace or War, that nothing is more proper for them, then to be in Action and Labour. The ſame thing too, we may gather from *Adrian* the Emperour; to whom *Florus* one day writ three ſhort Verſes, telling him, he would not for his part, be Emperour if he might, ſeeing he was bound to go into *England*, and anon into *Sciſithia*, to humour thoſe troubleſome Broylers; But *Adrian* returned him Anſwer, that he would not exchange with *Florus*, ſeeing he ſpent moſt of his time in Taverns and good fellowſhip, which was as much as if he had ſaid, nothing is ſo becomming a Prince, as to endure Labour and Travail.

## *The Sieur* de Guron *ſent to* Montauban.

THE Cardinal having at laſt perſwaded his Majeſty, to commit the Army to his Government for the reducing of *Montauban*, he thought good to ſend the *Sieur de Guron*, ſome few dayes before he advanced, unto the Inhabitants of the Town, to let them know his Majeſties pleaſure, and to incline them to peace, by all fair wayes; He had expreſs order to aſſure them, in his Majeſties behalf, of the free exerciſe or their Religion, the enjoyment of all their goods and Eſtates, and a full pardon for what was paſſed; but on the other ſide, to refuſe them all other their demands, of Fortifications and the like, which they did uſually heretofore require for their ſecurity, (and as a pledge of performance) becauſe ſubjects ought not to pretend, to any other Gages from their Soveraign, then his Princely word. The *Sieur de Guron* began his Journey towards them, with a Convoy of certain light Horſe;

Horſe; and being arrived at *Villemur*, where the *Comte d'Arpajon* then Quartered, the Count forthwith diſpatched a Trumpetter to the Chief Conſul of *Montauban*, to give him notice, That the *Sieur de Guron* was come thither, ſent by his Majeſty to declare his will unto them, and alſo adviſed him, that he thought it convenient, that they diſcourſed with him before he were admitted into the Town; to which effect, if he would the next morning come to *Corbarion*, the ſaid *Sieur de Guron* would meet him in the *Meadow* juſt over againſt the River Tar; which was prudently done of them, to avoid any diſ-eſteem or neglect which might be put upon the Kings Authority, there being little or no aſſurance to be given to revolted people, eſpecially to them, ſeeing they had retained a Trumpetter, ſent to them on a Meſſage not long before by *Monſieur* the Prince, at which time they likewiſe proteſted, that they would keep all that were ſent to them, peradventure for repriſal of ſome, whom the Duke *d'Eſpernon* had kept of theirs The Chief Conſul of *Montauban*, with about two hundred more of the ableſt Towns-men, came out the next morning to *Corbarion*, but making ſome ſcruple of paſſing the Tar, to go unto the *Sieur de Guron*, who then was in the Cloſe before mentioned, they ſent two Deputies to him, to entreat him he would come to *Corbarion*. This procedure of theirs was againſt the reſpect which they owed unto his Majeſty, by their thus treating of him whom he had ſent unto them. Neither would he ſuffer it, but ſent them word, That their hearts were yet too full of Pride, inſtead of a ſenſe which they ought to have of their faults, that he would neither ſee nor ſpeak with them, but would return, in hopes however, of comming again a little better accompanied then he was; ſo accordingly he cauſed his Trumpet to ſound, and away he went the direct way to *Villemur*, but the Diſcreeteſt amongſt the Deputies, conſidering that this offence would reflect on his Majeſties Perſon, who might hereafter puniſh them for it, preſently ſent after him, to aſſure him that they would the next day ſend their Deputies to him, to crave his pardon for their fault, and to beſeech him, he would do them the honor to come ſee them at *Montauban*: accordingly the next morn, ſix Deputies came to *Villemur* to him, entreated him to excuſe their fault, and beſeeched him with a great deal of ſubmiſſion, that their errour might not hinder them from his Majeſties grace and favour, which they hoped to receive by his Mediation. The *Sieur de Guron*, finding how deſirous they were to ſee and treat with him, (a ſigne, that many had a good inclination to ſubmiſſion) accepted of their excuſes, and reſolved to go with them the very ſame day; He went with them, and they of the Town being now a little more humbled, ſent out all the Nobility and Gentry which were then there, about half a league, to meet him, who accompanied him to the lodging prepared for him, and the whole Corporation of the Town came to ſalute him.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is an Act of Imprudence to incenſe the minds of a Rebellious people, by denying them their Liberty and enjoyment of their goods. Thoſe two things, ought to be granted them at firſt word; but then, diſcretion commandeth a Prince to hold them cloſe to it, and to refuſe them any other demands, which the fickleneſs of the multitude will propoſe unto him. Experience hath often made it evident, that the vulgar being rude and rough, are only to be bent by ſeverity, now when once they are warm'd in a Rebellion, what but that will work any thing at all on them? A fiery Horſe is only to be tam'd by the whip and ſpur, and it is a vanity to hope for the reducing of a people by careſſes and kindneſſes: Admit you grant them whatever they demand, yet it is well known, they are of ſo inſatiable a nature, of ſo greedy an humour, that the more is given them, the more they deſire: If they find their firſt deſires granted with eaſe, inſtead of being contented, they aſſume the liberty to demand more, like *Hydropiques*, whom drinking makes more thirſty. *Lewis* the twelveth, found it thus by experience, preſently after he had taken *Milan*, as *Guicciardine* hath obſerved: Beſides his natural Bounty, which inclined him to favour the people in almoſt every thing, he thought himſelf a little more obliged to grant them of *Milan* ſome extraordinary favours, that he might render them

more affectionate to himſelf, and that he might by this means aſſure and confirm his new Conqueſts: Inſomuch that he eaſily granted them all the favours they could reaſonably have deſired. But his deſign ſucceeded very ill; for the *Milanois* inſtead of being ſatisfied with their firſt gratifications, took the boldneſs to deſire the being exempted from certain Impoſitions, which lay a little too heavy on them; which the King, though with ſome difficulty, did at laſt grant unto them; but the obtaining of this made them ſo inſatiable, that their next requeſt was, to be freed from all taxes whatever, nay ſo unjuſt and unreaſonable they were, that they became more incenſed againſt him, for his laſt refuſal, then if he had never obliged them; which they had never done, had he not been too free with them at firſt; his ſafeſt way having been, to have taken time to deliberate, and conſider on their firſt propoſals, and have given hopes of obtaining ſome part of them, which would have made them more modeſt in all their ſucceeding Requeſts.

*Proſecution of the Subject.*

THE *Sieur de Guron*, having received the Complements and viſits of all the Towns-men, by their ſeveral Companies, he addreſſed himſelf to treat with the Conſuls concerning his buſineſs; It was agreed between them, that he ſhould the next morning come to the Town Houſe, and ſhew his Majeſties letter of Credence, as alſo that of *Monſieur* the Cardinal, and acquaint the Aſſembly with the ſubject of his Commiſſion. The Cardinal, by a provident foreſight, had ſent two of the Deputies of *Niſmes*, with the *Sieur de Guron*, Gentlemen of great eſteem in the Hugonot party, affable and wel ſpoken, who might teſtifie to thoſe ſtubborn people of *Montauban*, with how great Clemency and Mercy his Majeſty, had pardoned them; and on the other ſide, how ſeverely he had chaſtiſed thoſe of *Privas* for their Rebellion; how that they for their parts lived in a great deal of quiet & freedome in the Exerciſe of their Religion; how punctual *Monſieur* the Cardinal was to perform whatever he promiſed to them, and all others; how it was in vain to hold out in hopes of ſuccour or aſſiſtance, ſeeing thoſe very perſons who had ingaged them in the War, had already made their Peace. Theſe Deputies upon their firſt comming, began to execute the deſign for which they came, to wit, to diſpoſe the Chief of the City to ſubmit, as they had done. The next morning the *Sieur de Guron* came to the Town houſe, where he diſcourſed to them with ſuch Eloquence, Ingenuity and Addreſs, that he made a good Impreſſion on them; He related to them the many victories and good ſucceſs, which had alwayes accompanied his Majeſties Arms; the mis-fortunes of *Rochel* and *Privas*, which they too could not poſſibly avoid, if they perſiſted in their Rebellion; he likewiſe told, that his Majeſty was fully reſolved not to ſuffer any people or places in his Kingdome, which were not in his power and under his obedience; Next of all, he acquainted them, that his Majeſty did paſſe his word to them, for enjoyment of their goods, and the exerciſe of their Religion, whilſt they for their parts continued in their duties and obedience, and laſtly he gave them to underſtand how inviolable an obſerver the Cardinal was of his word, and he conjured them to be abſolutely confident of whatever the Cardinal ſhould promiſe to them: They were generally ſo touched with this diſcourſe, that they preſently ſeemed to be as much inclined to Peace, as formerly they had been to War. The Deputies of *Niſmes* ſeconded the *Sieur de Guron*'s ſpeech, and were not wanting to acquaint the people unto what mis-fortunes ſome other Towns of their party had been reduced; The Peace and quietneſs, which they enjoyed by the Kings bounty, the deceits of them, who had engaged them in this War by their great hopes of ſuccors, which were now vaniſhed, ſeeing their head had made his Peace with his Majeſty; That the great victories, which his Majeſty had of late obtained, might ſufficiently let them ſee that nothing was able to reſiſt him, and that this had been the chief reaſon which had induced them, and thoſe of their City, to caſt themſelves at his Majeſties feet, and that after, had had the honour to confer with the Cardinal, they admired the incomparable vir-

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tues which were ſo eminently apparent in him, experimented his meekneſſe, and been ſenſible of the truth of his promiſes, they could no longer defer their reſolutions, but had great hopes of receiving as many favours by his bounty, as they had heretofore ſuffered miſchiefs by the ambition of thoſe whom they had choſen for their heads. It cannot be expreſſed how great an impreſſion theſe reaſons made upon the people. However their Rebellion having taken a deep root in them, they could not reſolve till after two dayes to ſend their Deputies to the Cardinal, neither would they give any other anſwer to the *Sieur de Guron*, onely beſeeched him that their Deputies might have the honour to wait upon him. Thus was their final ſubmiſſion reſerved by Heaven for the Cardinals Prudence, who alone was able to produce ſo admirable an effect.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THE fear of thoſe miſeries which uſually accompany revolts, is of greater efficacy to reduce a people to their duty, then any other reaſons whatever. As nature hath given them a rude and unpoliſhed ſpirit, ſo the reſpect and obligations which they owe their Princes, can hardly make any impreſſion upon them; but he who can once poſſeſſe them with fear, may do what he will with them. Whence it is, that they are not ſo much to be perſwaded by reaſon, as forced by the apprehenſion of rigors inevitable, if they conſent not, to what is required of them. *Tacitus* in his Hiſtory doth notably well deſcribe theſe qualities of theirs, when he ſaith, That though they have extraordinary forces, yet nothing is ſo cowardly, ſo fearfull, nor ſo wavering, if they be not led and animated by a generous Commander; That as they caſt themſelves upon enterpriſes with fury, ſo do they faintly abandon them, and fall into diſorder, upon their firſt apprehenſion of danger, and that holding no mean in their actions, whileſt they are fearleſſe, they are no ſooner at a ſtand, but they may be wrought to any thing. *Titus Livy*, ſpake with no leſſe knowledge of them, when he ſaid, the nature of a people is; either to ſerve too abjectly, or to command too inſolently, they being incapable of any *medium*. Now when is it that they command with too much inſolence, but when they find themſelves of the ſtronger party, and that they fear nothing? and on the other ſide, when do they creep with too much abjection and ſervitude, but when they are abaſed and pulled down by rigors or chaſtiſements? Upon this ground was it, that *Druſus* went into *Panonia*, to appeaſe a great ſedition; but finding all fair and gentle means were to no purpoſe, he made uſe of force and power, which they no ſooner felt the ſmart of, but they returned to their former ſubmiſſion and obedience. Now the ſureſt and ſafeſt way to touch a people with fear is, not to be too haſty upon them in their firſt heat and fury; but to let that a little paſſe over, for nothing doth more decreaſe and allay them then time; they being like the Sea, which of it ſelf is calm and quiet; yet however ſubject to great ſtorms and agitations, when the impetuous Winds begin to ſtir up its Waves, and to arm them with fury againſt one another, but returns to its own calmneſſe, when the winds once ceaſe to move it. Thus it is with the rabble, of themſelves they are not capable to act or ſtir, but when they ſuffer themſelves to be carried by the ſuggeſtions of ſome ſedicious, furious ſpirit; Oh how do they then rage and rave! No violent thing can laſt long, neither indeed can their fury hold out, if once they who firſt raiſed them, forbear to lead them; and then, if in this nick of time, they are threatned with puniſhments, and ſee a power able to force them, you may preſently lead them to what you will, ſo great an influence hath that Paſſion of fear, over their low and narrow hearts.

## Montauban *Surrenders to the Kings Obedience.*

THe Deputies of *Montauban* came to *Pamas*, in company with the *Sieur de Guran*, at which place the Cardinal then was. They had Audience upon their firſt deſire, and made all proteſtations that could be imagined of a firm and ſtrict obedience unto his Majeſties will and pleaſure; but ſtood ſtifly in demanding, that their Fortifications of the *Ville*, *Novelle* and *Bourbon* ſhould be left ſtanding, and ſeemed as if they had condiſcended a very great deal, in permitting their out-works to be ſlighted: But the Cardinal returned them anſwer in that ſtrain and garb which was proper for a General, and one who repreſented the perſon of the King: That he did much admire (after they had underſtood his Majeſties intentions by the *Sieur Guron*) they ſhould thus come to treat, as if it were upon equal terms, and exempt themſelves from the conditions of other Towns; and then told them, theſe delayes of theirs would make their caſe the worſe: That his Majeſties will was unalterable, and that they might be confident if they put the Army to the trouble of comming before their Town, they would ſoon ſee it reduced to the ſame paſſe with *Roſhel* or *Privas*. This diſcourſe did much daunt them, ſo they deſired time to return and bring their laſt reſolutions, and requeſted the *Sieur de Guron* might go with them, to perſwade the people to reaſon; but to that it was replied, the *Sieur de Guron* not having any further thing to do, but onely the acquainting them with his Majeſties good will and pleaſure, he could not conſent to his returning with them, and yet at their requeſt he was contented, that the *Sieur de Guron* ſhould go ſomewhat neer the Town with them, and remain there at a little diſtance, in ſome place thereabouts. Theſe things thus concluded and agreed, he fell to talk with them of other affairs, but ſuch as his Prudence told him, were moſt proper to work on them; and indeed they were ſo charmed what with his preſence, garb, and diſcourſe, that they went away fully reſolved to perſwade their fellow Citizens, to yeeld unto whatever he ſhould require of them. They being once returned, he cauſed the Army to march up within three Leagues of the Town, under the command of the Marſhal *de Baſſompierre*. Now it happened that about two days after the *Sieur de Guron*, had been in a houſe very neer *Montauban*, that the chief Conſul, with about two hundred of the Towns-men, came to him, and told him, that they had run a hazard of their lives, and that the people cried out they were betrayed by them, in granting under hand whatever he had deſired of them; wherefore they beſeeched him, that he would tell them, if there were any hopes of moderating their conditions. The *Sieur de Guron* anſwered them, that it was in vain for them to hope the keeping up of their Fortifications, and that indeed they did much wrong themſelves, to ſtand ſo ſtifly in their own way, ſeeing the Cardinals word was a greater ſecurity then all their Walls and Works; and laſtly, that he could not be perſwaded, but that it was in their power to work the people to what was reaſonable and fit, or elſe that they muſt look to ſuffer all poſſible extremities they could imagine. They then intreated two days time more; during which, they uſed their utmoſt to reduce and perſwade the people to reaſon. Which at laſt they did, by repreſenting to them, that the Army was juſt at their Gates, and that their ruine was unavoidable, if they did not lay hold on this occaſion to make their Peace; as alſo, that they might reſt confidently aſſured of any thing which the Cardinal promiſed, ſeeing all the reſt of their party did give ſo high a report of him; and in concluſion, they ſo ſatisfied the people, that the next morning, forty Deputies waiting on the *Sieur de Guron*, went unto the Cardinal, then at *Ailly*, and gave him aſſurances of their ſubmiſſion.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

A Prudent Miniſter can bring greater things to effect, by the means of his Conduct, then others by the ſtrength of Armies, Battels, Sieges, or Conqueſts. *Titus Livy*

*Livy* ſaith, he who knows how to command well, deſerveth the firſt rank amongſt men, and that thoſe Captains who execute his commands are onely his inſtruments and agents. An opportunity laid hold on, a Magiſtrate gained, a good credit inſinuated into all men, a conſternation thrown amongſt a people; theſe, and the like are the means with which Prudence driveth on all her deſigns; and by theſe it is, that ſhe brings greater things to paſſe then Armies and Multitudes, which without Prudence are nothing worth. Force of it ſelf, is blind, all the eyes it hath, is Prudence, without which Force doth moſt commonly run into diſorder. Whereupon the Poets feigned, that *Jupiter* fore ſeeing the Gods intended to Revolt, and ſeiſe upon his perſon, took advice of *Pallas*, before ever he ſent to *Briareus* with his hundred hands to defend him: Signifying, that Prudence keeps the key of all thoſe Springs which move Force, and that without it, Force onely ſerves to ruine thoſe who imploy it. A great Genius hath certain Engines and Springs by which he worketh, as it were invisibly, and the effects he produceth, are the more admirable; becauſe vulgar ſpirits not ſeeing how it is done, are the more ſurpriſed at it. He will do more with a peece of Paper, then a whole Army in a Battel. Upon this very reaſon it was (as *Plutarch* hath obſerved) that *Ageſilaus* adviſed the Lacedemonians, being juſt then ingaging with the Athenians at *Mantinea*, that they ſhould onely contrive and bend all their thoughts to lay hands on *Epaminondas*, telling them, if they could but once make ſure of him, the Victory was infallible. By this it appeareth, that ſucceſſe dependeth in matter of fight and force on them, who are the inſtructers and deſigners of the time and manner, how, and when an Army muſt move, and when not.

*Proſecution of the Subject.*

THE Deputies of *Montauban*, had ſoon carried their ſubmiſſions to the Cardinal, who was not a little glad, thus ſoon to reap the fruit of his Conduct; yet in regard he onely ſought his Majeſties glory in it, they had much ado to perſwade him to go in his own perſon, and take poſſeſſion of this place, whoſe people had never yeelded to ſuch terms, but on the confidence they had in his word and promiſe, which they did more rely on, then in the very ſtrength of their Walls and Fortifications. But at laſt they were ſo earneſt and urgent with him, that he conſented to them. The Marſkal *de Baſſampierre*, entred with part of the army to take poſſeſſion of the Town, and the next day the Cardinal marched in, to the peoples great joy and acclamation. The Conſuls, the Corporations of the City, and the Juſtice went out a League from the City to meet him; where the firſt Conſul, and the Lievtenant Criminal, made ſpeeches to him, teſtifying their joy to ſee him, and how much they were tranſported with the apprehenſion of thoſe favours which they had already received from him, and what confidence they had in his goodneſs, for the continuation of his kindneſſes unto them. It cannot be imagined with what honour they received him; nay they offered him the Cloath of State, but he refuſed it, notwithſtanding their inſtances; and telling him they deſired then to carry it before him, which was uſual, when any Governours or Lievtenants of Provinces came into a City; but he abſolutely denied it: neither would he that the Conſuls ſhould walk on foot by his horſe, but deſired them to attend at his lodging, whileſt he went to the Church, ſeeing they were not of the ſame Religion. He went directly to the Church, which was onely covered with Tyles, it having been ruined by the Heretiques, where he ſung the *Te Deum*, aſſiſted by all that could throng in, as well Catholicks as Hugonots, ſo much were they delighted to behold him; and indeed his ſweetneſſe, his agreeableneſſe, his Civility, and the Bounty which his word and behaviour teſtified to all the World, did not a little captivate them, and charm their courages. Thence he went to alight at the lodging which had been prepared for him, where the whole Town waited to receive him; he entertained them with ſuch familiarity and freedome, that they could never enough be ſatisfied with his ſight: And that I may the better deſcribe the content they took

in beholding him, give me leave to add, this one thing, that never any one yet ſaw him but loved him. He gave ſo diſcreet Orders for the Government of his Soul-diers, that not a man had any cauſe to complain of Rudeneſs or abuſe, for he ſeverly puniſhed the leaſt inſolency whatever, which did not a little pleaſe and content them of the City. They would gladly have kept him longer amongſt them, but his time drew on, and he had not now any other affair to detain him in thoſe parts, he having ſettled all things in Peace, to the great Glory and happineſs of his Majeſty, and the whole Kingdome; that he provided for his return to his Majeſty, who deſired even to longing, to ſee him, that he might take order for the affairs of *Italy*, which began to be re-imbroyled.

*Politique Obſervation.*

ARms are not all the means, for the obtaining of victories, Prudence hath ſome; if the victory be nothing but the attainment of that end, for which a War is began; and provided that a man once Maſter his deſign, what matter is it whether it be by one or t'other. It is the end, that is all in all; So that he who overthrows a City or wins a pitched Battail, is not the onely man, according to *Quintus Curtus*, who is victorious but he may juſtly be likewiſe termed a Conqueror, who by his Prudence forceth them to ſurrender and lay down their Arms. In the Hiſtory of *Italy*, we read of a great Conteſtation, between the French and Italians, concerning the Battail of *Tar*, each of them aſcribing the victory to his own Nation: The Italians they pretended they were Maſters of the field, becauſe their Quarters and Bagage were ſafe and whole whereas they had pillaged all the French even to the Kings Tent: The French on the other ſide pretended, they had the better of the day, becauſe they only loſt two hundred men, and the Italians left three thouſand behind them, and were alſo forced to quiet the field and paſſe over the *Tar*; and that which was more then all the reſt, was, they had obtained that end for which they began the fight, to wit, for a free paſſage to return into *France*, and for this reaſon it was adjudged, that the French indeed had the better of them, it being certain, that the Honour of a victory, doth not alone belong to him, who hath killed moſt of his Enemies, or indeed hath loſt feweſt of his own, but likewiſe to him, who in concluſion of the fight, obtains that end, for which he began the Battail. Beſides I eſteem thoſe victories which are got by prudence, much more to be commended then thoſe which are got by Force of Battails, in regard the one is atchieved with little noyſes with ſafery, and without diminution of the ſtrength, or loſſe of mens Lives; whereas the other, doth obtain but the ſelf ſame thing, by a way quite contrary, that is, full of trouble, danger, loſſe and expence. Thoſe Victories which are atchieved by Force have Violence for their Chief cauſe, whereas thoſe which are obtained by Prudence have the Rule of all other vertues, for theirs; and beſides, who will not more eſteem theſe then the former, if only becauſe there is leſſe bloud ſpilt? Tygers who delight to ſhed bloud, may perchance rejoyce to ſee the earth dyed with it; But true Honour and Glory, which proceedeth from ſweetneſs and humanity, cannot but abhor ſuch fights, which are ſo far from being accompanied with real Honour, that rather on the contrary, nothing can be more ignoble or unnatural.

*Proſecution of the Hiſtory.*

AT this time *France* was happy indeed having overcome that Monſter called Hereſie which had been long conquering; The Power of *France* was now become the greater, in regard, it was not divided, as heretofore, within it ſelf. Thoſe Forces which had of late ſo often drew their Swords within their own Country, were now at Liberty to be employed abroad in defence of the Allyes of the Crown; The houſe of *Auſtria* was no longer ſuch a Bugbear, neither was there any fear of diſcontented perſons; Who formerly, with the help of fifty thouſand Crowns, could

raiſe

raiſe a civil War, at their own pleaſures. Thoſe great Taxes did now ceaſe, which were of neceſſity to be kept on foot, whilſt the Kingdome was governed at randome. Thoſe Expenſes which the State was forced to bear, for the ſuppreſſing the Hugonots, in Penſions, Fortifications, Garriſons, Colledges and the like, were now layed up: The King was abſolute Maſter of *Poictou*, *Guyenne*, *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*, which formerly he had only at ſix and ſeven. But how much then was the whole Nation beholding unto the Cardinal, ſeeing the King had principally made uſe of his Prudence and Courage, to bring all theſe glorious things to paſſe, as his Majeſty himſelf, had often publiſhed and declared in his letters, and on many other occaſions? There cannot be any reaſonable, indifferent Judg, but will conclude, he deſerved all monuments, both of Honour and Glory, and that ſuch as ſhould be ingrateful, for theſe his ſervices, or attempt to procure him any diſpleaſure, ought to be puniſhed with ſhame and confuſion. But alas, that Paſſion of Private Intereſt, like a thick vail, which takes away the ſight, would not let thoſe of the Cabal, neer the Queen Mother, behold his deſerts, and the praiſes which were due to him; But on the contrary, led them to take advantages by his abſence, to invent new devices, and contrive ſundry Artifices, whereby they might incenſe that great Princeſſe againſt him. If the King acted any thing, not agreeable with her humour, preſently ſome one or other would acquaint her with it, and add; It was the Cardinals doings. When once they perceived, that ſhe began to be jealous, becauſe his Majeſty did no longer follow her Counſels, (which indeed were not much to be commended) they were never quiet until they had entertained her with ſome diſcourſe to that purpoſe, which might blow the Coals of her paſſion and diſcontent. If at any time ſhe could not preſently effect, whatever ſhe deſigned, then the Cardinals power was to be lamented either by words at length, or (perchance becauſe that was not at all times permitted) by the language of their Eyes, no leſſe powerful than the other. I ſhould be too to long, if I ſhould deſcribe all their tricks. But who could endure that they ſhould thus employ their time, whiles he employed his in procuring the Kings glory and the happineſs of *France*? Had he been then preſent, they never durſt have been ſo bold, but his frequent abſence was that which gave them opportunities to embitter the Queen Mother againſt him, who formerly had a great reſpect for him. They raiſed her anger to ſuch an height, before ſhe was aware of it, that upon the Cardinals return from *Montauban* to *Fountainbleau*, ſhe could no longer conceale her diſcontent, her eyes darting anger, which formerly were pleaſant toward him; her eyes darted out flames indeed, and ſuch as would have burned him, had not the King interpoſed his abſolute Authority to defend him.

*Politique Obſervation.*

ABſence hath alwayes been known to be very prejudicial to Court favourites, It is difficult for them to be long away, and that ſome one or other raiſe not a faction againſt them, eſpecially the Women, whoſe affection being more guided by ſence than reaſon, verifies that Proverb, *Out of ſight and out of mind*. Their memory is treacherous, and they who are not in their ſight, are eaſily removed out of their favours. Importunity worketh more upon them then merit, and he who deſires to be Maſter of their affections, muſt neceſſarily be continually in their ſight. The Spaniard hath a Proverb, much to this purpoſe and a good one it is, *Women do eaſily blot out of the roul of their friends, thoſe who are either dead or abſent*. But admitting this were not ſo, yet the envy of thoſe, who appertain to great men, never permits them to loſe the opportunity of any abſence, without attempting their ruine; The eminence of a Favourites genius, or the virtues which ſhine in him, are not able to ſecure him, for envy is a paſſion ſo maligne, that thoſe perſons who have moſt reputation, true worth and glory, are the uſual objects of it. Whence one of the moſt famous Captains among the *Ancients* ſaid; He for his part thought that he had not yet done any thing praiſe worthy, becauſe that envy that com-

companion of virtue, had not found him out. It is true the ſervices and generous actions which they atchieve for the glory of a State, do ſometimes raiſe them to ſo high a degree of honour and repute, that the deſpair of bettering them, ſecures them from the emulation of others, but it never exempteth them from hatred. There is an inevitable neceſſity, that they who bear a great ſway in a Government ſhould be hated, not onely, becauſe men borne free are carried by a certain natural inclination to hate thoſe who command them, but alſo becauſe there are divers perſons of the Court, who flatter themſelves, that they deſerve more Honour than they have, and that they who Govern the affairs, depriving them of that which is their due, do attempt to hurt them: Such people are they, who blame the Sun, becauſe they cannot confidently look upon him, but conſider not that the fault is in their eyes, not his luſtre. They can no more endure the ſight of an extraordinary virtue, than that of a bright Star, were it not for the night they would hardly know what the day is, and it is the glimmering of the Moon and Stars, which doth onely teach them what eſteem they ought to have of the greatneſs and power of the Sun: ſuch maligne Spirits there are, who are excellent at nothing but finding faults, that they are excellent at, who never ceaſe to contrive the downfal of others; and onely becauſe they want merit to advance themſelves. But happy is that Miniſter, whoſe favour is chiefly grounded upon his Princes knowledge of his ſervices, upon his Princes ſence of the encreaſe of his glory, upon his Princes affections, which are no leſſe aſſured to him in his abſence then when he is preſent. Happy is the Miniſter then, when his Maſter looks upon him as the Sun, which hath no leſſe virtue or light, when it is furtheſt from us, then when it is neareſt to us.

## *The* Comte de Merodes *Chamberlain to the Emperor, ſeizeth upon the Griſons without declaring a War.*

THE Hugonot party being thus reduced, the Hiſtory requireth my looking back into *Italy*, and I muſt tell you, that notwithſtanding the Ratification of the Treaty of *Suze*, made in *Spain*, upon condition however that the French ſhould depart out of *Italy*, yet the *Comte de Merodes* his Imperial Majeſties Chamberlain, whom we may look upon as a Spaniard, both by reaſon of the ſtrict Union between *Spain* and the Empire, as alſo becauſe in this affair, the Empire was totally guided by the Spaniard, invaded the Griſons, ſeized upon the paſſages between *Germany* and *Italy*, took *Meyenfeld* and *Coire* their capital Cities, and built forts in ſuch places as were moſt convenient for the marching of his Troups. This breach was occaſioned by *Monſieur de Savoy*, a perſon naturally turbulent, and whoſe courage beſides the affront which he had ſo lately received at *Suze*, tranſported him preſently after the Treaty of Peace, and as ſoon as ever he ſaw the King engaged at the ſiege of *Privas*, to negotiate with the Emperour and King of *Spain* a new War, but upon the old deſign. He had acquainted the Emperour that the violence which had been offered him at *Suze*, did not ſo much concern his eminency in particular, as it reflected on his Imperial Majeſty, ſeeing he, for his part, had never attempted the ſtopping of the paſſages, but onely in defence of the rights of the Empire; that the reliving of *Cazal* was a contempt of his Authority, ſeeing the Duke of *Mantua* was his vaſſal, and had not at that time rendred the obedience which he ought to his Majeſty: He likewiſe gave the Spaniard to underſtand, that the affront which he received before *Cazal*, brought a diſrepute upon him through all *Italy*, and that it was to be feared, leſt in proſecution thereof, they might attempt ſomething upon his Dominions there; that the Cardinal had already projected his ruine in *Italy*; that the Common wealth of *Genoa*, was juſt ready for a revolt, that an expedition was already prepared againſt *Milan*; and that they had already propoſed to engage him in it, by aſſuring *Breſſe* unto him, and offering ready mony for the Marquiſat of *Saluces*, which would much facilitate the entrance of the French into *Italy*; and that in caſe they ſhould thus deprive him of thoſe two inlets, the one by Sea, the other

other by Land, there would then nothing be more eaſie, then to deſpoil him of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Theſe conſiderations were of no little power to ſtir up both thoſe two Potent Princes, ſeeing it concerned their honour; but there was as little honour and truth in theſe his diſcourſes, as there was Juſtice in the *Comte de Merodes* ſeizing the Griſons, without declaring a War againſt them; or without any cauſe given of hoſtility. It is true being come near the Griſons, he ſent indeed one of his Company with the Emperours Letters to *Coir*, in which he demanded to paſſe through their Countrey; but inſtead of expecting an anſwer, he preſently invaded the Territory of *Meyenfield*, where he made great havock, and not long after ſurpriſed *Coir*, and made a Garriſon of it, without regard had to the Publick Faith, and without any care of this outragious dealing with a people who had nothing to do with him.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is a very unjuſt act in a Prince to force thoſe Paſſages which are in his Allies Countries. It is an act full of hoſtility, not to be uſed but toward an enemy. I condemn it for unjuſt according to the judgement of the Theſſalians, who when they oppoſed themſelves againſt *Braſidas*, deſirous to paſſe through their Country to fight againſt the Athenians, told him, as *Thucidides* relateth it. That he who forced a paſſage without their knowledge to whom it belonged, did an unjuſt act. Every one that hath power in his hand, ought not to exerciſe it in out-rages and violence againſt his neighbours, ſeeing he hath onely received it from Heaven for his juſt defence. The Romans were hertofore much commended, for that they never invaded any Country, no not their enemies, without firſt proclaiming a War; ſo far were they from ſeizing upon any thing which belonged to their friends. If the Romans did at any time pretend to any thing which was their neighbours, they ſent their Embaſſadours to demand it; if within three days after demand made, it were not delivered, they denounced the War; neither then did they enter upon them, but after many Ceremonies, which are deſcribed in *Titus Livy*. But that we may not go ſo far back, did not the Heralds of *Florence*, and that not above three hundred years ſince, declare War againſt their enemies with Ceremonies much after that kind? Thoſe ancient forms (indeed) are now no longer in uſe; but yet that Prince who ſeizeth upon any Paſſages or Towns without it, cannot be conſidered but as an Uſurper. But ambition is now grown to that paſſe, that it is enough be the means what they will, ſo they ſerve his deſigns, without conſidering that divine Juſtice throws down, whatever is founded upon injuſtice; that as the Laws of man do puniſh private Thefts, ſo God the judge of Kings, will chaſtiſe their uſurpations; that they who indeavor to grow great by violence will at laſt meet their own ruine in a greater, and that the greatneſſe which is obtained by injuſtice, cannot long laſt, though force uphold it for the preſent.

*Proſecution of the Hiſtory.*

THe *Comte de Merodes* having taken *Coir*, and knowing that the *Sieur Meſmin* his Majeſties Embaſſadour with the Griſons, had imployed the utmoſt of his induſtrie and prudence (which by his employment he was bound unto) for the keeping of thoſe people in that friendſhip which they had promiſed unto *France*, and for the confirming them in their reſolution of denying the Paſſages to any whatever, who ſhould attempt againſt his Allies, ſurrounded his lodging with Guards, and ſeized on his Papers, without any regard to the Law of Nations, which declare the perſons of Embaſſadours to be ſacred, and forbid that any outrage or injury ſhould be done unto them.

*Politique Obſervation.*

SEEing Embaſſadours repreſent their Maſters perſons, they cannot be affronted (without great injuſtice) by any Prince who is not in open War with him. He who doth otherwiſe, breaks that Law which is ſo generally received among all States, and injureth the perſon of his Maſter. He is guilty of an outrage, ſeeing their perſons have been alwaies eſteemed inviolable; and (as *Tacitus* ſaith) it is rarely ſeen among enemies, that Embaſſadours are ill treated. Beſides, how unworthy a thing is it to affront ſuch perſons who can neither defend nor revenge themſelves, but onely diſpute it by reaſon. All that can be done toward an Embaſſadour, from whom one hath received an injury, is to licenſe his departure without permitting any injury to be done unto him. Thus did the Romans to the King of *Perſia*'s Embaſſadours, they gave them eleven days to depart out of *Italy*, with order to tell their Maſter, that the Conſul *Publius Licinius*, ſhould ſhortly be in *Macedonia* at the head of their Army, to whom he might hereafter ſend his Embaſſadours, if he had any thing to propoſe to them, and not put himſelf to the trouble of ſending them to *Rome*, where they ſhould be no more received. They likewiſe ordered *Sp. Carilius*, to conduct them out of *Italy* to their ſhips (as *Titus Livy* reporteth.) And the late King *Henry* the great, whoſe conduct may ſerve for a Preſident to other Princes, hath ſhewed us a rare example of that reſpect which ought to be uſed toward Embaſſadours, when he diſcovered that *Taſſis* & *Dom Balthaſar de Cuniga* his Succeſſour, Embaſſadours of *Spain*, held intelligence with *Haſte* and *Merargues*, he had more regard to the Law of Nations, then to their ſedicious practiſes, which in reaſon might have paſſed for acts of hoſtility. To injure or impriſon an Embaſſadour in times of Peace cannot be done without injuſtice, neither can there be other reaſon for it, then for the ſatisfying of ſome ambitious and raſh pretences.

## *The* Sieur de Sabran *is ſent Embaſſadour to the Emperour.*

SHortly after the *Comte de Merodes* had been thus active amongſt the Griſons, his Majeſty who pretended not to uphold *Monſieur de Mantua* with an high hand, but only to ſatisfie that injuſtice which obliged him to preſerve his Allies, thought good to ſend the *Sieur de Sabran* his Embaſſador to the Emperour, upon the buſineſſe of the Treaty of *Suze*. His principal intent was to acquaint him with the ſincerity of his actions and deſigns; and to obtain (if poſſible at his recommendation) that *Monſieur de Mantua* might be reinveſted in the Dutchy. His Majeſty for the preſerving of the Peace of *Italy*, would not make uſe of that advantage which his Arms gave him at *Suze*, or the opportunity of divers Princes of *Italy*, who proffred him their aſſiſtance, but would have been glad to have continued it, by paying this civility to the Emperor. The Duke of *Mantua* had diſcharged his duty, when he ſent the Biſhop of *Mantua* to demand his inſtalment, and the King could not imagine that his intreaty wined to the others ſubmiſſion, could have been refuſed, ſeeing that the ſame Laws which require the Princes depending on the Empire to demand it, do likewiſe oblige the Emperour to grant it, at leaſt without the prejudice of any other; in caſe there be ſeveral who claim it, which in proceſſe of time, ought to be examined by the uſual ways, and the Laws of Juſtice. To this purpoſe was the *Sieur de Sabran* ſent to the Emperour. Whiles he was yet in his way, he received new orders, to wit, that he ſhould complain unto the Emperour, of the little reſpect, which the *Comte de Merodes*, had ſhewed unto the *Sieur de Meſmin* his Majeſties Embaſſadour; and of his violent proceedings among the Griſons, by ſeizing on the Paſſages of *Steir*, *Pont du Rhin*, the Towns of *Coir* and *Meyenfield*, and all this without declaring the War; but at that inſtant when he began it, and that he ſhould preſſe his Imperial Majeſty to command the *Comte de Merodes*, to withdraw his forces from *Italy* and the Griſons, and that he ſhould ſatisfie his Majeſty for that want of reſpect to his Embaſſadour.

Embaſſadour. The *Sieur de Sabran* acquitted himſelf very worthily of that employment, he uſed his utmoſt prudence to juſtifie his Majeſties proceedings and intentions, and to convince unto the Emperour, that the King his Maſter had not done any thing in prejudice of the Empire. He further informed his Majeſty, that the King had not drawn his ſword untill the Spaniard had beſieged *Cazal* contrary to reaſon and juſtice, and that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was bound to protect the Duke of *Mantua*, by the Treaties of *Cambray* and *Verons*, neither did he omit any thing for the getting of ſatisfaction for the violences, of the *Count de Merodes*. But the Emperor being prepoſſeſſed by thoſe of his Counſel, that Embaſſy came to nothing, and all the anſwer he could get, was that the Duke of *Mantua* ſhould be righted, if his Majeſty did withdraw his Army out of *Italy*, with all that he could not. but wonder that his Majeſty ſhould intereſt himſelf with the Princes under his obedience, without taking notice that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was obliged by diverſe treaties to ſuccour him, and that it would be a great diſhonour to him, if he ſhould not now aſſiſt him, conſidering he was more expoſed to danger, than ever by reaſon of the Emperours, and Spaniſh Forces then in *Italy*, and deſigned particularly for his ruine.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is an honorable employment, to be the Mediator of Peace between Princes, but he is more to be pitied then envied, who takes that office upon him, whilſt their firſt heat is not yet over. It is with ſuch Negotiators, as with Phyſitians, and as theſe who are called upon the amendment of a diſeaſe are happier then the others; ſo thoſe likewiſe are very fortunate, who are intruſted in treating a Peace between Princes, when they are a little cooled, and the great expences of War have diſcompoſed them, and when they are a little wearied out by continual Cares. The firſt Emotions of anger, are like clouds which obſcure the light of reaſon and hinder the apprehenſion of the great benefits of Peace, not permitting them to lend an eare to it. Anger it ſelf muſt make them feel thoſe pains, which accompany it, that they may at laſt be ſenſible of the Juſt Cauſe they have to hate it, and by conſequence be the eaſilier appeaſed. It was the continual inconvenience of War, which induced *Francis* the firſt, to have a liking to Peace; Neither had *Charles* the fifth or *Philip* the ſecond ever embraced it, during the advantages which they made by the Treacheries of ſome French, had they not been tyred out, by the vaſt expences, great cares and dangers, to which a forraign War expoſed them. In ſhort, Princes ought never to be ſo ex-aſperated in their differences, as not to ſeek the good of Peace, by ſome means of agreement, by their mutual giving one another to underſtand their Intentions, by their Ambaſſadors. He who undertaketh to carry all things, by a high hand, forceth all others to flye to extremities, which are accompanied with great Evils. The diſtance which is between Princes, is oftentimes the Cauſe of miſunderſtandings between them; but their Ambaſſadors acquainting each other, with the Juſtice of their Intentions, doth not a little allay their Angers and diſpoſe them to ſweetneſs. The Wiſe, admit not of any injuſtice; and though they are free from obedience to others, yet will they be ſubjected to reaſon. They know, true greatneſs doth not ſo much conſiſt in the power to do what they will, as what they ought: Neither do they meaſure their greatneſs, by the licentiouſneſs of ſatisfying their own paſſions, but by their power to do that which is Juſt. It is their glory, to make it appear, that though they can do all, yet they will not act any thing but what is commendable: Whence it comes, that firſt putting themſelves in the wayes of reaſon, they do not afterwards ſcruple to ſollicite others to do the like. Thus likewiſe is it not an act of Lowneſs, but of great Prudence, and Civility, which Princes owe to each other.

*Proſecution of the Subject.*

I Return to the *Comte de Merodes* amongſt the *Griſons*, whoſe actions there did not much ſurpriſe the King, too well informed of all the paſſages in *Europe* to be ignorant of other Princes deſigns; They onely obliged him to give order to the Marſhal *de Creq y*, to inform *Monſieur de Savoy*, that it was contrary to the treaty of *Suze*, for the execution of which he was bound by word and deed to joyne his Forces to thoſe of his Majeſty, and to ſummon him to declare himſelf in this occaſion. The Duke of *Savoy*, having ſollicited their invaſion, need not have pretended time to inform himſelf of their deſign, yet that was it which he fled to, to hide his infidelity, after the knowledge of which he promiſed to give his Majeſty all ſatisfaction. The Marſhal *de Crequy* that he might put him to it indeed, gave him ſome time, which once paſt, he preſſed him for an anſwer, which was this; That the Surpriſal of the Priſons paſſages, had nothing of dependence in *Monſieur de Mantua's* affair; yet however, if the King of *Spain* might be ſatisfied, who deſired the French ſhould withdraw out of *Italy*, as alſo from *Suze*, he made no doubt but to obtain of the Emperour, that he ſhould withdraw his Forces, though offended with the King for intermedling in thoſe differences, which he had with the Duke of *Mantua* his Vaſſal; but did not all this while diſcover any thing of his own particular deſigns, becauſe he could indeed pretend nothing not compriſed in the treaty of *Suze*. The Marſhal acquainted the King with this anſwer, who commanded him to reply unto the Duke of *Savoy*, that this anſwer of his did not at all relate to the obligation under which he was by the treaty of *Suze*, that is of joyning his with his Majeſties Forces, and therefore to continue ſummoning him to declare himſelf, but withal to aſſure him, that if the Emperor ſhould inveſt *Monſieur de Mantua*; he would recal his Forces from *Italy* and *Suze*, his Majeſty having no other deſign but the hindring the invaſion of the Duke of *Mantua's* Eſtates, his Ally, and under his protection, by the treaty at *Vervins* it being unreaſonable that the Emperour ſhould out him of thoſe Dutchies, to which he was Lawful Heir: and that as concerning any differences between the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Savoy*, he had endeavoured to accomodate them, by propoſing convenient expedients between them both. Nothing could be replied to ſo juſt reaſons, neither ſaid he other thing to *Monſieur de Crequy*, but that he would remain Neuter, and become a Mediatour of Peace, without replying as to the obligation of the treaty at *Suze*, and without conſidering how prejudicial it might be to him, to ſit ſtill after he had kindled ſo great a fire betwixt ſo great Princes.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THat Prince, who hath raiſed a War between two others more potent than himſelf, cannot fix upon any reſolution ſo inconvenient for himſelf, as that of becomming neuter, though he have no part in the broile; yet it is prudence to declare for one or other. How much more reaſon then hath he ſo to do, ſeeing he firſt raiſed the War? It is offence enough againſt the other to have raiſed the War, and though he ſhould then ſit down and be quiet, yet he would nevertheleſs be looked upon as an Enemy; he cannot poſſibly prevent it, but that one of them ſhould be revenged, for he hath provoked both; him againſt whom the War is, who will be ready enough to call him to account for it, and him whom he hath engaged to make the War; becauſe he withdraws from him, when he hath put him into danger: but admit he had not raiſed the War, yet I look upon neutrality as very dangerous; he had much better run the hazard of overcoming, by declaring himſelf, or to fall with a neighbour who may afterwards help to re-eſtabliſh him, then to be reduced by an inevitable neceſſity of being oppreſſed by him, who ſhall get the victory, and perchance by both of them. The Example of thoſe of *Sienna* may ſerve to confirm this Counſel, who after they had remained Neuters in the War of

*Italy*,

*Italy*, were in concluſion pillaged by both parties, by which they gave a juſt ground to King *Alphonſus* to ſay, that it hapned to them as it doth to Lodgers, who lye on the ſecond floor, who are troubled with the ſmoak of thoſe beneath them, and the noiſe of thoſe above them. *Ariſtenus Prætor* of *Achaja*, and *Lucius Quinctius*, Conſul and Captain of *Rome*, found that Counſel to be very ill, which *Clomidus* the *Macedonian* Ambaſſador had given to the *Achaians*; that was, he advited them to remain Neuters, as to the War between the Romans and King *Philip*: The firſt of them not enduring he ſhould call Neutrality a middle way; ſaid, if it muſt be called a way, it was a very uſeleſs way, ſeeing the beſt ſucceſſe that could happen, could be of no advantage to them, but would at laſt expoſe them for a prey to the Conquerour. Perchance he may avoid this ſtorm, if he can manage his words and actions ſo circumſpectly, as abſolutely to perſwade them, that he is neither enclined to one ſide or the other; a thing which I imagine to be impoſſible, becauſe his moſt indifferent actions will raiſe ſome jealouſie or other, each judging of him as he pleaſeth; at leaſt he cannot avoid but that his Neighbours will forſake him, when he is in neceſſity, in the ſame manner as he neglects to aſſiſt them. For Neutrality doth provoke both parties, the ſtronger becauſe he imagineth his greatneſs obligeth the reſt to joyne their forces out of reſpect with his; and the weaker, becauſe being not defended, he thinks himſelf wronged. And this is not good either to defend himſelf from Enemies, or to preſerve his friends. Perchance he may imagine to ſave the charge of keeping ſome forces in the Army of his Ally, but yet every Prince is obliged to entertain Forces in his Countrey, to hinder both one and the other from invading him.

## *The* Sieur de Leon *ſent Ambaſſador into* Zwizzerland.

HIS Majeſty was adviſed, preſently after the news of the *Comte de Morades*, that the Spaniards were making of parties amongſt the Swizzers, and endeavouring to gain the Catholick Cantons. Whereupon his Majeſty ſent the *Sieur de Leon Brulart* Ambaſſador towards them, to aſſure them of the affection which he ſtill had for their intereſt; to exhort them to continue in that alliance which had been for many years between them; and to perſwade them to preſerve that correſpondence which was between their Cantons, as alſo to preſerve the Cantons their Neighbours and Allyes from the oppreſſion of the houſe of *Auſtria*. He was not wanting to acquaint them, what deviſes had already been uſed to divide them from the *Griſons*, which was the inſerting of a clauſe in the treaty of *Madrid*, by which it was provided, that the 13 Cantons, or the Major part of them, ſhould ſee the performance of the Articles of the Treaty, and at the ſame time to contrive under hand, that the Catholick Cantons ſhould not conſent to this warranty, and to perſwade the *Griſons*, that thoſe Cantons had fain off from their intereſt; the deſign being by ſowing this darnel among them, to weaken them by diviſion, and conſequently to enable themſelves the better to ſeize upon their Forts and paſſages; and laſt of all he repreſented to them by very evident reaſons, that the Spaniard had deſign to ſow the like diviſion amongſt their Cantons, to the intent he might alſo ſeize on their paſſages, which he had already ſent letters to demand; and that therefore to ſecure them from this danger, the more important to them, in regard all their force conſiſteth in the good intelligence of their Cantons, and that of their Allyes, they were obliged to be careful, that no diviſion were caſt amongſt them by any propoſitions which ſhould be made, and alſo to take up Arms to aſſiſt the *Griſons*, not only becauſe they were part of their Common-wealth, but to keep off from themſelves the like miſ-fortune wherewith they were threatned. The *Sieur de Leon* negotiated this affair with a great deal of prudence, and made them ſee their intereſts by ſuch lively reaſons, that they reſolved in an aſſembly at *Soleur* held the 5. of *Auguſt*, to preſerve themſelves in a ſtrict Union, and to write unto the Emperour, that if he did not reſtore the *Griſons* to their firſt State, they would then joyne themſelves with the moſt Chriſtian King to be revenged of the injury he had done them. This Re-

solution gave the Spaniard an alarum, who presently sent *Cassate* to destroy it, and disunite the Protestants from the Catholicks who are Masters of the principal passages. They employed their continual cares to that end, and being more considerable amongst them then we are by reason of their commerse, and trade with *Milan*, they so prevailed that at last they changed their minds, and we were forced to be contented with the raising of some Troops, which were to stay in their own Country to guard and defend the passages against the Imperialists, in case they should attempt to enter.

*Politique Observation.*

SEeing the Laws of prudence advise us to raise advantage; as well from our Enemies as friends, I cannot be blamed if I observe from the practise of the house of *Austria*, who after they had disunited the Grisons from the *Swizzers*, endeavoured to raise division amongst the *Swizzers* themselves, that the best means to weaken ones Neighbours, to seize on their Countries, or at least to make use to their passages as occasion shall serve, without their being able to prevent it, is to raise some division amongst them. The good intelligence of a people is the principal strength of a Kingdome, and their dis-union is the cause of their ruin, whence *Lycurgus* assured the *Lacedemonians*, that nothing could so much contribute to the encrease and preservation of their State, as an invincible courage against their enemies, and an inviolable concord among themselves. The devise which *Philip* of *Macedon*, made use of to overcome the *Precians*, was the fomenting of some differences between them; he assisted one part of them against the other, and so long preserved the division between them, till at last they were both easily to be overcome; and who knoweth not that, that which heretofore brought *France* into the power of the *English*, was onely the division which the house of *Burgonie*, and several other Countries had raised within it? The Stars which are in an ill aspect, cannot but produce very ill consequences here below; so likewise when confederated Provinces shall begin to look awry one upon another and with animosity; they cannot but endanger one another. The stateliest Palaces are soon ruined by little cracks and the greatest people by small divisions. I might insert here that the greatness of the God-head consists in its unity, and that if it could be divided, it would not be infinite. Thus that which renders a State invincible is concord; and that which destroyeth a Kingdome is division, that same thing too that it doth in publick, it doth in private families.

## *The House of* Austria *entereth very strong into the Duke of* Mantua's *Country.*

THE taking of *Coir* and *Meyenfeld*, was the Gate by which War entred into *Italy*: For the House of *Austria*, presently after the taking of *Suza*, sent two Armies into *Montferrat* under the *Marquis Spinola*. The Spaniard had caused the said *Marquis* to quite the Low-Countries and to come into *Italy*. His first business was to set all things right between his Master & the State of *Genoa*, which Commonwealth was upon the point of revolting. He came thither in *July*, and used his utmost to make a good Intelligence between them; and indeed, he was so successful in it, that he did the Spaniard one of the best pieces of service, that he had ever yet done. The next thing he did, was to store up great quantities of Corn, a Comodity very necessary in those parts, for the entertaining of any War, though never so little, by reason of the Scarcety in that Country. He declared every where that his Master desired Peace; but it was only until his Forces were got together, and that he was in a condition to begin the War; for as soon as ever he found himself provided, he entred into *Montferrat*, took some small places, and amongst the rest *Pontestura*, and made his approaches towards *Cazal*, but would not absolutely lye down

down a ſecond time before it, until he ſaw an impoſſibility for *France* to relieve it. The ruine of the Hugonot party, did not a little ſtagger him, for that now his Majeſties forces were at full Liberty to march out of the Kingdome; but he conceived us to have been ſo weakned and entangled by the diviſions, which thoſe of the Spaniſh party had raiſed in the Kings Family, as alſo by the very doubt in which the Cardinal himſelf was, that his Majeſty would not be perſwaded, to repaſſe the *Alpes*, Winter now comming on, that he hoped by this means, he might effect his deſign; and the ſooner, ſeeing *Canzal* and *Mantua*, were aſſaulted at the ſame time, which would ſo ſurpriſe us, that we could hardly tell which we ſhould firſt aſſiſt. For the *German*, *Lutheran*, *Armie*, led by *Colalte*, had entered into *Mantua*, at the ſame inſtant that he did into *Montferrat*; and thus inſtead of the Juſtice, which the Emperor had promiſed the *Sieur de Sabran*, and publiſhed, by a Declaration wherein he undertook to reſtore it, to the right owner, the Army Committed ſuch cruelties, as are incredible, burning and pillaging Churches, with greater violence and fury then ever the *Iconoclaſts* did, breaking all Croſſes Images, Saints, and what not? The Souldiers would commonly tye the Images with Cords and ſo dragg them up and down, ſometimes they would throw them into the water, profane the conſecrated Plate, raviſh Women and Maydes, and fill the whole Country which mourning and bloud; in ſhort, they made it apparent, that that Cloak of Religion, which they ſo boaſt of in *Germany*, was only a Pretence to cover their Ambition. This great violence, ſeconded and upheld by Force of Armes, gave them the Liberty of overrunning almoſt all *Mantua*, moſt part of the Natives, flying from them as heretofore they had from *Alaricus*, and *Attila*, by which means at laſt they came up to *Mantua* it ſelf and beſieged it. But Colonel *Durand* had gotten in a little before them, with a thouſand expert Souldiers well commanded, and *Monſieur de Mantua*, had likewiſe drawn in thither the choyſeſt of his own men; ſo that the Spaniard reſolved to ſit down before the Town, though their Army was equally peſtered with the Plague and Famine, which at laſt forced them to retire; yet before they went off, they committed the moſt infamous peece of treachery, was ever yet heard. They made ſeveral propoſitions of Peace, and *Mouſieur de Mantua*, ſeeing how willing they were of an accomodation, conſented to a Truce of three hours, During which and in confidence of their faith he opened the Port Fort-Bourg, which is on t'other ſide the Bridge: now they more regarding their advantage, then the Fidelity which ought to be inviolable between Princes, after about three thouſand of them were got in, ſeized on it; A Treachery very ſtrange, but as few baſe actions ſucceed well, ſo that ſerved them, but to ſmall purpoſe, for Colonel *Durand* made a Sally out upon them, during which there was a Trench raiſed, and Cannon planted on it, which Commanded all the Fort-Bourg, by which means it came unſerviceable to the Imperialiſts.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THE faith of them who Command Armies, hath been ever eſteemed ſacred: He who once breaketh it, looſeth his Honour; And indeed, if there were not an obligation to keep it, to what paſſe would things come? There could be no ſecurity in Treaties; One Prince could not truſt another; and in Leagues, every one would be catching at all advantages, which he ſhould find. A General ought to reſpect nothing more then his Honour; now there is not any one thing which can more obſcure it, then Infidelity, which breaketh the Juſtice of Military Act, which gives a Liberty, to do any unreaſonable thing, and converts War into Pyracy. He who would have his Souldiers be true to him, muſt be Juſt to his Enemies; Neither may he recede from one ſingle word paſſed to them: Beſides he is ſo much the more bound to the obſervance of it, as it is of conſequence to them. Stratagem are allowable, but they muſt be of War, not Infidelity. The Romans were ſuch ſtrict obſervers of this particular, that they placed the Image of Fidelity next to that of *Jupiter* in their Capitol, to the end every one might reſpect it as a Deity. They knew

knew Heaven would be very ſevere in puniſhing thoſe who violated it; and they would not only be overwhelmed with Infamie, but that it would be of ill conſequence to the State, conſidering how true it is, that Juſtice and Fidelity, are the two chief things which ſupport the Thrones of all Kings.

*Proſecution of the Subject.*

I Cannot omit the great aſſiſtance which the Venetians did this year ſend unto the Duke of *Mantua*, it being impoſſible for his Majeſties whole Army to have been with him ſoon enough, although ſome few Troops had already come to him. The King had by his Ambaſſador negotiated thoſe Succours with the Venetians, upon the firſt diſcovery of the Houſe of *Auſtria's* deſign. Now the Venetians were the eaſier enclined to ſend theſe Succours, it being their very great Intereſt to hinder the Spaniards growing power in *Italy*, eſpecially ſo neer them, they having ſo often and ſo long had deſigns upon them. Beſides they well knew, that they had at that preſent, ſeveral good Towns and places which formerly belonged to the Dutchy of *Milan*, but had been taken from it, by their Common-wealth; which peradventure the Spaniard might have a mind to recover from them. In concluſion they ſend divers times, Mony, Victuals, and ſome Troops unto the Duke of *Mantua*, which did not a little help to preſerve him.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THere is not any thing more dangerous, then to ſuffer a potent Ambitious King, to ſeize on a Neighbour Princes Country by violence; ſeeing his conqueſt will only ſerve for a Bridge to the next Kingdome. An Ambitious King is like a great River; ever eating into it's Banks, without regard had either to the Juſtice or Injuſtice of his deſigns: When he hath once propoſed his end, he careth not by what means it is atchieved: His chief care is, how to make a party in his Neighbours Country, how to raiſe a diviſion, which may open an entrance for his Ambitious deſigns: He ſpareth no coſt to corrupt their Officers and Miniſters, He is like ſome people in *Affrick*, who ſleep with their eyes alwayes open; and as he believeth the greateſt glory, to conſiſt in poſſeſſing the greateſt empire, ſo he imagineth the deſign of Command to be a juſt cauſe of War; If his Forces be not ſtrong enough, he bloweth diviſion amongſt his Neighbours to make them revolt, and maketh uſe of thoſe who are credulous, that he may ſubject their fellows to his Dominion. He winks at Juſtice, not that he may Judg with Equity; but that he may not behold, if poſſible, the injuſtice of his own intentions. In ſhort, there is not any thing which he will not do, if it lead him to new conqueſts.

Which being thus, who can be ignorant of the obligation which lyeth upon all Allyes to aſſiſt one another, when any attempt is made upon any ſingle Country amongſt them? The aſſiſtance which they lend is a ſecurity to their own States, and in fighting for him, they confirm their own quiet: But above all, they who are neareſt bordering upon one another, ought to be careful in this particular, becauſe they run a greater hazard. When an Army is at our Gates, it is little worth then to call upon a relief far from us, for great Armies do not flye; no, they march but ſlowly, and before they can arrive to aſſiſt us, we are loſt and taken. He who being unable with his own ſtrength to defend himſelf, calleth in a friend far diſtant from him, is like a ſick perſon, who being taken with a ſodaine dangerous fit, ſendeth for an able Phyſitian to another place twenty miles diſtant, and in the mean time, before his Doctor arrives, becomes incurable. Antiquity hath furniſhed us with an admirable example of the thing, in that of *Sagonte*, which being beſieged by the *Carthaginians*, was taken, before the relief from *Rome* could come up to it: And of later times the City of *Sienna*, being beſieged by the Imperialiſts, was in expectation of the French aſſiſtance, but to little purpoſe, they being at too great a diſtance to come up to them. In ſuch occaſions, thoſe Countries neereſt at hand

are

are to be employed, they being in reason bound to rise in their behalf, and hereupon it is, that Alliances and Leagues made with them, are much more advantageous then any others whatever.

*Prosecution of the History.*

NOtwithstanding that the Treaty of Peace, and the Renewing of Alliance between *France* and *England*, had been concluded in *April*, whilst his Majesty was at *Suze*, yet the final confirmation of it was used to be done by oath, and by extraordinary Ambassadors, interchangeably sent, which Ceremony had been put off, until his Majesties return back to *Paris* from his Italian-Expedition, and was now performed in *September* at *Fontain-bleau*, whither the Lord *Esmond* came from the King of *Britain*, for that purpose; The King caused him to be entertained with very great honour, as had been accustomed on such occasions, particularly invited him to dine with him, at his own Table, that day when the Ceremony was celebrated. The appointed hour being come, he was conducted into the Church of *Bourg*, magnificently prepared for that purpose, where the King and all the Princes of the Court wayting on him, hear'd *Vespers*. At his entrance, he saluted with great respect the King and Queen; after which he took his place in a Scaffold made ready for him. The King made the oath, in his presence, and swore upon the Holy Evangelists, to observe and perform all the Conditions of the Treaty which he had signed. The same oath was made at *London* the same day, with no lesse Ceremony, by the King of *England*, in the presence of the *Marquis de Chasteauneuf*, Extraordinary Ambassador there, forth at purpose.

*Politique Observation.*

AS Sacraments render Actions the more venerable, so have all people thought it fit to confirm their Treaties therewith, that Princes might be obliged, the more Religiously to observe them. But in all times, they have been as various, as Nations. That which was most universally observed, was to drink in the same Glasse. It is true those of *Thracia* and *Ægypt*, did not use the same Cup, but the same Ox-horn. The Jewes used to kill certain Beasts and divide their entrailes. The *Caldeans*, passed through certain Flames, holding a Sword in their hand, to confirm their oaths: But the Ceremonies of the *Arabians* seem to me more extraordinary, then all the rest; Some eminent Person of the Treaters, placed himself in the midd'st, and beating his hand with a sharp stone, drew bloud, which was gather'd up, with some part of their Cloths, wherewith they besmeared seven other stones, about which they stood, invocating the names of *Denis & Vrania*; The *Scythians* mingled bloud with Wine, dipp'd their Arrows, their Hatchet and Javelins in it, with several Protestations of Fidelity, and then drank it up, causing the witnesses of their oath to do the same. The Romans were accustomed to call their Great Priest, who raised an Altar of Turf, placed a Hog on it, which he smit with a stone in their presence, beseeching *Jupiter* to strike them in the same manner, if they should break the Treaty. We likewise read in the History of the *Sieur de Join'eville*, that St. *Lewis* the King being at *Cæsarea*, a Knight of the House of *Concy* came to him, and desired him for a greater assurance of his fidelity, that he would be pleased, that his Majesties Souldiers and his, might in token of a strait alliance, mingle bloud with Wine, and drink it one to t'other, and that the King approved thereof: and the same History addeth, that moreover; they forced a Dog to passe between their Ranks, at which every one struck with his Sword saying, so may he be struck that fails of his word.

## *The* Monſieurs *retreit into* Lorain.

AFter the Kings return from *Languedoc*, the Queen Mother paſſionately deſiring, that *Monſieur* ſhould marry one of the Princes of *Florence*, though he could no way reſolve to love her; ſhee being no beauty, ſaving the Honour of her Family, otherwiſe little recommendable, ſuffered with great impatience that *Monſieur* ſhould bear any good will unto the Princeſſe *Marie*. Whereupon ſhe was very earneſt with his Majeſty, that he would expreſly prohibite him to marry her, without his Royal permiſſion. Now though the King ſeemed to have a good eſteem of this Princeſſe, yet however the rule which he had alwayes impoſed on himſelf to give the Queen Mother al content, obliged him to forbid; and reſpect and obedience the other, to accept of it; but with ſuch diſcontent it was, that unable longer to ſtay at Court, he retired into *Lorain*. The Duke of *Lorain* received him with great Honour, whether it were becauſe he was bound to reſpect him, or becauſe himſelf being already diſcontented with France, and of the Spaniſh faction, did hope to find ſome occaſion to ſatisfie his own hatred. His faithful Servants indeed would gladly have diverted him from this retreat, but as moſt great men become jealous and ſuſpicious of them, who give them not ſuch Counſels as tend to extremity, but endeavour to moderate their actions, ſo they durſt not ſpeak their thoughts to him. The moſt judicious among them found themſelves reduced to the condition of the Romans, who ſeeing their City on fire by *Nero's* command, durſt not endeavour to quench it, leſt they might anger the Emperour, for that they ſaw ſeveral of his ſervants adding more fuel to the fire, whereby they might pleaſe him. Neither wanted there ſome perſons about *Monſieur*, who having no other deſign then to flatter him, for their own ends, perſwaded him to ſuch reſolutions as in their own conſciences they could not but condemne. I may add that they endeavoured from that time more then ever to raiſe diſtruſts in him againſt the King and the Cardinal, whereby they might poſſeſſe him with fear, and they became ſo much the more conſiderable unto him, in that they found means to oblige him to look upon themſelves as the onely means of his ſafety: They having been thus, the principal cauſes of his departure, deſerved much more to be blamed then he did; becauſe he having once confided in them, it would be an hard matter for him to defend himſelf from their treacheries. The Queen Mother was not to be excuſed, ſhee having ſomething contributed to drive him into theſe extremities, which could be advantagious to no one, but very dangerous to *France*, as experience hath made it appear; and withal the Cabal which was then at Court, having grounded all thoſe broils which ſince hapned upon his departure. The Cardinal foreſaw the ill conſequences, if not remedied, therefore he omitted nothing in his power, which might induce his Majeſty to ſollicite him to return; but the diſcontents of Grandees are like thoſe ſickneſſes which muſt neceſſarily have their courſe, and cannot be cured until the natural heat hath overpowered the maligne powers in the body, ſo there was a neceſſity of expecting what time might produce, that he might be perſwaded to return.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

PRinces of the Bloud Royal cannot poſſibly follow worſe counſel, than to withdraw themſelves from the place of their birth. There it is that the Center of their glory is, and where they are reſpected with more honour than they can hope for; there they onely ſee the King above them, whereas in other Countries they are inferiour to many. The Stars in the Firmanent have not any light, but when they are within ſight of the Sun, and Princes are never ſo glorious, as when in their Kings preſence; it being their greateſt glory to be of his bloud; they are like burning-glaſſes, which out of the Sun are of no uſe. Their King is as their ſoul, and all their greatneſs conſiſteth in his Majeſty, and the ſplendor which they receive from him, gives them ſo great Authority, that they may upon the matter do whatſoever they deſire,

deſire, whereas when once they go out of the limits of their own Country, they change their Commands into intreaties. It is onely near their King that they live in the abundance of pleaſure and delight, but when once they forſake him, they are preſently reduced to want and neceſſity. Here they are onely reſtrained from being Prodigal, nothing is refuſed them that is neceſſary; whereas among ſtrangers they are forced to be contented with that, which at home would hardly maintain their Officers, neither have they that without ſubmiſſion. Is it not then with little reaſon pretended that they retire for more liberty, ſeeing they are never ſo much obſerved as amongſt ſtrangers, where every thing they do is ſuſpected? If they have any liberty, it is to foment diviſions in their own Country. But why do they not conſider that in ſo doing they act againſt themſelves, againſt their own greatneſſe, for that they are not at all conſiderable, but by the Kingdom from whence they are extracted?

## *The Reaſons and Cauſes of* Monſieurs *Retirement.*

AS it is natural to ſeek pretences for the hiding of faults, ſo *Monſieur* gave divers reaſons of his departure, for his own juſtification. Thoſe Grandees who complain of a State where they are born, cannot better be compared then to thoſe who are in a deep water, where they lay hold on every thing to ſecure themſelves from danger. He firſt of all complained of the diſorders in the State, a thing uſual in all thoſe that revolt, as if the true reaſon of their diſcontent were not known; when the truth is, nothing but their own particular intereſt withdraws them. They who had been with him, ſhould have informed him what alterations the Cardinal had made in *France*, ſince he firſt came to the State. He found it in the moſt deplorable condition that could be, by the ill management of certain Miniſters, who unable to ſecond the Kings prudent and generous intentions, had caſt all things into confuſion. The Hugonot party was then ſo ſtrong that they would ſhake off the yoke of obedience at their own pleaſures. The Princes of the Bloud, would uſually revolt upon the leaſt diſcontents. The Governours of Provinces were like ſo many petty Kings. The Kings family was maintained by two or three years advance of the Treaſury before hand, exhauſted to inrich thoſe who were factiouſly inclined, and without any honour to the King. The Allies of the Crown were left to the mercie of their enemies, of whom the Kingdome ſtood in fear. The caſe was now altered, the Heretick faction was brought upon their knees, the Princes of the bloud were forced to live in obedience, the Governours of Provinces durſt do nothing but what was juſt, the Treaſuries were well regulated and employed for the Kings Honour and State. In ſhort, the whole body of *France* heretofore ſick and languiſhing, began to recover ſtrength, with aſſurance of perfect health, when as its Forraign and Domeſtick enemies did not at all divert the Cardinals deſigns. All theſe things were ſo apparent, that the Cimmerian darkneſſe could not hinder the ſight of them, but who knows not that the ſtrongeſt reaſons cannot touch them, who are over-maſtered with Paſſion, as we have reaſon to beleeve they could not thoſe about *Monſieur*, ſeeing they were ſo blind in perſwading him to a courſe ſo directly contrary to that which the Cardinal had projected for the eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom? They ſhould have learned, that as the Planets do not immit their influences here beneath, without cauſing of great alterations in the world; ſo neither do the Princes of the Blood ever ſeparate themſelves from their King and Country, but they cauſe great troubles and diſorders, and in caſe there were any others in the State, this were to remedy it by a worſe, a thing contrary to the Laws of Prudence; but a thing not much by them regarded, ſo they could but overcome their Maſters ſpirit, that they might afterwards lead him to whatever they deſired.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IF Divine Providence doth not appear with more ſplendour in any one thing, then the Government of the Univerſe; then true it is, that humane wiſedom is never more admirable then in the Conduct of Kingdomes, eſpecially when they are fallen from their firſt height, and that there is a neceſſity to re-eſtabliſh them. This re-eſtabliſhment doth undeniably depend upon that particular Miniſter who governeth affairs, next under the Authority of his Prince; for he is in the State, as the Sun in the World, as the eye to the Body, and as the *Primum mobile* among the Heavens. Yet however two truths cannot be gain-ſaid, the firſt is, that a State being a ſociety of free men, who not exactly following the motions which their chief miniſter gives them, it cannot be avoided but that ſome diſorder muſt follow, unleſſe divers others beſides himſelf be aſſiſtant. The principal cauſes ſhare indeed the chief glory in producing their effects, but not of being the onely producers of them, and the Sun himſelf could not enamel the earth with the Flowers of the Spring, unleſſe other cauſes did co-operate; and as no Labourer how vigilant ſoever can hinder the fields from producing Weeds; ſo it is likewiſe impoſſible that a chief Miniſter how prudent ſoever, ſhould ſo ſettle a State that no diſorder ſhould appear in it, ſeeing it is no leſſe natural for people to be unruly, then for the earth to bring forth weeds. The ſecond, that it is a work of time to re-eſtabliſh a State once fallen into confuſion. Nature works ſlowly, produceth the ſeed out of the grain, the ſien from the ſeed, the tree from the ſien, the flower from the tree, and at laſt the fruit. Thus likewiſe a Miniſter of State, how excellent ſoever he be, cannot reduce confuſion into order, but by little and little, and by ſetting his Engines on work one after another. There muſt needs be ſome time ſpent in inquiring into the true cauſes of theſe evils, it being impoſſible to apply convenient remedies without diſcovering the original defect. He had need be inſtructed with Prudence and experience to conſider thoſe things which have heretofore conduced to make that State flouriſh, which he would now reſtore, and alſo that which hath been glorious for other States. He ought to imitate good Phyſitians, who having obſerved thoſe ill humours which cauſe the ſickneſſe, uſe their art firſt to purge them out, and then to bring their Patient to a good temper. The principal cauſes of the ruine of a State, are civil Wars, diſreſpect of authority, the too great Power of Princes of the Blood, Strangers and Governours, Factions, negligence in Judges to puniſh publick diſorders, want of good Diſcipline among Souldiers, and the oppreſſures of the people: now what a deal of time muſt there be to redreſſe all theſe and eſtabliſh one quite contrary? It cannot be done but by time and labour, nay impoſſible, if the Kingdom be either in civil or forraign War. Laſtly, the Miniſter hath need of ſome time to reduce the neighbour Countries into ſuch a condition that they may not indanger his. Phyſitians are carefull for the reſtoring of their Patient to perfect health, that neither the ayr, nor any thing about him, may be offenſive to him, and a Prudent Miniſter is no leſſe obliged to be carefull; not onely that his neighbours may not injure him, but that they may be ſerviceable to him. He muſt keep a ſtrict intelligence with his Allies, not injuring them, but aſſiſting them in all occaſions, as the Romans did, who ſent their Embaſſadours from Town to Town, to make a friendſhip with them, and to divert them from the Carthaginians. He ought to indeavour the breaking off all Leagues between forraign Princes, whoſe ſtrength by their uniting might become ſuſpected, whence it follows, that he ought not to be over-haſty in extinguiſhing any Wars between them; nay ſome he is bound to foment, as *Lewis* the Eleventh did, to divert thoſe ſtorms, which elſe would have fallen upon *France*. Theſe are the chief means which can contribute to the eſtabliſhment of a State; but who ſeeth not that amongſt a thouſand different cauſes, it is impoſſible totally to effect it, unleſſe after a long time, and with extream care and diligence.

*The*

### *The Marſhal* de Marillac *is ſend by the King to* Monſieur.

THey of the Queen Mothers faction, would by no means let ſlip *Monſieur's* retreat, without making advantage of it. They deſpaired of ever overcoming his Majeſty, conſidering how great an eſteem he profeſſed to have of the Cardinals ſervices; They very well knew, that the Queen Mother could not countenance any one againſt him, ſo powerfully, as *Monſieur*, whereupon they did their utmoſt, to breed a good underſtanding between them; and when his Majeſty had ſent divers to *Monſieur*, they did at laſt work the Queen Mother, to procure *Marillac* to be ſent to him, a perſon whom they knew to be fit for their deſign. The Cardinal gave him his inſtructions, as to what he ſhould ſay from his Majeſty, which tended to remember him, how really his Majeſty did affect him heretofore; to aſſure him, he was not at all altered at that preſent; That his Majeſty did not complain of him for his departure, but of his Servants, who had perſwaded him to it, and that he was ſo much the more obliged to return with ſpeed, becauſe all *Europe* would blame him, in caſe the Emperor and Spaniard ſhould make any great progreſſe in *Italy*, whilſt his Majeſty ſtayed at *Paris* in Expectation onely of his comming thither. The Cardinal alſo conſidering, how lately he had obliged *Marillac*, by procuring the Marſhals ſtaffe for him, could not ſuſpect any double dealing from him, whereupon he very earneſtly recommended this one thing more to him, that he would teſtifie to *Monſieur* how deſirous he was to ſerve him, and to aſſure him, that next to the preſervation of his Maſters favour, he had not any greater ambition, then of being known for his moſt humble and faithful Servant. But he inſtead of performing any tittle of this ſecond Commiſſion, no leſſe important for the good of *France*, then the former, only diſcourſed to him, of the great power this Grand Miniſter had in the Kingdome; concerning the many ſtrong places in his Government; of the great Expences he made, and thoſe vaſt benefits which the King beſtowed on him; he well knew this to be the only way, to provoke him unto Jealouſie, and to encreaſe thoſe diſguſts which he had already conceived againſt him, which were ſtill fomented by thoſe who were about him. Indeed he did not quite forget to tell him, that the Cardinal recommended his very humble ſervice to him; but *Monſieur* asking whether he would paſſe his word for performance of it, replied No; by which and the like anſwers he raiſed ſo great a diſtruſt againſt him, that it was impoſſible to perſwade him to return to his Majeſty, until the Cardinal had paſſed the Alpes.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

PRudence and Fidelity are two of the moſt neceſſary qualities in a perſon, imployed in Negotiation of Affairs; The former to ſerve, the ſecond to prevent all diſſervice to him who employeth. He who tranſacteth any affair without Prudence, is like a Workman without Art; well may he have his Tools, but he knows not how to uſe them, and juſt as a Workman marrs his ſubject matter, if he know not what form to give it, ſo doth an Imprudent Negociator, ruin both publique and private affairs, committed to his charge and care; for Prudence ought to be his guide, the Conduct of his thoughts and words, and the ſquare by which he ruleth his Actions; without it there is not the leaſt hope of a good ſucceſſe. Now although this vertue be thus and thus neceſſary, yet fidelity is in ſome ſort, much more; By fidelity I mean, a firm conſtancy, and an unalterable reſolution to ſerve them who ſet him on work; Without this, all the Abilities and Prudencies in the world are not worth one Ruſh; For admit Prudence inlightneth his Soul, yet fidelity is that which guideth his deſires; though Prudence tell him what are the fitteſt wayes to obtain the end of his Commiſſion, yet it is fidelity which preſerveth him from turning either to the right or left, after any particular advantages; and if Prudence preventeth him from being cheated and deceived, yet ſtill fidelity defendeth him from all by Intereſts. Fidelity teacheth all men, that a Negociator ought not to look upon

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what lyeth in his power, but upon what his faith obligeth him, which is, the inviolable preſervation of his Intereſts who employeth him, and that with ſo ſacred a reſpect, that no paſſion prevail upon him, to divert him from it.

Breach of Truſt is a fault ſo much the more odious in a Negotiator, becauſe publique affairs are entruſted with his integrity. Now for the choiſe of ſuch perſons, moſt fit for this kind of employment, I am of opinion, that they who are of an indifferent Temper, and of an approved honeſty, are much more proper, then refined crafty men. The former are much more capable of a true affection; They will at leaſt ſtick cloſe to every tittle in their Inſtructions, and return a right and exact accompt of the State of affairs, where they are ſent: Whereas the latter, are apt to refine every thing, and to imagine, that only to propoſe what they are commanded, is too little. They are commonly addicted to ingage themſelves in a thouſand things, if they concur with their particular inclinations, or Intereſts, inſtead of adhering barely to that which is given them in charge.

## Monſieur's *Penſion is augmented.*

THE Cardinal was well informed of the many devices uſed by *Monſieur's* Creatures to divert him from that eſteem which he ever had of his Services, neither was he defective in uſing his utmoſt care to give him all ſatisfaction and content, whereby he might oblige him to return; for he evidently foreſaw, that ſtrangers might raiſe advantages from theſe our inteſtine broyles, whereupon, although he could not ſerve him in making up his Match with the Princeſſe *Marie*; (a thing ſo paſſionately by him deſired) in regard the Queen Mother oppoſed it with all her Intereſt, yet he procured his Majeſty to encreaſe his Revenue, by granting him the Dutchyes of *Valois* and *Chartres*, and one hundred thouſand Livres *per annum* augmentation out of the Exchequer, which was two thirds more then the Revenue of all the Princes of *France* that had ever yet been, and withal ſo wrought with his Majeſty, that he promiſed him the Command of the Army of *Champagne*, and Government of the adjacent Provinces to *Paris*, in caſe the Queen Mother went into *Italy*, with his Majeſty, as ſhe gave out ſhe would. The King made ſome difficulty of encreaſing his Revenue, becauſe he had ſo often found him capable of evil Counſels, which made him miſdoubt leſt he might employ them only in raiſing new Broyles in the Kingdome. But the Cardinal whoſe admirable ſoul foreſeeth all remedies, propoſed to his Majeſty, which he very well approved, that whenever he ſhould ſo do, his Rents and Revenews ſhould be ſeized to his Majeſties uſe. *Monſieur* was acquainted with theſe affairs, and withal told, he was now obliged to be ſatisfied and contented in caſe he did only deſign to live within the limits of reſpect and obedience, ſeeing his Majeſty had given him ſufficient to live like a Prince, and to ſatisfie his ſmaller diverſions. And he being by nature and of himſelf well enough inclined to live in obedience and order, accepted of it, and accordingly his accomodation being thus made, he promiſed his Majeſty, that he would very ſodainly return into *France*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

## *Concerning the* * Appanages *of the Princes of the Bloud.*

* *Revenues for life only, the remainder being in the Crown.*

IT is very dangerous to allot any chief Provinces for *Appanage* to the Princes of the Bloud. Their Birth renders them great enough, neither need they any additions of Honour, eſpecially ſuch which may ſerve them to make revolts, which commonly draw their ruine with them, if their Kings rule as they ought to do. If they demand them for ſecurity, they may be anſwered, that they ought to expect none, but from their own obedience, and their Kings bounty. Their weakneſs is the

the Kings ſtrength, neither can they increaſe, but his muſt diminiſh. He who intruſteth them with power, raiſeth a dangerous enemy againſt himſelf. The Sun is but one, and all the Stars receive their light from him; yet upon condition that he may at his pleaſure deprive them again of that ſplendour; juſt ſo is it with Princes, their greatneſſe proceedeth from the King, and he may deſpoil them of all their honour in a moment, if once they recede from the due reſpect they owe unto him. The Riches which he beſtoweth on them, are for the diſcharging of thoſe expences which are proper for perſons of their eminency, not for the upholding of Factions, and abetting of Revolts. What advantage did *Charles* of *France* take in *Normandy*, (given to him for Appanage) towards making a War againſt *Lewis* the Eleventh his Brother? And the States aſſembled at the ſame time at *Tours*, did much admire his Majeſty would ſo give it to him, but adviſed him to recall it, and grant him onely an Annual Revenue, ſome in Lands and ſome in Penſion, in lieu of his Appanage. Who did ever bring into ſo many eminent dangers, as the Appanages of *Berry* and *Bourgogne*? Were not theſe two Provinces the retreats of all diſcontents? Were not the Courts of thoſe two Dukes, the Forges where all the Thunderbolts that were afterwards thrown about the Kingdom were formed and contrived? Were not there the ſprings of all diſſentions, diſcontents, and civil wars? And were not they the perſons who brought in the Kings of *England*, and Dukes of *Britain*, onely to favour the deſigns of their Ambition?

## *The Cardinal is declared* Generaliſſimo *of the Kings Armies in* Italy.

THe ſpirit of diviſion which had till then kept *Monſieur* from the King, gave great hopes to the enemies of the State, to advance their deſigns in *Italy*. They doubted not of inflaming a civil War in *France*, which might ſo divert his Majeſties Armies, that he could not have the leiſure to come up to them a ſecond time. The Duke of *Lorain* offered *Monſieur* as many forces and money as he could deſire, and the Duke of *Savoy* who never yet eſcaped a broil, ſent twice to him to complain, that he being ſo much his ſervant, he ſhould take any other country for his retreat, and to offer him his, with proteſtation of quitting the Soveraign authority to him; nay, that he would even forſake it, to make him abſolute Maſter thereof, as alſo of himſelf and children to be diſpoſed at his Will and Pleaſure. Theſe Offers were ſufficient to have charmed any Soul, had he been at that time ſo diſtruſtfull as after he was; but he rather choſe to follow thoſe juſt reaſons which the King had propoſed to him, and to ſubmit himſelf to his pleaſure. All that forraign faction was wonderfully ſurpriſed at the news of his accommodation; and the Cardinal who ſtayed his Army from advancing into *Italy*, onely in expectation of his return, perſwaded his Majeſty no longer to defer his reſolution, that the Spaniards might not make any further progreſſe. The King deſired to go in perſon, he being too couragious to entertain himſelf in a Chamber, whiles his Armies were in the field. But the Cardinal who foreſaw that the unſeaſonableneſs of the time might indanger him, adviſed him to ſtay ſome time, and offered himſelf to undertake that imployment. The King received this Propoſition as an aſſured teſtimony of his fidelity, but ſuch & ſo tender was his affection to him, that he could hardly be perſwaded to part with him, he being as much grieved to conſent to his departure from him, as he was heretofore joyed for his return, as was ſeen by all the Court at *Rochel*, *Privas*, and *Fountainbleau*. Yet at laſt his Majeſty knowing how important the aſſiſting of *Monſieur de Mantua* was, as alſo how much the glory of his Armies and Authority were concerned in it, could not intruſt them with any but the Cardinal, who was not onely the chief Miniſter in his Counſels, but alſo the greateſt Commander in his Kingdom. He knew in what reputation he was amongſt ſtrangers, & what Courage his preſence infuſed into the Souldiery. Of his Prudence he was aſſured, having oftentimes ſeen his Enemies Plots diſcovered by him, & prevented before ever they were ready to be put

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n execution. His good conduct too he could not be ignorant of, he having by often experiment found it to be exact and excellent, and ſuch as was to be preferred before any other. In fine, he could not doubt of Victory, whileſt his Army was incouraged by ſo brave a Commander. Theſe were the reaſons which induced his Majeſty to give him that command of Generaliſſimo. As ſoon as he had received his Commiſſion he departed from *Paris*, being about the latter end of the year, which his Majeſty intended to celebrate by as famous an Act as he began it. As great exploits beget emulation, ſo ſome there were who muttered that ſuch an imployment ſhould be conferred on a Cardinal, an Eccleſiaſtical perſon, but they betrayed their own ignorance; who knew not that Hiſtory affords us divers examples of ſeveral Cardinals, who at ſundry times have commanded Armies. *Spain* in the time of King *Alphonſus*, made uſe of the grand Cardinal *Albornoz*, who followed him through the midſt of the moſt bloudy Battels. Then *Ferainand* and *Iſabella* imployed the great Cardinal *Ximenes*, General of their Armies in *Affrick*. *Italy* hath had many Cardinals out of the families of the *Colonni*, the *Vitileſci*, the *Carffi*, the *Fregoſi*, who have ſhewed their valour in Armies, that we might know, that as the Romans with their long Robes, did heretofore Conquer the greateſt part of the Univerſe, ſo that that habit was not inconſiſtent with Victories. Beſides the ignorance of thoſe Cenſurers could not bee excuſed, ſeeing they knew how that the ancient Laws of this Kingdom do oblige ſeveral of our Biſhops to follow his Majeſty in perſon to the Wars, as alſo that they are bound to it by the Tenures of their Temporal Eſtates. It is to be ſeen in *Hugon* and the Chronicle of *St. Dennis*, in the year, 1209. that *Philip Auguſtus* being at War with the Engliſh, called upon all the Biſhops to accompany, which they did accordingly; and afterwards that the Biſhops of *Orleans* and *Auxerre*, ſeeing the King was not there, returned back again, they pretending themſelves not obliged to it, unleſſe when the King were there in perſon: The King ſeized upon their Temporal Eſtate, which they complaining of at *Rome*, could have no other redreſs, but that they ought to obey his Majeſty, the Pope being unwilling to break the cuſtomes of the Kingdom, neither were they reſtored to the enjoyment of their goods, untill they had payed their Fines for it. In the ſame manner, I have ſeen an Act of the Biſhops of *Auxerre*, dated in the year one thouſand two hundred twenty and two; by which he confeſſed himſelf obliged to ſend to the War of the *Albigeois*, being unable to go thither in perſon, by reaſon of his infirmity; and another injunction made to the Bayliffs in the year thirteen hundred and four, commanding all Prelates and Eccleſiaſticks who were bound to attend his Majeſties ſervice, that they ſhould be ready to wait on his perſon. Theſe examples may ſerve to demonſtrate, that Prelates have heretofore been accuſtomed to ſerve our Kings, ſo that there cannot be any juſt exceptions made againſt their following of his Majeſty in Arms.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THe General of an Army being the ſecond perſon of a Kingdom, had need be indued with all the qualities neceſſary to the King himſelf, but thoſe which do moſt contribute to his glory, and the good ſucceſſe of the Armies under his command, are Prudence, Courage and Reputation: Prudence is like the eye which beholds thoſe things that are proper to be done, and what is fit to be commanded; Courage is that which executeth them, and Reputation is like the ſoul in couragious Battels, which gives motion to the Souldiers with ſo extraordinary a generoſity, that it is eaſie to know, when they are commanded by a General in whom they have a confidence. Prudence is neceſſary for him to deliberate with judgement, what is ſound and fit, and to command them to good purpoſe, which teacheth him to keep his Army in good order, which acquainteth him with the humour and diſpoſition not onely of thoſe Officers who command under him, but likewiſe of his Souldiers, that he may the more readily know how to command them upon his deſigns, which teacheth him the obſervation of military Laws, which helpeth him to foreſee and prevent great

great dangers, which gives him means to judge of Treaties, and make advantages of them as occaſion ſhall happeu; which furniſheth him with reſolution to proſecute his deſigne, with courage of mind to bear mis-fortunes and with moderation in good ſucceſſe. Theſe are ſome of thoſe effects of that Prudence which is requiſite in a General. I could add a thouſand other ſubjects in which it is needfull, but for the preſent, I ſhall onely ſay in general, terms that Prudence ought to be the rule by which he ſquareth all his actions. Thus did the Egyptians acknowledge it for an inſeparable companion of command, whiles they repreſented it, by an eye placed over a Scepter. If a General have need of Prudence, ſurely Courage is no leſſe neceſſary for him, that he may break through all obſtacles which may happen for the aſſaulting of his enemies with rigour; that he may adventure upon dangers without fear; that himſelf may be in the fights, and that in his own perſon he may lead up his forces to infuſe the greater reſolutions in them. It is not that he ſhould raſhly run into dangers, but to look them in the face, and to ſend others on without apprehenſion of fear. It is an errour in young men who think that a General cannot be couragious, unleſſe he run madly into dangers; that were rather fury, and would procure him the diſcredit of being raſh, rather then the honour of being couragious. If he had an heart without judgement, to what purpoſe were it? He being the Soul of War, and others lives depending on his, he is bound to preſerve himſelf for the preſervation of others. Not that he ought to be abſent when orders are to be given, or his Souldiers incouraged, but that he ought not to run headlong into the heat of the Battel, unleſſe when he finds the Victory wavering, and that his example is requiſite to renew the courage of his Souldiers, and to carry the day by ſome extraordinary attempt. In ſuch occaſions he may adventure himſelf, elſe not. His ſtaffe of command being to force others on, and the Sword in the Souldiers hand to execute his commands. Laſtly, Reputation is requiſite in a General, for without it, the Souldiers have not any confidence in him; whereas, when they once eſteem him, it intitles him to a greater power over them then any other thing, when they ſhall have oftentimes ſeen him break through dangers, they will not flinch at any thing. The Sun his vigour maketh all things the more fruitfull; and it is moſt certain that the reputation of a General is that which makes him more reſplendant amongſt his forces, and adds a great life to his commands. The Souldier moves but by halfs under a low ſpirited Commander, and is hardly perſwaded to any extraordinary enterpriſes. He ſeems onely to have Arms for his own defence; but when his Commander is a perſon of reputation, it is far otherwiſe. I am of the ſame judgement with him, who ſaid, Opinion hath ſo great an Empire, that it governs the whole world; at leaſt it is ſo far true, for that virtue her ſelf would have but ſmall authority in commanding, without being beholding to her. Thus an ancient, and that wiſely, held that the happineſſe of ſucceſſe, was the daughter of authority, and of the reputation of great men.

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*The End of the First Book.*

# THE HISTORY OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE Cardinal de Richelieu.

## Second Part.

### *Anno* 1630.

IF Antiquity hath made *Afrique* to paſſe for one of the moſt wonderfull Countries of the World; becauſe it every day produceth ſomething, which is both new and Monſtrous, I am moſt confident that this years Hiſtory will enforce the judgments, of thoſe who ſhall conſider it to confeſſe, that *Europe* runs the ſame Parallel: and the extraordinary diverſity which is here met with, is ground enough for it, ſeeing every Sun brings to light, ſomewhat which is not common, and ſeems to give a new face to all State affairs. *Bellona* ſets all parts on fire with the flames of War. Peace endeavoured which all it's might to extinguiſh it in *Italy*: Honour and diſgrace breed ſtrange effects; Ingratitude will cauſe us to behold ſuch Monſters, that the Age to come will want faith to believe the qualities of them. Love and hatred, will a like ſtrenuouſly act their parts; The Stars of Heaven in their malignities one againſt t'other, ſeem to conſpire the ruin of Nations and Armies; In a word there is not any one thing which a man may call ſtrang or unheard of, but I

find acted to the life in this years compaſſe, not to ſay in *Europe*, but even in *France* it ſelf.

It ſhould ſeem that Heaven, which cannot juſtly be more admired at for any thing then that of its various twinking lights the Stars, is ſometimes delighted to ſhew us an extraordinary diverſity in Negotiations of States, and partly to afford thoſe who govern, fit opportunities to teſtifie their Prudence to the World: The Divine wiſdom permits their Splendor to be ſomtime Eclipſed with thick clouds, which are ſoon after diſſipated and blown over, to make their light appear the more glorious. Such is the condition both of Kingdoms and particular men, that they are both equally ſubject to the changes of Fortune. But as the wiſe and prudent Pilot ſaves and keeps his veſſel, in the greateſt and moſt violent ſtorm, not loſing his judgment, either at the flaſhes of lightning, or the claps of Thunder which cuts and rends the air on every ſide. So likewiſe a great Miniſter cannot be moved at any ſhocks of Fortune, his courage never permitting her to Triumph in the leaſt over his reſolution, or to Byas him from the Laws of Prudence, the rule of all his conduct, and this it is you will find our Cardinal to practiſe in all and every the tranſactions of this year.

## *The Promotion of the Arch-biſhop of* Lions, *and* Monſieur Bagny *to the Cardinalſhip.*

I Will begin with the Honours which the King procured his Holineſs to beſtow, with, the Cardinals Hats on the Arch-biſhop of *Lions*, and *Monſieur Bagny* the Popes Nuntio. The great Worth of the former at the leaſt equalized that honour of the Cardinalſhip, and his ſublime vertue, made it apparent to all the World, that to have left him in the ſolitudes of a Cloyſter, had been a great injury and wrong to the whole Church. I ſhall not need ſay more of him, then that he was the Cardinals Brother, ſeeing that qualification were ſufficient to render him capable of ſo eminent a dignity. The King who ſlips not any occaſion of acknowledging the ſervices which he had done both to his Perſon and Eſtate, could not endure to ſee him have a Brother in the Church, and not advanced to the utmoſt degree of Honour which the French are capable of: and the Pope had but too much aſſurance and knowledge of the great advantages he had procured to the Church; ſo that he could not do leſſe then honour his Brother with a hat, ſeeing it was not in his power to raiſe himſelf to any higher Eminency. Its true by the Laws of the Roman Court, it is not permitted that two Brothers be Cardinals at the ſame time: But as theſe Laws are not ſo conſiderable as thoſe of gratitude and acknowledgment, ſo his Holineſs did not ſo much as once ſcruple at it; And for that which concerns *Monſieur de Bagny*, beſides the cuſtome of ordinarily conferring the Cardinalſhip on ſuch as have for ſome time reſided neer his Majeſty, in the quality of his Holineſs Nuntio, which ſeems to give him ſome right or claim to the Hat; His own Worth, which rendered him deſerving in the judgments of all the Grandees in the Kingdom, not only of the Cardinalſhip, but even of the Papal Miter, every one predicting that he would one day wear is, invied, nay enforced the King to contribute his utmoſt to obtain it for him; and not only that but the quality of his Genius cauſed every one to conclude, that he would one day be very conſiderable in the Court of *Rome*, when before he had arrived to that pitch of Honour, he could not but be very advantageouſly uſeful to the Intereſts of *France*, which upon frequent occaſions depend upon their well management in the Conſiſtory.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

ALthough the Cardinals are not regarded in *France*, but as Princes who are ſtrangers. Yet this their promotion doth not render them leſſe uſeful or important to the State; they being more conſiderable, then other Princes of the ſame condi-

condition, by reaſon of the affairs which are daily negotiated with his Holineſs the Pope, and indeed ought to be reſpected, as the principal conſervators under the King, of the Liberties and Franchiſes of the French Church and State; they being his Majeſties Chief Miniſters in Ordinary, neer the Pope: and it hath been alwayes held neceſſary, that there were ſome one of this quality, either a French man by Nation, or at leaſt very affectionate by Nature, to the Intereſts of *France*, who might cordially advance the deſigns and concerns of the French King and Church, with his Holineſs the Pope. And from hence it came to paſſe, that if they were naughty French, little affectionate either to the State or his Majeſties Perſon, or infected with the *Maximes* of *Spain*, that great Inconveniences befell, as hath been heretofore ſeen; and for my particular I believe it to be ſafer for his Majeſty, to permit *France* to be without any, rather then ſuch Cardinals. But we live not in an age, which hath any reaſon to complain of ſuch an unhappineſs, ſeeing *France* oweth the reſtauration of its greatneſs and glory, to the Cardinal, as to the Prime and firſt of ſecond Cauſes, which Act under the King; for to him chiefly belongs the Honour, in that he had ſo great an influence upon the Popes diſpoſition, that he gave the Italians themſelves a juſt occaſion to ſay, that his Holineſs was turned Cardinal.

## *The diſpatch of the Marſhal* d'Etree *to the Commonwealth of* Venice, *concerning the Affairs of the Duke of* Mantua.

I Shall paſſe from the conſideration of thoſe reaſons of State, which might be made, upon the aforeſaid Lords Promotion to the Cardinalſhip, that I may tell you how about the end of the foregoing year; Fortune being become ſeldome favourable to the houſe of *Auſtria* or their Arms, the Imperialiſts found themſelves, ſo oppreſſed with diſeaſes, and incumbred with ſickneſſes and neceſſities, that they were enforced to raiſe the ſiege of *Mantua*. But it was as if they had only withdrawn themſelves into their Winter quarters. The Duke of *Mantua* was vigilant for the preſervation of his State, and well knew the ambitious humor of *Spain*, which had ſought all occaſions for fifey years paſt, to render themſelves Maſters of *Italy*, and would not now bee wanting to reaſſume their former deſign, in cauſing new Troops to come from *Germany*, and in giving better Orders and Inſtructions, then heretofore, that they might give new life to their intentions and deſigns. This moved him to make addreſſes to the King, that he would be pleaſed to interpoſe his Authority with the Venetians, to induce them to raiſe an Army, and make themſelves Maſters of the field, which would diſcourage the Imperialiſts, to return or make any more approaches towards *Mantua*: This requeſt of his was granted, and the Marſhal *d'Eſtree*, diſpatched towards *Venice* about the beginning of *January*, to treat there, concerning thoſe ſuccours, with order to retire himſelf into *Mantua*, after the concluſion of his Embaſſie, according as the Cardinal had perſwaded the King to be moſt proper, before he had began his Journy thither. And thus, it being buſineſs of no ſmall importance for the Venetians to hinder the Spaniard from ſeating himſelf ſo neer them as *Mantua*. (His Dominion, being like the Eagles Feathers, which frets and eateth away thoſe which are next and neereſt unto it,) they readily imbraced the protection of the ſaid Duke of *Mantua*, and choſe the Duke of *Candal* for their General, and gave him after many importunities continually ſuggeſted by the Marſhal *d'Eſtree*, about twelve thouſand foot, and three thouſand Horſe, to which were joyned the Regiments of *Candale* and *Valette*, which were about three thouſand men a piece ſent by the King.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

IT is very neceſſary to know the deſigns of an Enemy, before he be in a condition to put them in Execution, and this foreſight is ſo much the more commendable, by how much it is profitable and commodious to the good of a Commonwealth. That

That Prince is much to be blamed, who begins to make preparations of defence, when he ſees an Armed Enemy at his Gates, and he is oftentimes well beaten for his negligence.

The preparations of War, which a Prince maketh in expectation of being aſſaulted or ſet upon, are a certain Index of his courage, and a ſure teſtimony of his reſolution, which allayes and cheques, the heat and fury of an Enemy, who may from thence gather, that he diſpoſeth himſelf in good earneſt to entertain the War, and that one thing is ſometimes capable of frighting them from making any incurſions or invaſions into a Country. It is very dangerous to deſpiſe an Enemy after a victory, and as great a fault to ſlight him before a fight. Fear is ſtill attended with ſhame and confuſion, when it faintly withdraws from the Battle; But that which produceth no other effect in the Soul of a Prince, then the reſolution of preparation for the War when he finds himſelf threatned with an Invation, cannot but be allowable, honourable and commendable. On the otherſide, the little eſteem which a man hath of his Enemies, gives them a notable advantage, ſeeing it cauſeth a neglect of the keeping Forces in a condition of repelling Enemies, and gives them oportunities of time and place to advance, to fortifie and to put all their deſigns in Execution; ſo that it will be at laſt full as difficult to compel them to retire, as at firſt it had been eaſie to have ſtop't and impeded their entrance or approches. And this *Maxime* I learn from *Cæſar*, who inſtead of neglecting or ſlighting his Enemies, made his Souldiers alwayes believe that their Enemies were very ſtrong, that every one might diſpoſe himſelf to fight, either by redoubling his courage, or reſolving to preſerve himſelf in that Station and Orders, which his Officers ſhould allot and aſſign unto him.

## *The Kings departure towards* Italy.

THis very conſideration drew the Cardinal to advance, with all diligence to *Lion*, where he ſoon found what he before ſuſpected; The Duke of *Savoys* being Guilty of Infidelity, and that he ſought for pretences and excuſes, that he might not keep his promiſe with the King, to which he was obliged by the Treaty at *Suze*: which was, That he ſhould keep open the Paſſages of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, and furniſh the Markets with victuals for the Souldiers in conſideration of ſuch wheat and mony, as had been accorded between them, and whereof a good part had been delivered into his Cuſtodie. Of all which the King was adviſed, whoſe courage was ſo ſenſibly toucht at it, that he preſently reſolved to ſet forward in his own perſon, ſo that neither the length of the journey, the extremity of the Ice or Snow, nor the moſt violent ſtorms of the Winter, were able to divert him from it.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

A Generous Prince, cannot bear indignities without reſenting of them, his courage is a fire which tormenteth him with continual impatiences, until he hath puniſh't the Authors which ſuch uſage, as they deſerve: he is not at all allayed with the injuries he hath ſuffered, but thence takes freſh courage to aſſault them the more furiouſly; He well knoweth, that a firm a ſtrong reſolution, is the beſt Counſel which can be taken in ſuch affairs, not to be aſtoniſhed, at any thing what ever and to keep ones ſelf immovable to his Principles of rendring himſelf known to his Enemies by the ſtrength of his Arms, and how they do but wrong themſelves in attempting any thing contrary to the reſpect, and the fidelity, which is due unto him.

### *The Proſecution of the Subject.*

AFter the King had been once aſſured of the reſolution taken by the Spaniards for a ſecond ſiege of *Cazal*, that they might recover the Honour and glory which they had loſt before it the laſt year; He was not ignorant that the Marques

of

of *Spinola's* being in *Milan*, with ſo puiſſant an Army was to no other purpoſe, then to attend, till the firſt fair ſeaſon of the new Spring, might give him an occaſion of commencing the ſiege with leſſe diſaſter and trouble. And as he was not ignorant, how neceſſary his own preſence was with this Armies, who knew not what it was to be vanquiſhed and to looſe that Honour, which they had once acquired, ſo his Majeſty, to whom nothing appears difficult when a Battail is once in Queſtion, ingageth himſelf in this expedition, that by his preſence, he might animate his Troops and gain as much glory in the head of his Army, as the Princes of *Auſtria* do ſhame, and reproach by being in their pleaſures and recreations, whiles their Souldiers run the hazards of a Battail, or ſuffer the toilſome incommodities of a ſiedg.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is moſt true, the preſence of a King worketh ſtrange effects, in their Armies; there is a certain vivacity and gallantry of courage, which flows from their Majeſty, which doth ſo ſtrongly animate their Souldiers reſolutions, that nothing is able to reſiſt them. The moſt generous are troubled in their feats, if they have not the eyes of a Prince for witneſſes of their actions, from whence they either hope for a glory or a reward: And the moſt cowardly, at the ſight of them, are touch't to the very Soul with ſuch a ſtrong influence and reſentment, that there is not any danger how great ſoever able to infuſe the leaſt fear into them, and they only apprehend a defect of occaſions to ſignalize themſelves, before ſuch extraordinary teſtimonies of a great valour. The late King *Heury* the Great, ſhewed the World in ſix ſeveral encounters, how much valour his preſence inſtilled into his Souldiers, when with a handful of men he carried away the victory from the moſt puiſſant Armies of the Enemies of his Crown, moſt eſpecially in the Battails of *Arques* and *Fontain-Françoiſe*, where he gave a ſure teſtimony, that his only perſon was capable of vanquiſhing, though ſeconded with never ſo ſmall a Troop. It would be an offence to the generous Courage of the preſent King, to imagine he hath leſſe valour, then him from whom he received his Crown; after he hath teſtified in many occaſions that he doth much ſurpaſs him: and therefore there is nothing elſe to be expected, but his ſodaine departure, which preſently followed, and he appeared in the head of his Troops ſoon after the firſt news & adviſe, that the Duke of *Savoy* made it a difficulty to open the Paſſages for his Army.

*The Queen Mothers journy to his Majeſty.*

THE Queen Mother was ſtrongly bent not to leave the King in any of his journies or expeditions, not only that ſhe might have a hand in the diſpoſing of affairs and to divert (if by any means ſhe could) his Majeſty from aſſiſting the Duke of *Mantua*, whom ſhe did not thwart out of any hatred, but that ſhe might pick an occaſion of ruining the Cardinal in his Majeſties good opinion; Neither could the conſideration of the extream Illneſs of the ſeaſon, or the difficulty of the Paſſages any whit divert her, but from *Paris* ſhee ſoon followed him, by the perſwaſions of the Chancellor *Marillac*, who after he had made himſelf Maſter of her will and mind would as willingly have rendered himſelf *Dominus factotum* in his room, who had placed him, ſo near her Majeſty.

*Politique Obſervation.*

ANger is a Paſſion, which forceth a man to undertake any thing, nay all things. It is a Torrent which bears down, whatſoever doth reſiſt it, and its Rhetorique is ſo perſwaſive, that there is no difficulty whatever, which it will not break through and make appear feaſeable, to thoſe who will but lend an ear to its Reaſons, ſo there be but any time fix't, in which it may arrive to take that revenge which

which it propoſeth it ſelf. Anger is moſt Induſtrious and Vigilant upon every oportunity of offending thoſe whom it ayms at, and there is not any thing which it will not patiently endure, ſo that it may arrive to the end of its deſigns. Anger too, as it hath no fellowſhip with Prudence, but a great friendſhip with boldneſs, (which makes it hope and attempt the levelling of *Mountains*) ſo it doth frequently tumble thoſe whom it poſſeſſeth into thoſe pits, and ſnares which they had provided for others. Anger, hath alwayes its eyes and thoughts fix't upon the end of its deſigns, not once conſidering the difficulties, dangers or wickedneſſes, which accompany the means of obtaining its deſires. And it is apparently ſeen, that the minds of thoſe who are once tranſported with this Paſſion, reflect on nothing but how they may quench that fire with which they burn, concluding there is no other water to extinguiſh it, then the ruin and downfal of thoſe whom they hate and maligne, little imagining that a Remedie of this quality will conſume them in a worſe heat, and render their diſeaſe the more tormenting.

In fine, it is moſt of all dangerous in great Perſonages, becauſe the deſigns into which it tranſports their courages, are not alwayes conformable to the good of the State; And by reaſon they have more power to execute their revenges: which induced an Antient Writer to ſay, they ought to have ſo much the leſſe of this paſſion, by how much they have more power. This Anger, being but a ſimple poor fault in private perſons, is like a Thunderbolt in the hands of great men, which overthrows every thing, without any the leaſt conſideration or thought that they are ſubject to other Laws then thoſe of their own violent humours. Stars that are higheſt, move ſloweſt. And Grandees ought ſo much to moderate their emotions and ebullitions of choller, by how much their qualities and conditions are more eminent then thoſe of others.

## *The Duke of* Savoy *would not perform the Treaty agreed on with the King.*

THE Proſecution of this Hiſtory compels me to look back on the Cardinals expedition, of which we have already ſaid, that it was about the end of the foregoing year. As ſoon as he was arrived at *Lions*, he would not loſe any longer time, but after he had writ to the King, that it was not expedient for his Majeſty to venture himſelf, conſidering the extreme ill ſeaſon of the year, he preſently diſpatched the *Sieur de Servient*, Superintendent of Juſtice in his Majeſties Army, towards the Duke of *Savoy*, to inform him that he was come with forty thouſand men, with deſign to aſſiſt the Duke of *Mantua*, and to defend him from the Spaniſh oppreſſion. His Highneſs was obliged by the Treaty of *Suze*, to joyne his forces with thoſe of the King for the preſervation of that Prince, and of the Liberty of *Italy*; and but a very little before he had renewed thoſe his promiſes to the King by the Preſident of *Montfalcon*, who had aſſured his Majeſty in his behalf, that he would advance ten thouſand men, and keep his Marts well provided with neceſſaries for the Souldiers; and all this that he might be as good as his promiſe. The time was now come, in which he muſt declare himſelf, and reduce his words into Actions. The Cardinal commanded *Monſieur de Servient* to preſſe him to it in the King's behalf; The anſwer which the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould have made, if he had proceeded with that faith and truth, which ought to go hand in hand with the Promiſes of all confederate Princes had been this, that he would not go one tittle leſſe then his word; but inſtead of that fair and clear dealing, his firſt anſwer was, that he did totally diſown the Preſident of *Montfalcon*, without the leaſt ſhew of a readineſs to execute his promiſes, which gave evident cauſes of ſuſpition, that he held Intelligence with the Spaniard, and of which there had been former notice and adviſe given from other hands.

*Poli-*

*Politique Obſervation.*

THe words of Princes ought to be as inviolate as the Sanctuary, Whatever conſequence they apprehend in their affairs, is not a ſufficient ground for their double dealing; but they ought to blame their own fore-ſight. It is as diſhonourable for them to ſay, I did not think it, as it is glorious and noble for them to keep their words. That Prince cannot be thought faithfull, who will break his promiſe upon what occaſion ſoever it be, which whoſoever doth, deceiveth and cheateth himſelf; for that the truth and faith of Grandees, gives them as much power and credit, as their Swords. It is eſteemed by the moſt wiſe, to be a good Store-houſe or Armory, when a King can aſſure himſelf of the aſſiſtance of all other Princes, which he may ſafely do, ſo long as they are reputed faithfull. But when any Prince becomes faithleſſe, it is lawfull for every one to break with him, who firſt breaks himſelf. He who hath been once treacherous, is for ever looked on as a Coward, the onely going back from his word, being an aſſured ſign that his fear of others is that which makes him abandon his own Allies. A couragious Prince will keep touch with his very enemies, and it is neither fear nor neceſſity that can divert his gallant reſolutions, whileſt it is his maxime, that if Proſperity obligeth him to this high point of vertue, Adverſity doth it in a more particular manner. The Gallantry and Valour of *Attilius Regulus*, was much eſteemed of by all the Ancients, who returned willingly to the tortures of his enemies, rather then he would break his Parole once paſt unto them.

But the Duke of *Savoy* is not ſo well Principled, and being in league with the Spaniard, thought perhaps he would as little regard his word as they do, it being grown a Proverb amongſt them, that the Wind drives Words and Feathers, yet in it he will find himſelf much miſtaken, and that to his own very great diſadvantage, as well as in his many other tricks, artifices, and deſigns of amuſing and deceiving the Cardinal.

*Propoſals made by the Duke of* Savoy, *to the Cardinal* Richelieu.

FIrſt of all it was propoſed to the *Sieur de Serviens*, that a conference might be had, if it were thought fit, with the Prince of *Piedmont*, upon the Bridge of *Beauvoiſin*, there to determine what ſhould be done; deſigning that this interview ſhould entertain them with ſpecious hopes, and ſo prevent their abſolute breach with him, and ſeizure on the Paſſages by force of Arms. The Cardinal very well knew there was nothing to be thought on, but to be done; that was, to open the Paſſages, and furniſh the Markets, as it had been reſolved on; ſo that after a full debate with himſelf, what honour he was bound to render to this Prince, being the Kings Brother-in-law, he concluded, that in going to confer with him, who had falſified his word, and intended nothing but to ſurprize him, he ſhould do an act quite contrary to the Kings Majeſties Grandeur, who had done him the honour to make him Lievtenant of his Army, ſo that he abſolutely declined this meeting; as well knowing, that the Duke of *Savoy's* deſign in it, was to amuſe and delay the Army in their march; and by this means to diſperſe and bring them by little and little to nothing; ſo the Cardinal advanced to *Embrun*, not being willing to come near *Suze*, leſt in caſe the Army ſhould want reſt, they ſhould there meet with many inconveniences, and eat out all their ſtore of Proviſions.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT cannot be denied but that it is a baſeneſſe in a General to go meet him who hath broke his word, and who deſigns in his interview, nothing more then the loſſe of his Army. If he will needs go meet him, let it be with his ſword in his hand, to chaſtiſe him for the injuries he hath done. I am of the ſame opinion with the

Grand *Coſmo de Medicis*, who ſaid, a man may forgive his enemies their faults; but its fit to puniſh the offences of ſuch as caſt themſelves our friends, and under that notion betray us. But if a King, or he who repreſents his perſon, do not deſire ſatisfaction, or to revenge the injuries which are offered unto them; yet it would be ignominious to go meet and confer with a Prince, who aims at nothing but his own intereſt and advantage. This were to be defective both in the Rules of Prudence and Valour. Beſides thoſe conferences of face to face, between incenſed Princes, do rather increaſe their hatred, then breed any hearty good will between them; and of this *Plutarch* hath well adjudged, upon that conference between *Pompey* and *Lucullus*. And *Tacitus* in his *Annales*, upon the meeting between *Germanicus* and *Piſon*. It's true, the place deſign'd by the Duke of *Savoy* was proper enough, and ſuch as hath been ſometimes uſed between Princes and great Commanders, who have choſen to meet upon Bridges, in the middeſt of which Rails and Barriers have been ſet up, to prevent any attempts of either party. And thus *Lewis* the Eleventh, met *Edward* King of *England* (as *Philip de Commines* hath it) upon the Bridge of *Pequinis*. But the ſame Hiſtorian doth much diſ-approve of ſuch meetings between Princes in the midſt of their diſcontents, and eſteemeth it more to the Purpoſe, that they ſhould refer the accommodation of ſuch miſ-underſtandings to their Officers and Miniſters of State, who have not reſented any offence done to their private and particular perſons.

## *The Duke of* Savoy's *Artifices diſcovered by the Cardinal of* Richelieu.

BY this refuſal of the Cardinal, the Duke of *Savoy* concluded, that all his deſigns were diſcovered, and miſdoubting that a juſt puniſhment would follow, he had another trick to take to, which was, he granted the Paſſages and Marts, but in ſuch places as were acceſſible by none but Bears, and if thoſe were not approved of, he promiſed others, but with this reſerved reſolution, that he would ſo long delay the furniſhing the Army with Victuals and other neceſſaries, that in effect it ſhould not paſſe at all. The Cardinal whoſe Soul fore-ſees the Effects in their Cauſes, gueſſing he would flie to ſuch tricks and ſhifts, gave advice of it to the King. His Majeſties Orders ſoon came, which were to accept of no other ways then thoſe uſually called the military, it being impoſſible to lodge the Troops in any of the other Paſſages, but moſt facile for his Majeſties enemies, if they had but as much power as they had ill will both to impede their march, and indeed totally to ruine them. So the Cardinal utterly refuſed any other ways, the difference now was concerning the Markets, which the Duke indeavoured to retard with all his might and main, that the Imperialiſts and Spaniards might have time enough to fortifie themſelves in their Paſſages and places of *Mantua* and *Monferrat*, and that he might force the Army to break up, either by mutiny or famine. The Duke gave out that there was no Corn in *Savoy*, though it was well known there had been great quantities brought thither from *Breſſe*, *Dauphine*, and *Bourgogne*, and that which the King ſent from *Nice*, had been likewiſe already received. He demanded a greater rate too for Proviſions, then had been agreed on, which however the Cardinal ſubmitted to, that he might take away all occaſions of excuſes, and paid down the advance money. Notwithſtanding all this, there were fifteen days ſpun out, in which he had not provided one loaf for the whole Army, creating every day new difficulties; and in concluſion, would open no other Paſſage but that of *Candia*, which in Summer was good enough, but at that preſent ſo full of Boggs and Quagmires, that they could not be paſſed but with very great danger; ſo that all his whole proceeding for ſome time, was nothing but a continued impoſture and cheat, that he might render his promiſes made to the King of opening the Paſſages, and providing Victuals for the Souldiers ineffectual and to no purpoſe.

*Politique*

*Politique Obſervation.*

ITs uſual amongſt Princes who would deny any thing to their Allies, rather to pretend an Impoſſibility, or at leaſt a moſt extraordinary difficulty, then point blank to refuſe them, & it muſt be granted for a prudent put off, when ſuch excuſes are not contradictory to any promiſes formerly made, which if they be they rather ſerve to condemn them of injuſtice. If any great or notable loſſe inſue, as the deſtruction of an Army, or the breaking a deſign, it renders them for enemies, and adminiſters a good reaſon of commencing a War upon the Authors, without breaking any Treaty. He being reputed the firſt breaker of the Peace, who gives the firſt occaſion by his unjuſt Combinations and Practiſes, not he who firſt takes up Arms. As *Procope* the Armenian Embaſſadour, ſuggeſted to *Coſroes* King of *Perſia*, when he adviſed him to take up Arms againſt *Juſtinian*. Indeed he who would ſerve himſelf with ſuch excuſes, had need be well aſſured, that he is the ſtronger, for admitting him to be the weaker, the puniſhment of his falſeneſſe will be unavoidable, there being no one thing ſo difficult, as for a weak and low perſon to attempt and enterpriſe the deceiving and crafty undermining of others who are more able, and want neither prudence or intelligence to diſcover and detect him, nor force and power to puniſh and chaſtiſe him.

## *Propoſitions of Peace made by the Nuntio* Pauzirolo *on the Duke of* Savoy's *behalf to the Cardinal* Richelieu.

ONe other device the Duke had, by which he verily imagined to ſurpriſe and allay the Vigilance & Prudence of the Cardinal, incauſing his troops to advance together with the Artillery and Ammunition, which was to ſend him every day new Propoſitions of Peace, ſometimes by the Nuntio *Pauzirole*, who had no power to conclude any thing; otherwhiles by *Mazarini* another Lord of his Court, but never conſenting to the Kings demands, without which, he knew his Overtures would never be admitted. The King was poſitively deſirous to have the Paſſages free and open for him to ſuccour the Duke of *Mantua*, as often as need ſhould require, and the Duke of *Savoy* as peremptorily denied it, alledging that the Emperour never would conſent that the Princes of *Italy* ſhould undertake his Protection with, and againſt the whole world, and that the Spaniard never would give way that he ſhould entertain any French Troops in his ſervice, which were however very needfull for the ſurety of his Eſtate, it being impoſſible for him to raiſe a ſufficient party in his own Dukedom. The Cardinal long before had ſounded the vanity of all theſe propoſitions, which did no way prevent his care of giving all neceſſary Orders for the carrying on of the War, never would he ſtop his ears to any Propoſals of Peace, but uſed his utmoſt indeavours to obtain ſuch conditions, as without them, the King neither would or could with his honour quit his Arms. And indeed had a Peace been concluded without ſuch terms, it had been but of a ſhort continuance, for that it had onely given opportunity of time to the Spaniard, and the Duke of *Savoy* to fortifie the Paſſages, and render themſelves Maſters of the Dukedom of *Mantua* with the greater eaſe, a deſign which *France* could not brook, though the hindrance and prevention of it was at that time moſt difficult to bring to paſſe.

*Politique Obſervation.*

MOſt certain it is, that by how much a War maketh a State to be lamented, by ſo much Peace is to be wiſhed for and imbraced. Peace is the moſt ſweet bond of humane ſociety, the delight of nature, the nurſe of good Laws, of Order, and Policy, it peopleth Deſarts, and maketh the Land fruitfull, every one finds it

the more agreeable by its being accompanied with ſafety and aboundance. On the other ſide, War is a fatal ſource of miſ-fortunes, the deſolation of Countries, the demolition of Cities, the deſtruction of Nations, and the cauſe of all ſorts of miſeries.

There are, I muſt confeſſe, two Occurrences, in which War is better then Peace. The firſt, when that Peace cannot long laſt, for who can imagine that a man would take any great care to obtain that which he doth verily conclude will be as ſoon loſt. Such was *Archidamus* his advice, when he diſſwaded the Lacedemonians from making a Peace with thoſe of *Thebes*. In *Iſocrates* opinion, wiſe Princes make a War for the procuring of more certain and eſtabliſhed Peace to their eſtates and Countries, and they indure without regret the troubles of a War, that they may the longer enjoy the Tranquilities of a Peace; and moſt certain it is, that the Arms which are in the hands of a wiſe Prince do much contribute to ferment and fix it Beſides the moſt wiſe men have ever preferred War before Peace, on all ſuch occaſions, where no accommodation could be made, but to the prejudice of the Kings honour or eſtate. Peace is not to be wiſhed for but upon honourable conditions, not onely becauſe the Glory of a Prince is to be preferred before all things; but becauſe without this he hath but a ſlender aſſurance of any thing; it being apparent, that whoſoever doth patch up a Peace with any confuſion or diſorder, will quickly be the firſt that ſhall break it to recover his loſt honour and reputation. As you may find in *T. Livius*, the Carthaginians did after the ratification of the Treaty, upon the firſt War with the Romans.

## *The Revictualling of* Cazal.

After all this jugling, the Cardinal was forced to break with the Duke of *Savoy*, but his Courage was ſtill governed by his Prudence; though he did not beleeve that the Kings enemies would accept of thoſe very conditions of Peace which themſelves propoſed. Now the reaſon why he would not ſo ſoon break off the Treaty, was, becauſe he would caſt the blame on them and their party, and that the Kings Army might appear with more Juſtice on its ſide, who had proſecuted their deſires or Peace, ſo long as they might with their Honours endeavour the obtaining of it; moreover, that by this means he might pierce into their deſigns, as alſo to revictual *Cazal*, which he could not have done, ſhould he have fallen out with the Duke, as ſoon as there was an occaſion offered for it. For though the Duke had not force enough to carry away the Victory from the Kings Army, he had however ſufficient to hinder the tranſport of any releef to *Cazal* (without which, the Souldiers there could never have endured the Siege, and for which *Spinola* had began his preparations) and to skirmiſh with them in *Piedmont*, and there to hold him play untill his enemies had began the Siege, and fortified themſelves in their Trenches, which would be in a ſhort time impregnable. As ſoon as *Cazal* was thus victualled, and that he was not able to procure an honourable Peace, his Zeal and Courage for his Majeſty, was not then longer able to break the inſolencies of his enemies, which till then his Prudence and diſcretion cauſed him to paſſe by, and take no notice of at all.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

IT is not alwaies fit to break off a Treaty of Peace, as ſoon as one diſpairs of concluding it. But I think it very expedient, and a matter of great concernment to prolong it, as long as honourably one may, provided he get any advantage by it. And as *Saluſt* in his Oration of *Philippus* againſt *Lepidus*, hath well obſerved, a man ought principally to have a care that in Treaties he do not teſtifie his deſires of Peace, with too great an Ardour or Affection, becauſe that were an aſſured ſign of fear and weakneſſe, the knowledge of which gives a conſiderable advantage to ones enemies. Though in a Treaty of a Peace, a Prince reap no other benefit then this

this one; to wit, the ſending abroad with more liberty, his intelligences into his enemies Quarters, under pretence of Conferences, there to find out his enemies deſigns, yet the advantage were not deſpicable. In this Overture, the Cardinal was not behind hand with them in any of theſe particulars, for there paſſed not any day, in which he did not ſend to viſit the Duke of *Savoy*, by perſons both of great quality and judgement; well knowing, that men ſo qualified are capable in their negotiations; not onely of knowing the State of Affairs, but alſo to penetrate into the very ſecrets of their enemies Counſels. And ſo *Plutarch* hath well obſerved, that *Hannibal* was not to ſeek of this Prudent courſe in the Wars which he had with *Scipio*.

## *Divers Conferences between the Prince of* Piedmont *and Cardinal* Richelieu.

I May not paſſe by the many conferences which the Cardinal had with the Prince of *Piedmont*, in which the Prince could ſay little in his own defence, for that the Duke of *Savoy* had promiſed the opening of the Paſſages, and furniſhing the Marts with neceſſary Proviſions. At laſt all occaſions of diſcontent were removed, and the Cardinal did no longer refuſe to ſee him. I am the willinger to be a little particular in this affair, that the model of it may ſerve for Princes to guide themſelves by, in interviews of this kind. The main ends of the Prince of *Piedmont* drift were to ſift out the Cardinals deſigns in his diſcourſes, and to ſink into his thoughts, if he could find any manner of hopes, that the Cardinal would relinquiſh and wave the general Peace, with this belief, that Peradventure thoſe many inconveniences, which the Army had ſmarted for in their firſt Quarters, might have ſomewhat abated, and it might be altered, the Cardinals laſt reſolutions: But the Cardinal who well underſtood, both by his own diſcretion and experience, the ends of ſuch meetings and diſcourſes, eſpecially when ſuch perſons are concern'd in them, who in former procedures, have evidenced their intentions of lying on the Catch, ſo managed himſelf, and kept himſelf in ſo retired a garb, that the Prince of *Piedmont* could not pick the leaſt advantage out of him. At firſt nothing of buſineſs was named, only Complements and Civilities. The Cardinal made his Excuſes, that he ſhould not firſt propoſe any thing, being obliged to pay that Honour to the Prince of *Piedmont*; that he might thereby learn what it was they would be at: And the Prince fearing to diſcover himſelf, would have ſlip't his Neck out of the Collar, and left all to the Cardinals Propoſals. The time was beſt ſpent in diſcourſing of the general Peace, after both Parties had made their propoſals.

However the Cardinal ſtuck cloſe to thoſe Articles, which he had propoſed on the Kings behalf, with this proviſionary promiſe, that if they were ratified, then the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhould expect ſatisfaction from his Majeſty to whatever he ſhould deſire; more then this he would by no means diſcover telling, the Prince of *Piedmont* very plainly, that for his part, as he was not at all curious to prie into their deſigns; ſo he could not think it ſtrange, that he did not diſcourſe to him his Majeſties intentions and reſolutions.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

STayedneſs and diſcretion in Grandees, who are imployed in treaties of this Nature, is a matter of very great concernment for even by this means, thoſe who are but meanly vers'd in affairs, do diſcover the others moſt ſecret thoughts, and conſequentially, are prepared to oppoſe them and lay rubbs in their way when occaſion and time ſerves. By this means they do as it were beſiege and Block up a man by their divers prepared Queſtions and Artifices, ſo that if then he be not altogether ſilent (which will make him paſſe for an impertinent man, and render him ſuſpected) it will be impoſſible for him to tell what he would have himſelf. There are but few men

men who indeed can diſcuſs an affair of State in ſo reſerved a diſguiſement for any long continuance, but by ſome means or other they will be diſcovered, for oftentimes the Behaviour and Geſture, ſpeak a man as well as words; ſo that it is neceſſary for a States-man to arme himſelf from head to foot, before he attempt any ſuch Treaties; to be well inſtructed, adviſed and prepared not only to keep his thoughts lock't up in his own breaſt, but alſo to make ſuch propoſitions as may not in truth be any whit a kin to his thoughts, but ſuch as all elſe would conceive to be the main things he drives at: and thus he ought to be complemental, with all kind of Civilities, with an open free diſcourſe, ever referring his reſolution upon ſuch new propoſals as are made to him unto ſome other time, and never giving his anſwer upon the ſodaine, upon any occaſion whatſoever: For this ſame prolonging of a Reſolve, is a ſure hold to every wiſe man in his negotiation, but it is very difficult, I may ſay impoſſible for a man to prevent his being ſnapt and caught, if he ſhall preſume to give an anſwer in that inſtant when the Queſtion is firſt ſtarted: Thoſe with whom a man treats have commonly cunning and craft enough, ſo to addreſſe themſelves, that thereby they may diſcover that which they pretend, though they appear to be far enough from ever ſo much as ſpeaking of it: indeed without this referring and delaying of a thing to another time, there is no way to ſhun the ruining and downfall of a whole deſign. In brief, If a States-man would have his affairs to ſucceed according to his deſigns, it were requiſite that he got the repute of being a Frank, open, generous perſon, and a ſpeaker of truth, otherwiſe his words will not be beliefved, and are look't upon as no way tending to the deſign he hath, which is in effect to perſwade his Enemies, that his Intention are quite contrary to his meaning: He ought alſo to be ſecret, not to ſpeak one tittle of his deſigns. And laſtly, he muſt make himſelf a Maſter in the Art of diſſimulation, ſeigning to watch every thing and place, but that which really he doth, and by his diſcourſe ſlyly indeavouring to perſwade his deſigns, to be any thing but what they are.

### *The Proſecution of this Subject.*

A Man can hardly imagine how much the Cardinals Prudence, in theſe interviewes did hamper and perplex the Duke of *Savoy*, the Prince of *Piedmont*, *Spinola*, and all others who treated with him. The Valour of the French Nation, is that which hath made them ſo much redoubted, they having been otherwhiles taxed with want of diſcretion in their Treaties; but here they found to their confuſion, that the Cardinal had as much Prudence as courage, when as all of them had tryed alwayes to diſcover ſomewhat of his intentions, by their practiſes to tire him quite out with prolongings and delayes; but he at length cauſed the Avant Gard to March from about *Suze*, and to draw near towards *Ceſeletta*, they not gueſſing at his deſign in it, becauſe he drew farther off from *Cazal*. The Cardinal pretended to do it principally, to ingage the Duke of *Savoy* to joyn his forces with the Kings, and therefore brought the Army to his Frontiers which was ſtroug enough to have made him jealous of ſomewhat elſe; and certainly the Duke was ſomewhat more then ordinarily ingaged ſo to have done, for that the Cardinal preſently ſent him word, that the King had accorded him the vale of *Sizery* on the Bridge of *Greſin*, according to his own deſires, and that he had alſo received his Majeſties Expreſſe pleaſure, who would not have any thing omitted which might render him well pleaſed and contented.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

OUr Minds having more fire then Earth in them, have much a do to contain themſelves in negotiations: They drive on with too much vigour to the concluſion of an affair without conſidering, what way is the moſt honourable or advantageous to give an end to it Something they would willingly part with, that they might have a quick diſpatch. Strangers who know our humours and diſpoſitions,

uſe

uſe to delay us, and leave us to champ upon the Bit as they ſay, in our heats and paſſions, and to weary us out by length of time, by which means they keep our very ſouls as 'twere in priſon, amongſt the intricacies of ſeveral propoſals, giving us both ſubject and ſcope to fret and vex our ſelves; to increaſe our deſires of getting quit and free from them: from whence it follows, that at the firſt Propoſals they make us, be they never ſo little agreeable; it is with us as with Priſoners, whoſe deſign being only how to get forth, they throw themſelves out at the Window if it be but open, indangering the breaking of their very Necks; and will not expect till the dore be unlockt, that they may walk out with more Honour and Security, which is a fault from whence nothing but great Inconveniences muſt needs flow. That lively ſprightfulneſs which is in a man ſhould never tranſport him in his buſineſs beyond the Rules of Prudence, or raiſe up in him any paſſions contrary to the Laws of a diſcreet Conduct. He muſt be indued with an immoveable fidelity, that he may mock and laugh at their artifices, and with an invincible Patience, to ſurmount all their coldneſſes, that he may make them deſpair of ever raiſing any advantages by their delayes.

## *The Affairs of* Italy.

AT length the Cardinal found by experience, that theſe fetches of the Prince of *Piedmont*, did end in nothing but the retarding the Army, which till then he had paſs'd by, and put up, that it might be known to all Chriſtendome, that the Spaniard and the Duke of *Savoy* were the hinderers of the Peaces concluſion, as alſo that he might revictual *Cazal*; but being now ſatisfied, that he could not longer endure it, but with much diſhonour, and the loſſe of his Army, he reſolved to give an end to this affair; to which effect he called for the Marſhals of *Crequy* and *Schomberg*, the *Sieurs d' Auriac, de Tboiras, de Fenquires, de Servient*, and *d' Eſmery*, and having made them a relation of all which had paſs'd till that time, both concerning the General, and particular Peace, he deſired their advices, what was proper to be done in that juncture of time. The Queſtion being the keeping of *Cazal* from the Enemy, it was their joynt reſolution that it was abſolutely neceſſary to make ſure of a Paſſage both for their inlet into *Italy*, and for their retreat back again, as occaſion ſhould ſerve. Withal, that to paſſe thither was not ſo difficult, they being ſtrong enough to force their way, in deſpight of any oppoſition, but how to make ſure of a way to convey recruits, of men, mony, victuals, and other neceſſaries, for the refreſhing of the Army, and to aſſure themſelves of a ſafe regreſſe, in caſe the Army ſhould be worſted, this was the main debates. That to truſt in any promiſes of the Duke of *Savoy* was abſurd, after he had ſo often played faſt and looſe, and after he had falſified his word, to their great damage already; The reſult of all at laſt came to this, that they were to make themſelves Maſters of the field, and neither to leave an Enemy or a Place behind them, which ſhould be able to annoy or offend them in the leaſt; that truth and ſincerity being like the ſoul, once out of the body, it never returns but by miracle, ſo there was no colour of reaſon to hope it might find any place in the Duke of *Savoy's* breſt; that if they ſhould have left his Army behind them, he might with eaſe ſtop up the Paſſages, againſt any recruits whatever, as he had already ſeiſed on the Bridges of *Alpignan* and *Colligny*, and on all the Keys upon the *Doria*; and that there was ſo much the more reaſon to defie him, becauſe he did openly ſide with the Spaniards; That they were no longer to defer the declaring of the War againſt him, for that the Army did already begin to be infected with ſickneſſes, and many Troups were forced to disband; as alſo that they had no reaſon to defer the puniſhing of the injuries and indignities offered to the King, in ſo often breaking his word, and cauſing the Army to ſuffer ſo many hardſhips and neceſſities, that he had thereby almoſt indangered the utter loſſe, and ruin of them all.

That the Laws of Prudence and Policy aſſure us, that a Prince may juſtly raiſe a War, if any injury which he hath received, make him take up Arms; or if any juſt fear

fear of imminent danger threaten him or his Armies; he is obliged to provide againſt the worſt, though he be not as yet openly aſſaulted. Now all theſe reaſons were ſo ſtrong on their parts, that they could admit of no reply. It was then unanimouſly concluded on, to aſſault the Duke of *Savoy*; Every thing was diſpoſed and prepared towards the War. However that all the blame and fault might light on the Duke of *Savoy*, the Cardinal ſent both once and again to him, to ſummon him to joyne his Army with the Kings, and to keep thoſe promiſes which he had made to the King at *Suze*, intending by this to take away all juſt occaſions of complaint from his Perſon, Cauſe and Army.

*Politique Obſervation.*

HOw Eminent or great ſoever the diſcretion and Judgment of a Commander is, yet he ought to take advice and Counſel in ſuch occaſions. And this cannot be any prejudice to the reputation of his Judgment, for that *Solomon* the Wiſeſt King of the whole World ſaith, that ſtability reſteth upon Counſel; as if he would have ſaid, that no reſolution carries more certainty with it, then that which is grounded upon the advice and direction of other mens Judgments & opinions. The Exceſſe of Courage doth ſometimes blind the ſouls of ſuch as are full of Honour and Gallantries, and there are not more Victories obtained by Armies, then by good directions and adviſes. It is to be doubted, that thoſe reſolutions which are not well anvil'd and canvaſſed by deliberation, will be thwarted by ſome mis-fortune in their Execution, when as a ſound diſcuſſing of them, many times ſecures them from any attempt that Fortune can make upon them. It ſufficeth not to have taken good advice in the beginning, becauſe commonly none is ſo bad as that which never changeth: So that a man cannot be too long in deliberating the doing of a thing, which he would fain bring to paſſe, provided he do not let ſlip the opportunity of putting it in Execution.

## *The Motives which invited the Duke of* Savoy, *to caſt himſelf into the Emperor and Spaniards party.*

BEfore I proceed any farther, I am obliged to appeal unto all men, even thoſe who have the leaſt ſparks of Juſtice is them, to condemn that envious Quill which makes open profeſſion, and endeavours with Calumnie to ſully, if it were poſſible, the Glory and Splendor of the Cardinal, whilſt truth doth not furniſh him with any one ſubject of that nature to work upon. It is ſaid by him; the Calumniator I mean, that the Duke of *Savoy* had never withdrawn himſelf from the Kings Intereſts, had not the Cardinal (being mis-informed of his Perſon and proceedings) deſpiſed, and in effect forced him to caſt himſelf upon the Spaniſh party, much contrary to his own will and inclination. But what? Was the continual and daily ſending to him Perſons of the beſt ranck and quality of the Army, with all imaginable proffers of Peace, a deſpiſing of him? Were thoſe many Conferences with the Prince of *Piedmont*, and thoſe extraordinary Civilities done to him, which would have wrought upon the moſt ſavage diſpoſition, a deſpiſing of him? Was the Paſſing by of a thouſand tricks and delayes for a whole Months time, in which the whole Army had like to have been ruined by him, and yet not to fall out with him, a deſpiſing of him? Was the ſending of the *Sieur de Servient*, the very day before the abſolute breach, to deſire him with all earneſtneſs not to ingage his Majeſties Arms in this extremity, only for having once refuſed to ſee him, a deſpiſing of him? Was the delivery of ſo great a quantity of wheat at *Nice*, and the Permiſſion of carrying as much as he pleaſed out of *Breſſe*, *Burgoyn* and *Dauphine*: a deſpiſing or deceiving him? Was the having pay'd before hand for the wheat and proviſions, a deſpiſing and deceiving him? Was the having paſs'd his promiſe to him, for the according to him the *Valley* of *Tizery*, and the Bridge of *Greſin* a deſpiſing and diſeſteeming

esteeming of him? Was the proffering to him, of what Souldiers he pleased, to go for *Genoa*, and to make good his pretensions there a despising him? Was the deferring to enter upon his Territories for 3 Weeks, or more, though he had given just cause for it as soon as ever the Cardinal came to *Lions*, a despising or deceiving him? There need no more then barely to open ones eyes, and a man shall soon behold the falseness of this Calumnie, which this unworthy Pen sets down, under the vail of his usual disguisements, but without the least truth or proof at all.

*Politique Observation.*

MAlice is like a Serpent, which turns the faireſt Flowers into the uglieſt Poysons, and verifies the truth of that antient saying; Honor is the Mother of Calumnie. There are no actions how just and honourable soever, which it will not attempt to bespatter with some base unworthy mis-representation. No Innocence can be secure from it's Violences; It cannot more aptly be compared, then to those looking glasses which never represent the true Ideas of the face: It maketh molehils appear mountains; It fretteth and vexeth at vertue it self, and will raise its Batteries to demolish it, and though it come to be convinced of their Innocencie whom it persecuteth, yet it thinketh willfulneſſe and obstinacy in its wickedneſſe, to be more honorable then vertuous repentance. The Phylosophers have given a good Character of it, when they liken it to a black and thick cloud, which hinders and obscures the light and exercises of Reason. Hence it comes to passe, that as all Bodies represent themselves to our sight for others, and quite contrary peradventure to what they are, if look't upon through clouds and in disorders, so the most commendable and worthieſt Actions will appear and passe for low and unmanly, if considered through the Perspectives of Malice and hatred, and revera it makes lyes and Impostures passe for Realities and Currant truths. High and generous Souls are unconcerned at the backbitings of Envie, and do not cease to continue vertuous, notwithstanding all her detractions. They know, that not only Malice but Envy too hath alwayes endeavoured to defame the greateſt Personages, and ableſt Ministers of State, and that good men cannot believe any of their false Commentaries, without doing an injury to themselves, that this Monster is easileſt overcome by scorn; And that the Integrity of their undertaking is their Bulwark, and like the Sun dissipateth and dispelleth all those clouds and storms which would obfuscate and diminish their Splendour, and in fine maketh them Triumph and Glory over the Malice of their Enemies.

*Prosecution of the History.*

AFter this resolution, the Cardinal appointed a place where there were two Fords, which he had given notice of about the 17 or 18 of *March*, for a Rendezvous to the whole Army, where he might draw into Batalia a good part of the Army, and likewise gave order for the planting of six pieces of Cannon in two Batteries, in places very proper for it upon the Rivers side, by which means, the Forces of *Savoy* which had seized the passes, were compelled to retire, whilst the Horse march't over the Fort in Squadrons, and took the field, giving the foot Liberty of marching over in file, upon Boats prepared for that purpose. And thus he made it apparent by this Excellent disposure and order, that his Conduct was as much to be esteemed in Execution as in Counsel.

*Politique Observation.*

THE Passing of an Army over a River, is a Theater where the Conduct of a General is more taken notice of then upon any other occasion, because a whole Army not being able to march a breſt, but only file by file, and by little and little, it is no difficult matter for their Enemies to cut them off as fast as they come on, unleſſe good order be taken to prevent it. So *Timoleon* defied the *Carthaginans* in

*Sicilie*, upon paſſing the River *Crimeſus*. The moſt proper order that can be in ſuch occaſions is, firſt to chooſe the Fords, ſo that the Horſe may march over by Squadrons, to make way for the foot, which cannot paſſe, but upon Boats, and that in ſmall numbers, that thereby they may rallie and bring themſelves into Order, whilſt they ſtand the firſt ſhock of their enemies. A Squadron of choiſe Horſe is moſt proper to bear the firſt brunt upon ſuch occaſions, it being a hard matter to break or diſorder men, who are ſtout and luſty, well ranked and lockt as it were one within t'other. Indeed nothing can ſo much conduce to the paſſing of an Army over a Ford or River, as a good Battery of Cannon, which forceth the Enemy to retire from their violence and fury, and giveth them leave and iſſure to paſſe with more eaſe, and to put themſelves in Batalia before they come to any fight at all.

## *The Siege of* Pignerol.

THere could not any thing be thought on, which could mend the care and order of the Cardinal in his affair; The Army indeed had not the Honour to encounter the Duke of *Savoy's* Forces, they being re ired with him to *Thurin*, and not daring to attend the firſt charge of the French Valour, which nothing is able to withſtand; ſo the Army paſſed the *Doria*, without any trouble, and quartered at *Rivol*, where the Duke of *Savoy* hath a houſe of Pleaſure, which the Cardinal preſerved with a great deal of care and reſpect, and the Country people were treated with much kindneſs, and the Army contented to be ſerved with ſuch proviſions as were brought from *Suze*. Then began the Duke to declare himſelf openly, and did many Acts of Hoſtility; amongſt the reſt, he ſeized upon all the French in his Territories, not ſo much as excepting the Merchants and Religious Orders. An Act very ſtrange, againſt both the Laws of Traffique and Piety. The Cardinal he did the ſame, ſeeing it was no time to hope for any thing by fair means. The Glory of his Majeſty, the Honour of France, and his own reputation, ingaged him to purſue his reſolutions with his Arms, of reducing the Duke to Reaſon. It was then concluded on in a ſecret Counſel between himſelf and the Marſhals of *France*, that the Army ſhould ſit down before *Pignerol*, and make themſelves Maſters of it. Stratagems do many times entitle men to great advantages; So that the Cardinal with more eaſe to take in *Pignerol* upon a ſurpriſe, made as if he would march directly to beleaguer *Thurin* it ſelf: Accordingly the Cannon and Army began to bend towards it, which the Duke of *Savoy* perceiving, preſently diſpatched orders to withdraw thoſe Forces from *Pignerol*, which he had that morning clapt in there. The Marſhal of *Crequy* advanced directly to *Pignerol*, with a 1000 Horſe, 6000 foot, and ſome Cannon, and upon the 20 of *March* about Sun ſet, lay down before the Place, leaving the reſt of the Army, to ingage any party that might attempt the relieving it. upon the 21 about 4 in the morning the Cardinal came up, with the Marſhals of *Crequy*, *La Force* and *Schomberg*, and they ſo belaboured themſelves, that about 10 the next morning, there were 3 piece of Cannon mounted upon the very Ditch, ready to make a Breach.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

STratagems have been much uſed and commended by great Commanders, skill and craft do many times as much as force and ſtrength, and are ſo much the more to be eſteemed, becauſe they ſhed leſſe blood. This Prudence hath no certain rules to be learnt by, but muſt be acquired by it ſelf. It's true, we are made capable of it by nature, but it is formed and confirmed by uſe and Experience. So *Scipio* that valiant Commander, who being deſirous to take in a ſtrong hold in *Africk*, which was well provided by the *Carthaginians*, made as if he had other deſigns, and cauſed his Army to march another way; by this means he ſurpriſed *Hanibal*, who drawing forth all his Garriſon, to purſue him with the more ſtrength, left the place undefended, and gave *Scipio* an advantage of facing about, and ſending a party

party under the Conduct of *Maſſaniſſa*, to ſurpriſe and make himſelf Maſter of it, which he effected with a handfull of men, the inhabitants not having ſtrength enough to defend themſelves.

### *The Reducing* Pignerol *under the Kings Obedience.*

THus ſtood the State of Affairs in *Pignerol*, they ſaw their Town beſieged, and found the Cardinal did ſummon them to render, if they would not hazard the force of his Maj ſties Army, which had reaſon to treat them with more rigour, then indeed they afterwards did; they found the Canon ready to make a breach, by the Prudent Conduct of the Cardinal, and a reſolute Army of men, who ſeemed to wiſh for nothing more then to be brought on to the breach, that they might carry the place by aſſault. The Preſence of the Cardinal redoubled their fear, and they had learnt that his Majeſties Army under his command, had vanquiſhed and overcome all enemies for the laſt ſix years, in which the King had done him the honour to commit it to his care; that particularly the laſt year. he did onely appear upon the top of the *Alps*, and that was enough to force the Spaniards to raiſe their Siege of *Cazal.* Upon the 22 of *March* they ſent ſeven Deputies to make an honourable ſurrender, and after they had obtained ſuch conditions as they deſired, their lives and goods ſaved, their Priviledges and Franchiſes preſerved to them, they yeelded themſelves the ſame day with much joy and content, to his Majeſties obedience, and the ſame time the French army marched and took poſſeſſion of the Town.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

HE that commands an Army, ought to think himſelf very happy, if his firſt attempt have good ſucceſſe with it. Juſt as in the Orbs of the Heavens, the *Primum mobile* gives motion to all the reſt, ſo if the firſt enterpriſe end advantagiouſly, it hath ſo great an influence on the ſpirits of the vanquiſhed, that they are more then half ſtagger'd to give way for their ſecond overthrow. Fortune doth moſt commonly adopt ends to their beginnings; and as the Fountain head doth much contribute to the cleerneſſe and purity of thoſe Waters which flow from it, ſo the firſt good ſucceſſe is a happy *Omen* of a proſperous iſſue, even to the very end of the War. *Tacitus* ſaith, they are the firſt chances which beget and breed either courage or cowardize in the hearts of the Souldiers. Orators in their pleadings uſe to place in the Front their ſtrongeſt reaſons and arguments, knowing that by it, they do ſo arreſt and commit a force upon the minds of their Auditors, that when they have but once inclined and perſwaded them by thoſe their prime and principal motions and inductions, the reſt appear too much the more plauſible and effective. A General ought to imploy his very beſt forces in the aſſaults of his firſt ſiege, or in his firſt ingagement of Battel, and reſt confident that his firſt Action will give a great ſtroke in the ſucceſſe of the reſt of the War. Thus *Charles* the Eighth came into *Tuſcany*, by the Road of *Pontremole*, and being neer *Serezzanella*, which was in his way, ſeated on a moſt impregnable Rock, he reſolved to take it, that he might give a reputation and credit to his Army, that the World might conceive an opinion that there was not any thing which could withſtand the courages and reſolution of his Souldiers and Commanders; in a ſhort while he carried it, and by it gained ſo great an eſteem and wonder, that his enemies were aſtoniſhed at the report of it.

### *The bringing of the Cittadel of* Pignerol *under the Kings Subjection.*

AFter the Town of *Pignerol* was yeelded, the Count *Urban Leſcalanga* who was Governour, retired into the Citradel with 800 Souldiers, but the Cardinal purſued him to his Trenches, and raiſed works ſo quickly, that upon our Ladydaies Eve, one of the Baſtions of the Caſtle was entred, the circumvallation finiſh-

ed, and the Camp ſo ſtrongly fortified with Lines of Communication, Redoubts, and Forts, that all the ſtrength of the Emperour, Spaniard, and Duke of *Savoy* joined together, could not bring them any releef; ſo that they had much rather render themſelves upon ſuch honourable conditions as were accorded them, then expect that rigour of the Kings army, which was impoſſible for them to avoid; and accordingly ſurrender they did upon our Lady-day, a day which hath ever been fortunate for *France* in their Italian expeditions, for on that day they won the Battels of *Cerſolles* and *Ravennes*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT muſt be confeſſed that the reputation of a General of an army, giveth a great ſtroke either in Sieges or other Incounters. Their very name is a Thunder-bolt, which ſtrikes amazement into the whole world; they are accuſtomed, as by their trade to vanquiſh; and thoſe whom they do at any time beſiege, give themſelves for loſt as ſoon as ever they ſee them appear before their Walls, and reſolve to ſet open their Gates to them, having no other hopes but of being forced with diſhonour. I am of opinion with that ancient Authour, who ſaith, that great Captains carry good fortune along with them, and cannot blame *Cæſar*, who forbad ſuch as were with him to be afraid, onely becauſe they were in his Company. *Coriolanus* made it apparent to the Romans, when he was baniſhed by them, and retired himſelf to the Volſians, who made him General of their Army, which he led up directly to the Walls of *Rome*, to revenge the injury they had done him, and there overcame them, though they had not long before beaten and triumphed over the Volſians; and this made *Titus Livy* to ſay, the Common-wealth of *Rome* hath gained as much reputation and glory by their Commanders, as by their multitude of Souldiers. Credit is to a General, the ſame as 'tis to a Merchant, and it hath been often ſeen, that by it little Armies have defeated very great ones; that is it which keepeth Confederates cloſe to their promiſes, which renders the Souldiers couragious, which removes all obſtructions, opens all Paſſages; which doth facilitate the waies for Proviſions; and finally, which doth attempt many things with good ſucceſs, which otherwiſe would appear to be impoſſibilities.

## *The Paſſages from* France *to* Piedmont *were open after the reducing of certain Towns of the Duke of* Savoy.

DUring the Siege of *Pignerol*, the Cardinal gave order for the beſieging the Fort of *Perouſa*, which held out but a ſmall time; and thereupon ſent the Marſhal of *Schomberg*, with a Regiment of foot, and 22 Troops of Horſe, to ſeize upon the Town of *Briqueras*, which as ſoon yeelded it ſelf. The ſame day he followed on his deſign'd way, and formed a foundation for a Fort, which was finiſhed with extraordinary diligence, that he might thereby make himſelf maſter of many Vallies, which adjoyned to the Mountains of *Dauphine*, and ſecure himſelf of a ſafe Paſſe, which ſtrook ſuch a terrour into the inhabitants of the Vallies of *St. Lucern*, *Angroaque*, and *St. Martin*, that they forthwith rendred themſelves under the Kings Obedience, and went to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Cardinal accordingly. There was one onely Fort remained, called *Mirebourg*, lying at the foot of the Valley of *Lucern*, which was beſieged and ſoon taken; by which means the Paſſages between *Piedmont* and *France* were open, clear and ſafe, not onely for the Army to march without danger; but for the conveying of Recruits, Proviſions of Victuals, and Monies, and other neceſſaries for the Army, as often as need ſhould require.

*Politique*

*Politique Obſervation.*

THere is not any one thing which a General ought to have a more eſpecial care in, then that he leave no Place behind him, which may afterwards trouble or indanger him. *Charlemaign* gained a very great deal of honour amongſt other our Kings by his Arms; and withall he was much blamed when he paſſed into *Spain*, for not making himſelf Maſter of thoſe places which he paſſed by in the Mountains. It cannot be denied, but he deſerved that blame, conſidering the conſequences which followed it, for that the greateſt part of his Forces were cut in pieces, upon their return, and all the Baggage rifled by the Mountainers. *Cæſar* in his Commentaries upon the War with the Gauls, holdeth it for one of the greateſt maximes in the Art of War, that marching through a ſtrange Country, one ought to ſecure himſelf of all ſuch places which are in his way, and that it was a great joy and ſatisfaction to him being there making War, to find thoſe of *Therovanne* voluntarily proffering to render themſelves after ſome little reſiſtance, becauſe willingly he would not leave an enemy behind him. One of the greateſt overſights which *Charles* the Eighth commited in his voyage into *Italy*, was his relying upon the Duke of *Milan's* promiſe, inſtead of making himſelf maſter of ſuch places as were needfull for his ſafe Paſſage. The Duke being in league with other Princes, appeared in the head of the Paſſage of *Tar*, to obſtruct and hinder his further proceeding; and this Prince returned not into *France*, but by the Battel of *Fornoue*, where he ran very great dangers and hazards. But if in their return they do not ingage them, yet two hundred Musquetiers in a Fort behind them, will ſo gall thoſe that come to bring Recruits, that the whole Army may be much annoyed by it.

## *The Mutiny in* Dijon.

WHileſt the Cardinal was atchieving theſe glorious exploits, the King was advancing toward *Lyon*, and marching by *Fountainbleau*, his Majeſty received intelligence of a great ſedition, which had happened at *Dyon* on the 28 of *February*, by the mutiny of a Company of Vineyard Dreſſers, who had the boldneſſe to pillage and rifle ſome of the chief Officers houſes. They which blowed the fire of this ſedition, informed the people, that the eſtabliſhing the Elections in *Borgogne*, was to no other intent or purpoſe, then in concluſion to ſettle the taxes, and other impoſitions, though in reality his Majeſties intentions, were onely to rectifie and redreſſe the ordinary contributions, which were made by all the Provinces. The inſolencies of Mutineers hurrieth them on to the greater extremities, by how much Magiſtrates are more remiſſe or negligent in confronting and puniſhing their firſt emotions and rebellions. His Majeſty preſently diſpatched *Monſieur de Bellegarde*, Governour of that Province, who had a great power and influence upon the affections of the people, not onely in reſpect of his Office, but in relation to the great love and repute he had particularly got a long time amongſt them. He quickly allayed and quieted all things; and not long after, his Majeſty going to *Lyon*, would paſſe through it, to take courſe for a better order in future forcing thoſe great multitudes of Vineyard-keepers to pack away, and ſetling new Magiſtrates and Officers, who ſhould be diligent to keep the people in their due obedience not forgetting to give a charge to the Parliament, that ſome of the principal Mutineers and Aſſiſtants of thoſe deſtructions and ſpoils ſhould be puniſhed, and thereby be made examples of his Juſtice, and their own follies.

*Politique Obſervation.*

NOthing doth more alarum the common people, then the noiſe of new impoſitions: they think it is to take away their lives, at leaſt to make them inſupportable, if you do but diminiſh a little of their ſubſiſtance, which is the reaſon, that

that the pooreſt of all are moſt prompt and ready for ſedition, they being deſirous and greedy of novelties; and as *Tacitus* in his *Annales* hath obſerved, they have more to get then to loſe, by ſuch revolts and turmoils. Every one indeed ought to pity their poverty, but the obedience which is due to Magiſtrates, and the neceſſity of contributing to the publick charge, renders them culpable without excuſe. Thoſe who lead them on, and incite them to their mutinies, ought moſt principally to be puniſhed, for that they are the Broachers and Authors of all the miſchief. *Thucydides* ſpeaking of the reſolution which was taken by the Athenians, to put to death all thoſe of *Mytilene* who were able to bear Arms, and to keep the reſt in ſlavery, by reaſon of the Rebellions which had been raiſed amongſt them, ſaith, Juſtice doth not tie up a man from puniſhing the heads and principals onely. It is not at ſuch a time proper for a Soveraign to make his Clemency appear, which is one of the beſt Rays in his Crown. He ought ſo to pardon offences, that he do not by it give way to, or allow of that liberty which the people aſſume to themſelves, who will be quickly quelled, if their Ringleaders be but puniſhed. To pardon all were an exceſſive liberty, and would breed a like licentiouſneſſe, and to chaſtiſe the moſt culpable, is an effect of Prudent Juſtice. Impunity authoriſeth licentiouſneſſe, and ſeems to give them leave to run into the ſame lapſes, and too too much rigour and ſeverity, is enough to caſt a Nation upon deſperate reſolutions and extremities. It is a good way of reducing them to their due obedience, by ſending ſome grave perſonage amongſt them, as *T. Livy* hath obſerved, whom they hold in ſome eſteem and reſpect; becauſe Reputation, and a good beleef, is as the Soul of all other Reaſons; for that very cauſe it was, as the ſame Author reports it, that the Romans ſent *T. M. Torquatus*, unto *Sardigna*, when they were upon the point of giving up themſelves to the Carthaginian Protection. The quick and timely diſpatch of ſuch a perſon, is of great conſequence too, for that Rebellions are like flames, which do increaſe every day more then other, if there be not great care to extinguiſh them in the beginnings.

## *The* Monſieurs *return to* France.

THe King went to *Troys*, and there reſted ſome time, as wel to ſatisfie the reſolution which he had taken with the Cardinal of ſeeing his brother (who after the concluſion of the accommodation; about the end of the year laſt paſt, which we have already ſpoken of, retired to *Nancy*) and teſtifying to him his hearty affections, by all ways of lively demonſtrations, and of which there could be no juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion, ſeeing his Majeſty had ſo frankly both pardoned him, and augmented his Penſions, as we have already declared. The *Monſieur* arrived there the 18. of *April*, and in his Company (beſides his own retinue) came divers Princes and Lords, who were then at the Court, and had been ſent by his Majeſty two Leagues out of the Town to meet him. He alighted at the Queen Mothers lodgings, and the King ſtood expecting of him in the Court, and received him with ſo great a teſtimony of joy and friendſhip, that the *Monſieur* attempting to bend one of his knees to the ground, his Majeſty would not in the leaſt permit or give way to it, but imbraced him ſo long and ardently, that one could not but conclude his Majeſty loved him as his ſecond ſelf, and very paſſionate he was to find that they were united in their thoughts, in their wiſhes, in their wills, in their deſigns, and even in their very recreations; ſo that their faces ſeemed to be as it were glewed together. The Court was filled with joy, and theſe endearments continued all the while that the King continued at *Troys*; ſo that there was great reaſon to hope, that nothing would be ever able to ſeparate or make a breach between them, had not thoſe who had rendred themſelves maſters of the *Monſieurs* inclinations and humour, rallied all their indeavours and artifices to confound and deſtroy it, thinking perhaps they ſhould become the more conſiderable, by keeping them at a greater diſtance, and raiſe more advantages to themſelves by their diviſions.

*Paliſſade*

*Politique Observation.*

NAture hath implanted certain roots of friendſhip in the Blood, which doth bud and ſpring forth upon any meeting, after a little breach or falling out; provided that hatred have not altogether ſeized upon the Spirit. The Branches of Trees are not ſo eaſily rejoyned in their natural places, whileſt as yet time hath not ſtrengthened them upon the Gardners binding of them up; as the minds of perſons to whom God hath allotted the ſame Parents, are re-united into that love and affection which is natural to them, if a Series of years hath not as yet confirmed them in their hatred and diſ-reſpect of each other. And in this the power of Nature is very much obſerved, and the truth of their opinion made good, who ſay, that nature with our births doth infuſe and inſpire into us, affections and inclinations to love thoſe objects, which ſhe doth oblige us to ſeek after. And as the Creator of the World hath imprinted in light bodies a certain diſpoſition of mounting upwards, and to others which are heavy, an inclination which forceth them by nature to tend towards the Center of the earth; ſo hath ſhe likewiſe planted in man a certain affection for thoſe of his Affinity, as well as for thoſe objects which are proper for him. ſo that he can neither check his eyes, or curb his heart, but he ſhall find ſome ſentiments of love in his ſpirit; hence it comes to paſſe, as we ſee, that kindred love, and that tenderly, one another upon their firſt meeting, thoug' they had not known o ne another before; this procedure making it apparent, that their affection began not to be ſo much in their ſpirits, as to entertain by the preſence its object; for that they had not differed to love, but onely becauſe they had not ſeen one another before.

*The King committeth the Government of the Army in* Champagne, *and of* Paris, *to the* Monſieur.

THat the King might the more oblige the *Monſieur* to preſerve himſelf in his duty, not onely of reſpect bu t of friendſhip, he was not barely contented to have given him thoſe large teſtimonies of his hearty affection, but ſent to him two Commiſſions, the one for the commanding of the Army in *Champagne*, the other to govern not onely the City of *Paris*, but the adjacent Provinces in his Majeſties abſence, whoſe affairs called him out of the Kingdome.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is great wiſedom in a King to preſerve and increaſe as much as in him lies, the friendſhip of the Princes of the blood, it being moſt certain, that a good intelligence and correſpondence with them, is as advantagious to the State, as a breach with them is unfortunate and ominous. And as their greateſt inclination is to command, ſo one cannot more oblige them, then by giving them imployment. But one ought to be well aſſured and carefull of their truth and fidelity, and that the ſtedfaſtneſſe of their minds be not to be ſhaken by the dangerous ſuggeſtions of ſuch as are about them, who are alwaies ſure of endeavouring to render themſelves agreeable, that they may inſtil into them more Ambition then they ought to have, and induce them to revolt with the Army, and thoſe powers which are intruſted under their command. *Iſocrates* did well adviſe *Nicocles*, never to prefer thoſe of his blood to imployments, untill he was extreamly well aſſured of them; for that the deſire of rule doth ſo much the more charm the kindred of a Prince, by how much they are neerer related unto him, as *T. Livy* very well obſerveth. Blood hath no tie ſo ſtrong, which ambition doth not oftentimes break, when it finds it ſelf with Arms in its hand. They ought to be ſo much the leſſe intruſted, by how much they have leſſe true affection or friendſhip, as *Plutarch* hath verified by many examples in the life of *Demetrius*. If a King be obliged for any juſt reaſon to conſide his Armies into the hands of any Prince of the Bloud, I imagine he muſt follow

low the Prudence of *Tiberius*, who when he ſent *Germanicus* to command his Army into *Syria*, he recalled *Creticus Syllanus* from the Government of that Province, who was an intimate friend to *Germanicus*, fearing leſt their intelligence and correſpondence might lend a helping hand to advance him into the power of Soveraignty; and placed in his room *Cneus Piſo*, whoſe violent humour would make him oppoſe any deſigns of his, if they ſhould be contrary to the duty of his Office. In a word, a King ought (to ſuch a perſon) to aſſociate ſome one, whoſe valour and fidelity may be able to counterpoiſe or ballance any enterprizes, which hee may attempt.

## *The King came to* Lion, *then to* Grenoble, *where the Cardinal came to meet him.*

THe King paſſed by *Dijon*, that he might there give ſuch orders as we have already ſaid, and thence came to *Lyon*, but reſted there a very little while, for the great deſire he had to be at *Grenoble*, where he had directed the Cardinal to meet him, as ſoon as the Paſſages of *Italy* were open. The Cardinal was paſſionately deſirous to be neer his Majeſty, to pay him his uſual ſervices, and to eaſe him of the care and trouble of his eſtate, and his Majeſty was no leſſe impatient to ſee the Cardinal, as he teſtified by his extraordinary care and careſſes, with which he honoured him at his arrival, and which were proofs not onely of the affection, but of the extream tenderneſs which he had for him.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THe Paſſion of Love produceth the ſame effects in the Souls of great Kings, as it doth in thoſe of private perſons. It is that which carrieth their minds ſo naturally towards thoſe whom they honour with their favours, that they take a ſingular delight to ſee them alwaies neer them. *Alexander* could not be without the ſight of *Hepheſtion*. And it is moſt ſure, that the greateſt ſucceſſes which Princes have, be it in War, be it in Peace, are but lame, and do nothing neer ſo much affect their minds with joy, if they have not neer them ſome perſons, with whom they uſe to diſcourſe with freedom and familiarity. And what greater ſatisfaction or content can there be to a Prince, then the Prudence of a couragious and faithfull Miniſter, whom he aſſuredly knows to have no Paſſion ſo great as that which tends to his honour and glory? What an honour is it to have neer him a perſon to whom his Majeſty may lay open his boſome, and intruſt with his grandeſt ſecrets without the leaſt ſuſpicion, or doubt of his fidelity? What a great ſatisfaction and content is it to have by one, ſo noble a Genius, whoſe diſcourſes disburthen his cares, whoſe councels facilitate his greateſt State-difficulties; whoſe vigilance ſecures him from dangers, and whoſe courage conducts him to a happy ſucceſſe in all his enterpriſes?

## *The happy ſucceſs of the Treaty of Peace by the Cardinal* Mazarini, *between the King and Duke of* Savoy.

THe King no ſooner arrived at *Grenoble*, but *Mazarini* was ready to make propoſitions of Peace to his Majeſty. The Duke, who till then had been deaf to all overtures, how reaſonable ſoever, as well as the Marqueſſe *Spinola*, cauſed word to be ſent to his Majeſty, that if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to reſtore him *Pignerol*, he would accord to any Articles which ſhould ſeem juſt. The King who deſired nothing more then Peace, provided it were honourable and advantagious to his Allies, received the meſſage with much joy; and thought fit, that the Marſhal of *Crequy*, the *Sieur* of *Chaſteaunœuf de Bullion* and *Bautillier* ſhould aſſemble with the Cardinals *Bagni* and *Mazarini*, to prepare ſuch Articles as might be for the contentment of all parties; however he would not be obliged to quit his deſign of proſecuting the War, untill the Treaty was intirely concluded and reſolved

ved on: for his Majesty knew of what importance the restitution of *Pignerol* was, without which, they did not so much as name or speak of any accomodation.

*Politique Observation.*

SEeing Peace, when it is certain, is to be preferred before a doubtful victory; that being in the hand of a Prince, but this subject to the Laws of Fortune, it is not prudence to refuse it in Treaties, said *Hannibal* to *Scipio* in *T. Livy*. But *Thucydides* teacheth us in his History, that a Prince, who would treat with his Enemy should not cease to prosecute the War, in such manner, as if there were no hope of an agreement; otherwayes great Inconveniences might follow, adding: Thus did the *Lacedemonians*, when they treated a Peace with the *Athenians*; and Peace is then sooneſt made, when both sides appear in the field with their Swords in their hands, and an equal power following them, for if either hath the least advantage, he will be the more peremptory, and demand the harder conditions in his Treaties, as *Cesar* hath observed in his History of civil Wars.

## *The taking of* Chambery *from the Duke of* Savoy.

HOwever the King assembled his Counsel, to take advice whether it were not propper, to prosecute the Victories of his Army, and to make himself Master of all *Savoy*, and so secure himself more and more, of the Passes. Many offered to his Majesties consideration, that the Duke of *Savoy* and Marques *Spinola*, would never hearken to any Peace, but by necessity, and to regain *Pignerol*, having until that time refused to do it, but upon dishonorable terms for his Majesty; That there was little reason to trust him; as to that of the Duke of *Mantua*, for whose sake the War was begun, or to believe that the Peace might be of some continuance. And on the contrary; there were good grounds to apprehend, that they would not conclude a Peace, in that weak condition, to which they were then reduced, but onely that they might bring to passe their Intentions upon the Duke of *Mantua*; so that the King should still keep *Pignerol*, which would give him a free entrance into *Italy*, that his Majesty might with more ease take in *Montferrat*, as occasion should serve. That Princes not having any Juster titles to those places, which they possess, then the conquest of them in a just War, his Majesty should not acquit that which makes him so considerable in and to *Italy*, being by it able to march into it, when and as often as he pleased, and to set bounds to the Spanish Ambition, who would find work enough to do, so long as his Majesty continued Master of it; that it would serve to Curb the Duke of *Savoy*, who did nothing but commence and create every year new broyles and troubles. In fine that it was absolutely needfull to enter upon *Savoy*, because the Duke would infallibly besiege those places which had been taken, if his Army were not other wayes diverted; and in case he should not besiege them, his forces would be coasting of it from one end to t'other of *Savoy*, and indanger the Passages, at least disturb them, which were of necessity to be preserved; for that *Spinola* had risen to besiege *Casal*, at the same time that the Cardinal marched towards *Grenoble*. Could there be more just or important considerations? did they not deserve to be regarded and lookt after? Could any one with reason say that the Peace was in the Cardinals power, when the Duke of *Savoy* would not conclude it, without the surrender of *Pignerol*? the Importance of which Place was so great as shall be anon discoursed more at large. Indeed such things might take with Women (whom the noise of a Cannon terrifies) to juduce them to deliver up a place of such concernment into the hands of the Spaniards and Duke of *Savoy*, who had made it evident, no trust could be reposed in him. But certainly it would not at all move a great Minister, whose discretion was incomparable, and who was so far from being terrified into any thing, that he struck a terrour into all the World, having Reason and Justice on his side. Would the Treaty which should be now concluded with them, be of any longer durance, then that of

the laſt year, which they broke without any fear or wit? Will a wiſe man truſt one who hath deceived him, and broke his word in that very ſame affair? And this Calumniator (who cares not what he writes whileſt he endeavours to detract from the Cardinals glory,) can he lay the blame on the Cardinal, for the continuation of the War? *Cazal* would be no more the Duke of *Mantua's*, if the Peace had been concluded with the delivery of *Pignerol*. Thus the King who knew better then any of his Counſel, the Importance of theſe reaſons, was not at all moved at it, but reſolved to depart 2 dayes after to ſet upon *Savoy*, and accordingly upon the 13 of *May* he advanced, without delay, together with the Marſhals of *Creqny*, *Baſſompierre* and *Chaſtillon*, giving the command of the vantguard of his Army to the Marſhal *Crequy*, with order to march before *Chambery*, which was put in execution, with ſo much diligence, that the 14 of *May* the approaches were made; the ſuburbs reduced without reſiſtance, and the Town ſummon'd to deliver. After they had obtained by Compoſition of his Majeſty, the ſame Articles which were granted them by the late King when it was taken in the year 1600. they opened their Gates to his Majeſty upon the 18 of *May*, into which his Majeſty then made his Entrance.

*Politique Obſervation.*

WHen an Army marcheth into a Country to make War, the aſſaulting of the principal Town, is a buſineſs of no ſmall importance; The taking of that, terrifies all the reſt, and ſtrikes ſuch a fear into them, that it ſometimes forceth them to deliver up themſelves without fighting. *Cencmon* Captain of the *Lacedemonians*, did ſo, when he laid ſiege to *Strato*, the chief Town of the Country, upon his firſt entrance; And *Thucydides* who relates the Hiſtory, commends that Act of his, as being conformable to Military Prudence. So *Hannibal*, having maſtered *Carcia*, the Prime Town of the *Olleades*, all the reſt rendered themſelves Tributaries to the *Carthaginians*. The loſſe of a Commander is oftentimes the loſſe of an Army, and the taking of a head Town or of a Fortreſſe of concernment, ſeldome happens but the reſt follow. But there ought to be great care had that he come not ſhort of his enterpriſe, for then it would happen to be quite contrary; and for this reaſon it is advantageous to uſe ſuch diligence, that the Inhabitants may be taken unprovided, and when they leaſt think of it, aſſaulting the Enemy before he comes to meet us, or that he attempt ought upon any thing which belongeth to us. The Emperor *Otho* is blamed in *Tacitus*, for that having deſigned to go into *France* and fight his Enemy *Vitellius*, he uſed too much delay, for that in effect his long ſtay gave opportunity of time to *Gallus* and *Spurma* to paſſe over the *Mountains*, and ſeize upon the River *Po*, ſo impeding the march of his Forces; which were by that means forced to quit their enterpriſe. Perchance it might ſo have happened to his Majeſties Amy, if he had reſted at *Grenoble*, upon thoſe propoſitions of Peace, which were made to him by *Spinola* and the Duke of *Savoy*, which were to no other intent then to recover *Pignerol*, or to amuſe him and gain time. There is nothing ſo ſlight in a War, which a little time doth not often render of great conſequence; a Moment of time doth work great effects in moſt enterpriſes, and the leaſt retardment doth eftſoon bring with it extream inconveniences and loſſes.

## *The taking of* Anneſy *and* Romilly *by the Kings Forces.*

THE King departed from *Chambery* on the 22 of *May*, and ordered the Marſhal of *Chaſtillon*, who had that week commanded the avantguard of the Army, to advance towards *Anneſy*, which rendered it ſelf without any great reſiſtance, as ſoon as the Garriſon of the Caſtle (in which a Brother of the Biſhop of *Geneva* commanded) ſaw the Cannon appear; whence it came to paſſe that his Majeſty, to loſe no time, being aſſiſted with the Marſhal of *Baſſompierre*, led the Body of his Army to *Romilly*, a place ſtrongly ſcituated, and which they had began to fortifie; particularly the Caſtle, where there were ſeven or 800 Souldiers, who made ſhew as

if

if they would defend themſelves. But this reſiſtance did but add new heat to his Majeſties courage, who was very glad to find it ſo, that he might gain the more reputation. He advanced in perſon towards the Town with his Army, and took the trouble upon himſelf to put them into Battalia, in the plain which was out of Cannon ſhot; This ſtruck ſuch a dread into the Townſmen and Governour of the Place, who had never ſeen his Majeſty ſo beſtir himſelf, that they could not but imagine he would have taken all that pains for their ſakes, without puniſhing them with rigor in the concluſion; ſo they preſently diſpatched Deputies to the King, to beg 3 dayes time, that they might conſider and confer what they ſhould do, but his Majeſty replyed, that he would quarter in the Town that very day, ſo they then preſently ſurrendered, knowing it to be Raſhneſs, to reſiſt a Prince ſo courageous, and one who knew ſo well to conduct his Army.

*Politique Obſervation.*

DElay, which a man granteth to an Enemy, is frequently of ſuch conſequence, that a good or bad ſucceſſe doth depend on it: One dayes time gives the beſieged leave to make ſuch trenches, as will not be regained in a whole month. *Henry* the ſecond, for having attended thus but a very little, was forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Perpignan*; and if *Pyrrhus* had aſſaulted *Sparta*, the ſame night that he ſat down before it, he had then taken it without difficulty, which he could not the next day: Memorable is that example of *Peter de Medicis*, recorded by *Guiccardine*, who ſtayed only one or two hours, to let the rain paſſe, and ſo came too late to *Florence*, and found that his Enemies had but one hours notice of his arrival, which gave them time enough to Arm themſelves to reſiſt him, and in fine they did hinder and prevent his entrance, which otherwiſe he had gained, had it not been for that little ſtop. It is as much follie to give time to a mans Enemies to fortifie themſelves, as it is diſcretion and advantagious to take them unprovided, and before they have time to prepare themſelves for a defence.

*The taking of divers other Caſtels.*

THE Caſtles of *Clermont*, of *Meyrac*, of *Allinge* and divers others thereabouts, rendered themſelves upon the firſt ſummons, and all the way was open and free from *Chambery* to *Geneve* and *Pont de Greſin*, ſo that his Majeſty went directly by the *Tarente*, where Prince *Thomas* was entrenched with about 9 or 1000 men, in a place very advantagious, and where a few men might ſtop a very great Army; but he no ſooner ſaw the Kings Forces appear, but he ſounded a retreat withdrawing himſelf from place to place from the Kings Army, which followed him, until he had paſt the Mount *St. Bernard*, he not ſo much as offering to make any reſiſtance, which he might eaſily have done, the Paſſages being very narrow and ſtrait.

*Politique Obſervation.*

HE who hath at any time conſidered upon *Mountains*, the impetuous courſe of a Torrent, which running along the plain, enters with ſuch a violence into a Valley that it carries away all the harveſt, roots up the trees, turns topſie turvie the houſes of the Villagers, forceth the Country people to clime the tops of Trees, drowneth all the Cattle, and in a word commits a thouſand ruins, hath a moſt perfect view of what paſſed in the *Tarente*, upon the comming in of his Majeſties Army: where ever he came, they did all things whatever to obey his commands, the moſt advantagious Stations were quite abandoned by the Soldiers, whom their own very fear had routed, all the Towns deſerted; and particularly in the City of *Conſtance*, there was not one man to be found, to fight withall.

### *The King makes himſelf Maſter of all* Savoy.

AFter his Majeſty had made himſelf Maſter of this Vallie, he deſigned a Fort with 4 Baſtions and certain Redouts at the foot of a Mountain, which cut off all communication between *Piedmont* and *Savoy*, and hindred the march of any Forces, which would paſſe into it: It was guarded by 5 or 6000 men, whom he left there, ſo that there was no other avenue for to be taken, but that of *Montmelian*, which would be ſhut up by the taking of *Charbonniers*. Accordingly his Majeſty commanded the Marſhal *de Crequy* to go and beſiege it, and the Marquis *de Pizgnies* at the ſelf ſame time to commence the ſiege of *Montmelian*, which was as ſoon executed as commanded: So that his Majeſty being at *St. Pierre D'Albigny*, the Cardinal ſhewed him in his Tent, that which never any Prince had the Honour to behold at one time; Three ſeveral Sieges that of *Montmelian*, that of *Charbonniers* and that of *Leville*, from all which he might ſee the ſmoak of his Cannons. *Charbonniers* and *Leville* were quickly taken, and *Montmelian* was ſo blocked up, that it was impoſſible to relieve it with any it proviſion of men or victuals. Thus his Majeſty was Maſter of *Savoy*, ſo that the Duke himſelf could not make his entrance in to it by any way to regain it, all the Paſſages being ſhut up.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

SUch victories as theſe, being founded upon the invincible generoſity of the King, aſſiſted with the incomparable prudence of the Cardinal, cannot be ſufficiently admired. Whence it comes, that leaving the uſual method of this Hiſtory, I ſhall turn the Politique Obſervations into Praiſes. Is it not to be concluded, that there is nothing which equalizeth his Courage and good Fortune; both which conſpire in emulation of one another, to render him the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Glorious Monarque of he whole Univerſe? Doth not truth oblige us to acknowledge, that he is both the greateſt and wiſeſt Captain, that ever yet was, and that the Rayes of his Valour do obſcure the light of thoſe brave Commanders, whom Antiquitie did ſo much admire? In the Ages which ſhall ſucceed us, his victories will be propoſed as an Example to all who ſhall weyld the Scepter. The Generouſneſs of his Actions ſhall be as a looking Glaſſe, and a School to all ſuch as would follow his tracts. The Reputation of his Arms and ſo many graces, and admirable vertues wherewith Heaven endued him; had much contributed to the conqueſt of all thoſe Countries, which juſtly belong to him, if the mis-fortunes of this Kingdom, and thoſe who are of neereſt relation to it, had not obſtructed and oppoſed it. There was not any one Enemy, who durſt preſent himſelf before him with his Arms but ſoon carried away the Marks of his Valour: And it ſeems that thoſe have in particular had no other advantage, admit it were in the ſiege of a Place, where a hundred might beat a 1000, or where the quantities of their Forces did much exceed his Majeſty Numbers. But to add new Rayes to his Glory, never durſt they ſtay to expect him, and they placed their ſafety in the ſwiftneſſe of their feet, and a ſhameful flight.

### *The King marcheth toward* Lyon *at the perſwaſion of the Queen Mother.*

THough the happy ſucceſſes of his Majeſties Arms ſeemed to baniſh all cauſe of fear, yet as Women are naturally timerous; The Queen Mother was troubled with much impatiency, that his Majeſtie ſhould ingage himſelf any farther in the War; particularly againſt the Spaniard; partly for the natural inclination ſhee had for *Spain*, by her birth, which was every day apparent by her conduct, whileſt ſhee had the management of affairs; as alſo becauſe ſhe every day fancied to her ſelf, that ſhe did ſee *Forrainers* enter into *France* with their Swords in their hands, burning and killing all, and turning the State topſie-turvie. Theſe Panique fears made her earneſtly

earnestly desire to see the King, and because the wayes were difficult for one of her sex to passe, she dispatched one to his Majesty beseeching him with all earnestness that she might have the honour to see him. The King who took a most particular care, to render her all respects and compliances, which might be agreeable to her, presently departed from the Camp at *St. Pierre*, to give her this satisfaction, though for the good of his own affairs, and for his health's sake, it had been more proper to have deferr'd it to a more seasonable time. It cannot be imagined how many artifices the Queen Mother imployed to stay him, at *Lyons*; without considering the news which came from the Army, how that many of the Souldiers, believing the King would not return any more, had disbanded the very same time, that they perceived his Majesty went from thence; and by this means, did put the successe of affairs in hazard, for that the Companies were diminished to nothing.

*Politique Observation.*

WOmen are capable of ruining the most important affairs in a State, if they have but power to execute their passions. History is pregnant with examples, which verifie the many evils they have caused, whilest the Government of Kingdomes hath been in their hands. Fear, which is natural to their sex, takes them off from approving the Wars, be they never so just, be they never so necessary, for the glory and advancement of the State. Their Conduct is founded more upon Passion then Judgment, and they look not into any Reasons, caring not so they may arrive to the end of their designs, and not at all reflecting on the consequences which attend it. There is not any blast of wind or flames, like the Passion of a Woman, especially when shee is filled with hatred, as the Queen Mother was, who would have been very glad to have seen the Cardinal perish in this design, and which shee hoped to see, if his Majesty did but leave him there alone. The Resistance which they find against their wills, serves to augment their heat, and the very contradition converts their designs and desires into fury, whence an Antient very wisely said, that Womens Counsel is not to be made use of in Publique affairs, but as Medicines, to which a man hath recourse in extream necessity, and when all other means fail.

*The Queen Mother continueth her anger against the Cardinal.*

THE King had too much knowledge and experience to be moved by all the Instances made to him; so that he departed three dayes after, to return to *St. John de Morienne*. But the Queen Mother was aggrieved thereat, so much the more sensible, by how much shee had earnestly desired to stay him neer her. And the Lord Keeper, who omitted no occasion to exasperate her mind against the Cardinal, raised thence great advantages to infuse into her Spirit new resentments of hatred and anger against him. The displeasure which he conceived in his particular to see the War was carried directly against the Spaniard, whom he had alwayes openly favoured, raised up new inventions in his mind, to stir up the anger of this great Princesse, entertaining her in all those thoughts which might serve to reinflame her. The opinion which he had of his own judgment, and of his own thoughts (which he adored as so many revelations) with held him from stooping to the Cardinals prudent conduct; Though discretion and the acknowledgment, which he was obliged to shew of that high Honour to which he had raised him, should have perswaded him, that he had strong Reasons, importing the good and glory of the Estate, which carried him on to continue the War.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is very dangerous for a States-man, who hath any share in the Government of affairs under the conduct of the Chief Minister, to be too much wedded to his own opinions: All the Orbes follow the motion of the *Primum Mobile*, and as we should soon see the World revolve into it's first *Chaos*, if they should clash, so can there follow nothing but confusion in Kingdomes, when the inferior Ministers would

would carry on affairs by wayes contrary to thoſe of the Chief. He wants Judgment who doth not accomodate himſelf to the principal *Genius*, which hath the ordering of all affairs, and deſerves as much blame, as *Fabius Maximus*, who almoſt overthrew the Commonwealth of *Rome*, by oppoſing himſelf with too much violence againſt *Scipios* expedition into *Affrique*. It is good to conform ones ſelf to the opinion of thoſe who guide the Stern, and though it be permitted us to give ſome Place to our own thoughts, nevertheleſſe it never ought to arrive to that height, as to hinder us from following their reſolutions, or paying them our reſpects and endeavours. It is true, the Prudence of a States-man is too remiſſe, who makes himſelf indifferent to all; he ought to reſemble a skilful muſitian, who ſometimes ſets up one ſtring, and lets down the others. But however, if he depend upon another, he is obliged to follow rather his then his own Judgment, not forgetting that his degree is inferiour, and that in diverſity of opinions, ſubmiſſion, and to know to how to yeild, are Marks of a wel-tempered ſoul, and that the moſt generous ſpirits are the moſt univerſal, and the readieſt diſpoſed to all that another would have. This condiſcending not being an effect of debility, but of Reſpect; whereas obſtinacy and perverſeneſs in maintaining ones opinion, is a dangerous ſickneſs of the mind, and more proper to Pedants then to perſons of affairs.

## *The eſtabliſhment of the* * Droict Annuel.

* *The yearly rent payd by the* Officers of Juſtice *to the King.*

THE care which the Cardinal had of *Forraign* affairs, never took off his thoughts from the concernments within the Kingdome. The late King *Henry* the Great having hatched grand deſigns for the glory of *France*, had occaſions for monies, and thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh the *Droict Annuel*. Hence he raiſed great ſums, but prejudicial to the people, becauſe it gave way to all Officers of Juſtice, and of the Treaſury to keep the free diſpoſal of their Offices, they paying every year a certain Tax to the * *Parties Caſuelles*, and the liberty to continue the Sale of Offices, which were introduced ſince the time of *Francis* the firſt, who finding himſelf obliged to make a Vertue of Neceſſity, was conſtrained to create many Officers, which were continued from the time of *Henry* the ſecond, who created the Sieges Preſidiaux, and many other Officers, which have remained even to this preſent. The Cardinal, who had no other end (in the Honour which the King had done him) to continue him in the conduct of the moſt important affairs of the Kingdome; then the Reformation and re-eſtabliſhment of the State, did not fail at the end of the foregoing year to repreſent to his Majeſty, that it was not only important, but almoſt neceſſary, to take away that power of Sale, and conſequently, to ſuppreſſe the *Droict Annuel*; upon which it hath it's principal dependance. And his Majeſty did ſo much the more approve of his reſolution; becauſe he found nothing in the Cardinals Counſels, which was not as admirable as profitable to *France*.

* *A Treaſury to called from the Caſualty of the incomes.*

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THE Sale of Offices is one of the greateſt miſchiefs in a State. Ambition never fails to raiſe them to an exceſſive price, which cauſeth, that al the Honours of the Kingdome ſerve rather for a recompenſe of riches, then of vertue. It takes away from Kings the power of chuſing Officers, which are the Organs, whereby Juſtice is diſtributed to their ſubjects; it caſts the greateſt Courages into deſpair, when they find themſelves reduced to Poverty, ſee others occupy the place of vertue, and that the moſt glorious Actions, to which they could aſpire, ſhall not be able to raiſe them out of the duſt. Is not that it, which gives ſubſiſtance to ſuch a number of Officers, who inſtead of ſerving do but oppreſſe the people? Is not that it; which hinders the ſuppreſſion of a great number, and reducing of them to a ſmaller, which might be the hundreth part, of what now are, and yet ſufficient for the Kings ſervice, and the good of the people? With how many penſions doth it overcharge the Kings exchequer, and the ſum which is imployed in their pay; is it not immenſe? But this Sale of Offices is not only a charge to the Publique, ſince particular

cular persons suffer extreamly much by it. The hopes they conceive of the continuation of the *Droict Annuel*, incourageth them to buy their Offices at so high a rate, that the very richest are beggard by it. If they continue any long time in their Offices the expences to which they are tyed, to live with some Splendour, undoes them, and their Children are so far from drawing any advantage from it, that they are commonly left, if not in absolute poverty, yet in much want. Many are constrained to sell them off during their lives, for the accomodation of their families, and to divide the money among their Children, and it is as much as any, if he be none of the richest can do, to maintain one of his Children in the succession of his Offices, leaving all the rest in a necessitey of living below their qualities.

*The suppression of the* Droict Annuel *in regard of the Officers of Iustice, re-established by the King.*

THese just considerations being represented to the King, by the Prudence of the Cardinal, induced his Majesty ever since the beginning of the year, to suppresse the *Droict Annuel*, in relation to the judicature, which are more considerable then the rest, that so by little and little, death might extinguish a great part of the Offices, and take away the venality without any great prejudice to the Officers themselves. For he had resolved to allow the Survivances to those who had long lived in their charges with Honour. Or if they were taken away by death, to grant their Offices to such of their Children as should be found capable, or in case they left none able to manage them, to cause that such as should succeed, should allow some recompense unto them, thus restoring to the State by little and little the accomplishment of its perfection. But these Officers, made so great instance to his Majesty for the Continuation of the *Droict Annuel*, being therein like the sick, who flatter themselves in their diseases, and will not apprehend the danger to which they expose themselves, that he was obliged to continue it for 9 years longer, but burthened with such extraordinary charges, that they would find difficulty to pay them, whereby they might enjoy the favour granted to them by the Declaration made in *June*, and be staggered another time to desire the continuation of it. The King would not absolutely discontent the Body of Officers, who do at this day constitute the greatest part of his Kingdome; But his Prudence found it fit, so to burden this condition; that the greatest part should renounce the benefit which he accorded them, to free themselves from the charges. Besides the immense expence of the War, did incline him to this resolution for his supply; Necessity obliging to do that, which otherwise he would not do.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is with men, as with the sick: We must not administer neither to one or t'other the remedies proper to their disease, without regard to the disposition of their humour; because they may sometimes be so stirred, in the discontentments which they receive, that their sickness would rather encrease, then receive any abatement. The most commendable Counsels, which are given upon the General consideration of affairs, become oftentimes hurtful, by reason of some circumstance which may happen; The most that can be done in such occasions, is to put the business into such a state, that that which is needful to be done, suffer but a simple delay; conserving still the liberty of executing counsels in a more favourable time. It hath been often seen, that States have been cast into extremity and sedition, by attempting any unreasonable reformation. It is not of smal importance to content the Officers, when they are so numerous as they are in *France*. They are they who keep people in obedience, who have power to enforce obedience to the Laws. They are the Directers of the civil Government in all Towns, and by Consequence, the commotions which might be stirred up in their breasts by any extraordinary discontent, though taken up upon a false ground, would be as dangerous as a violent heat, which doth seize upon the Heart, the Liver, or any other vital parts.

*The*

### *The Kings return from* St. John de Morienne *into* France.

A Little while after his Majeſties arrival at *St. John de Morienne*, he was ſeized on by 2 or 3 fits of a Fever, which gave occaſion to the Cardinal to doubt, leſt his Majeſty might fall into ſome more dangerous ſickneſſe. And as one never ought to hazard the Perſon of a King, who is the Soul of his State; the heart which diſtributeth the Spirits of life by the Arteries unto all parts; the Liver which giveth nouriſhment to all, and the principal of all others good fortune, ſo the Cardinal entreated his Majeſty, with ſo many inſtances to retire himſelf from that abode (which was neer hand infected all over with the peſtilence) and return to *Lyon*, where he would find a good ayr, and eaſe from thoſe great Cares, which the War had ingaged him, to take upon himſelf: that at laſt he did accordingly reſolve to return, and arrived there about the beginning of *Auguſt*. The Cardinal in the mean time could not think of quitting the Army ſo ſoon, foreſeeing that ſhould he have gone with his Majeſty, the Enemy would have taken a great advantage of it, and that alſo the Souldiers, (of whom a great number had been deſtroyed by the plague) would quickly loſe their Courage, perſwading themſelves, that *Montferrat* would be abandoned after his departure. He was ſufficiently informed that the Lord keeper *Marillac*, had ſuch an influence upon the Queen Mothers ſoul, that he had perverted that affection wherewith ſhe had other times honoured him, into a mortal hatred, and that this old imbroyler, whom the Combination had heretofore taught, to extract the Quinteſſence from the very Spirits, had no other deſign, then to imploy all his power, which ſuch a Mother might have over ſo good a Son, as the King was, for to ruin him in the honour of his good opinion and favour, and to raiſe himſelf if it were poſſible upon this ruin of his Fortunes, even to the higheſt degree of the Adminiſtration. However he had teſtimonies too infallible of the Kings bounty, which he could not diſtruſt, for that his Majeſty was better informed of his faithfulneſs, then any other perſon whatſoever. The ſame paſſion which he had for the glory of the King, and the good of *France*, which ſtayed him at the Siege of *Rochel*, whilſt the King went to *Paris*, and which carried him to *Privas*, and *Languedoc*, to reduce the reſt of the Hugenots Villages into that fidelity and obedience which they owed to his Majeſty, whilſt at the ſame time he knew that the ſame Lord keeper, and thoſe of his Cabal, did then lay the firſt foundations of his diſgrace in the Queen Mothers Spirit, made him now reſolve to remain in *Morienne* though full of the Plague, to preſerve if it were poſſible the Army in ſuch a condition, that they might march to *Cazal*, and to keep up the courage of the Souldiers.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THE greateſt teſtimony of fidelity which a Miniſter can give, is to renounce his own Intereſts, for the glory of his Maſter. One cannot doubt but that he was obliged to hazard his Fortunes for his ſervice, ſeeing that he gave it him, but not his bloud and life too. However as there are no ſtronger or more natural inclinations, then thoſe which carry a man to love that which concerneth him, ſo he could not give more certain proofs of the true paſſion which he had for his Prince, then to prefer the Glory of his Crown, of his Power, before all the advantages which he hath received from Fortune. But as this is the beſt Touch-ſtone by which one can judge of the ſincerity of his Affections; ſo one is obliged to eſteem him ſo much the more after the ſhewing of ſuch a proof: for this true affection is a rare thing in the Courts of Kings. Every one ſacrificeth to his own Intereſts: Greatneſs is honoured with ſo much eſteem, that no one but ſtoops to it, and abandoneth all things to attain it. Whatever obligation there is to love Kings, yet they are the men, who have the feweſt true friends, and if their ſervice bring the leaſt prejudice to any man's Fortunes, they will ſoon find themſelves deſerted. They are ordinarily loved as the Sun, with which one is glad to be enlightned, ſo long as his light

light and influences are favourable, but shuts too the Dores and Windows, not so much as to see him, if his heat (as in Summer) doth but a little incommodate or trouble one.

### *The Marshal* de Marillac *would not let the Army march out of* Champagne *toward* Italy.

THE Marshal *de Marillac* was so far from this kind of fidelity and Passion, for the Kings service, that on the contrary, though his Majesty sent divers expresse commands to him, to march with the Army which he commanded in *Champagne* into *Italy*, he sought out continual delayes, that he might excuse it; That Ambition which possest his Soul would not permit him to let others partake with him in the charge of General, which he had alone to himself in that Province, and the great gains which he drew from the Quarters and Souldiers. He would have made the whole World believe, that the Emperor would make an inroad into *France*, as soon as he should draw off from the Frontiers and after he had sent divers times that he would march the next day, he would presently dispatch another post after him, to send new excuses, but very frivolous, for his longer delay. The passion which he had for his own Interests, hindered him from considerating (that besides the obligation which he had to obey the King) it had been resolved upon in the Counsel of War to relieve *Cazal*, upon the supposition that the passage was open, and in order to those commands which were sent to him; and that his defect in following those orders which were given to him, did put all affairs into confusion by his perverseesse. He reflected not on any thing of all this, untill about the 9 or 10 of *Aug.* though he could very easily, (& as by command he ought) have been at *Suze* the beginning of *July*. So *Cazal* had infallibly been relieved the beginning of *August*, 20000 Frenchmens lives had been saved, who dyed that *Autumn* in *Piedmont*, and there had been no necessity of making a Cessation at *Cazal*, which nothing but the successe could render excusable.

#### *Politique Observation.*

THE soul of the ambitious is so charm'd with his own Interests, that having no other end then his greatness, he cannot resolve to do any thing which may tend to the diminution of it, be it never so little. This humor is so lofty, that he esteems himself unhappy if he have not all: and as he doth regard nothing but to render himself considerable, he is not only dangerous to be chosen for a friend, but to be confided on in the conduct of publique affairs. Ambition teacheth him to become disloyal, and there are not any Laws which it doth not make slight, not excepting those of Religion it self; he establisheth the place of his repose upon the highest pitch of Fortune, and as he hath heard it reported, that all things tend naturally to the Center with violence, so he aspires to that with such ardency, that he doth not fear to make the very disorders of publique affairs, to be the steps by which he will raise himself. Whereas a well regulated mind looks after the greatnesses of Fortune, only by the wayes of Honor and Merit.

### *Artifices of the Lord Keeper, and of the Marshal* de Marillac *his Brother.*

AT last the courage and fidelity of the Cardinal could no longer oppose the violence of the Plague and other diseases, which had consumed two thirds of the Souldiers: So it was the more needful to raise new forces, or rather to form the body of a new Army; for that *Cazal* began to be close prest upon by the Spaniard. The Cardinal found his presence was very necessary in *France*, to dispatch such forces over the Hils, and to take order for the sending of monies, and victuals, both which were for the most part raised by his credit; All which began to be scarce by the unworthy Artifices of the Lord Treasurer & his Brother, and those of his Cabal. He found himself obliged to return, to the King at *Lyon*. Where it was very great



litle

ſatisfaction to him, to find his Majeſty in ſy good health, after the apprehenſions which he had, leſt thoſe fits of a Feaver might have ended in ſome more dangerous ſickneſs; but one cannot imagine how ſenſibly he was troubled, to find the Queen Mothers Spirit ſo extreamly exaſperated againſt him, though the King indeed undertook his protection upon all occaſions. He believed that the Lord Keeper who had raviſhed from him the good will of his Miſtreſs, was able to re-eſtate him in it again, and though it be very difficult to pay honour and reſpect to a perſon, who cannot be called other then a Monſter of Ingratitude, yet he went ſeveral times to wayt upon him, and endeavoured by all ſorts of kindneſſes and good Offices, to draw him to acknowledge the ſervice which he owed, and the great obligations which were due to him. Now although Honor and good Actions break even rocks, and are the moſt powerful means which a man can imploy to move the mind, yet Ambition, which had taken up the poſſeſſion of this turbulent man, ſo hindered him, that he could not addreſſe himſelf to any thing, but a conſtrain'd diſſimulation, which under the appearance of a counterfeited compliance, concealed that fire, which could never be extinguiſhed after the Combination, and which then conſumed him in ſo blind a paſſion, that he preferred the Intereſts of *Spain* before thoſe of his own Country, and did a thouſand things unworthy of his quality. The Honor and favours which the Cardinal did him, could not, as I ſaid, quench that ſeditious fire, which inſteed of being put out, lay raked up under the Cinders of a diſſembled and counterfeited Soul. Inſomuch that the Soul of this make-bate, could not reſt, but continued and kept up thoſe Cabals neer the Queen Mother, not only blowing up her paſſion that it might not entinguiſh, but ſometimes caſting Oile upon it, but with ſuch dexterouſneſſe, that there were not any, but ſuch as were very neer this great Princeſſe, which could ever perceive it.

*Politique Obſervation.*

A Man may eaſily hide his natural inclinations, and ſometimes he may deminiſh them, but it is almoſt impoſſible totally to extinguiſh them. Judgment may oppoſe it's utmoſt to the violence of Nature, but it is ordinarily ſeen, that at laſt being weary of the Combat, nature reaſſumes it ſelf, and becomes more violent. Happy he, ſaith an Antient, whoſe birth inclineth him to lean towards vertue. And it is moſt true, that there needs as much conſtraint to re-eſtate a man in good habits, who is borne with wicked ones, as to make a tree ſtrait which hath had time to grow bigg and crooked. Repel nature as much as the will, ſaith another, it will however have it's courſe. And as he who is in the middeſt of a Torrent, is ſometimes forced to ſuffer himſelf to be carried by the Current of the waters, ſo that ſoul which nature hath made to be borne accompanied with evil habits, hath a World of trouble to overcome and Maſter them. Who ever attempts to overcome them, ladeth himſelf with a Burthen, under which he may ſink down ſooner or later, if he be not very vigilant, eſpecially if he be in imployments, which ſooth his inclinations. For although Nature may have lain in a ſlumber a long time, yet at laſt opportunity revives it, his thoughts themſelves ſeizing upon him, and giving new vigour to his inclinations. There is not any thing ſo joyful to us, as to embrace thoſe objects, to which nature doth addict us, and the wills carry us inſenſibly to them.

*A fight wherein the French were worſted by the Spaniards.*

FOrtune (like the Sun, never at high noon, but ſoon after ſets,) was not contented after ſo many glorious victories, obtained in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, to afflict his Majeſty, with the ſickneſs in his Army, but would add to it the trouble of cauſing him to ſee the loſſe of the Duke of *Mantua's* Chief Town. Thoſe preparations of War, which were made in the beginning of the year with ſo much prudence, had not ſo happy a ſucceſs as was expected. *Colalte* aſſiſted by a confident of the Duke of *Savoy*, and by *Panigale* in the behalf of *Spinola* being incouraged by the Spaniards, was not wanting to urge the Emperor, for the obtaining of ſome

new

new Troops, and to assure him of the taking of *Mantua* before the end of the Sommer, which being granted he appeared in the head of a strong Army, which had given him the means of attempting any thing he would in *Italy*, had he not met with the *Venetians* Army in front of him; who though they had not the Glory to overcome him, had however the power to impede the course of his designs. It was not long before these two Armies met at *Villebone*, but the *Venetians* not being disciplined to War, gave ground, so that only the French, the Corses and Capelets continued the fight, their courage carrying them on, to resolve to perish in that incounter, in which the smalnesse of the number, to which they were reduced, did not give them any hopes of overcoming; only they would not loose their reputation by a shameful flight; so the most part were taken, kild, or wounded, so much did the heat of their courages ingage them: They had doubtlesse had a happier succes, had they been seconded by the *Venetians* though never so few; who not being accustomed to fight, were dazled with the brightnes of the Arms, and affrighted with the noise of the musquet shot.

*Politique Observation.*

THere is nothing more dangerous to a State, then the want of well disciplined Troops: War is an Art to be learn't, as other Arts are, and they whose courages are not fixed by experience, are commonly seized upon by some fears in their first encounters. The Romans quickly found their Empire, rent and devided between their Enemies, after their Peace had disaccustomed their Souldiers from fights. Their wisest Politicians thought themselves very unfortunate, when they had no more Enemies to keep their Troops in Breath, and looked upon the taking of *Carthage*, (which from time to time kept them in Action) as a greater misfortune to them, then the losse of some great Country. That which renders *France* so redoutable, is the happinesse it hath, in the Cardinals being Chief Minister of his Majesties will and pleasure, whose Arme is stil provided, and store of Troops abroad, who want not any manner of imployment. That which gives so great a facility to the invation of *Italy*, is their want of disciplined Troops; for those which it furnisheth to the House of *Austria*, do most of them perish in forraign Countries. I cannot but much wonder, that *Machiavile*, did so much forget himself, in this point of Prudence, as to aver, That it was dangerous to accustome a people to War: For though their courages be prejuditial in civil Wars, yet they are necessary to oppose themselves, against the incursion of Forrainers. And a Sage Politician, that he might avoid the inconveniences of civil Wars, followed this example, which the Cardinal hath given to all Princes, and which preserved *France*, in the happines of a long Peace, by keeping Troops still on foot, who were still ready to suppresse any insurrections which might arise, and not suffering them, to be vanting in other Countries and amongst our Neighbours.

## *The taking of* Mantua *by the Imperialists.*

PResently after the Imperialists, were become Masters of the field, they resolved to attaque *Mantua* either by surprise or an orderly siege and they addres'd themselves with so much the more readines to execute their design, because they knew, that a great number of the Souldiers in Garrison there, were much discreased, in several losses which they received upon divers assaults, & that the Plague had killed above 25000 in 3 months. *Aldringuer* and *Galas*, looked out all those Places, where they might make an assault, which was the easier for them to do, they having good intelligence in *Mantua*, by the means of *Guastale*, who pretended to the Dutche before the Duke of *Mantua*, as we have declared about the latter end of the last year. They understood, that it might be surprised upon the Bourg side, and *St. George's* Bridge, by a Trench which was upon the Lakes side, where no great Guard was kept, for that the Place was thought to be inaccessible, and few there were who durst attempt it, because of two Trenches made upon the Bridge, and certain chains,

reaching to the Gate and the new Tower, so that no boat could passe there, for at least half a mile downwards. However there they resolved to surprise it, by means of certain Souldiers who were clapt in there, upon the design of assaulting the Town in several places, at the same time, that they should enter. This enterprise was accordingly executed under favour of the night about the 18 of *Iuly*, an hour before day with so much violence and courage, that all the resistence which the Duke of *Mantua* and the Marshal *d'Estrée*, could make, (and they did all that could be expected from valiant men, on that occasion) was to no purpose, and could not defend them from being compelled, to render themselves upon composition, after they had behaved themselves stoutly in every place, that was capable of defence.

*Politique Observation.*

THere are hardly any Towns which are not lyable to surprises. *Breda* a place extreamly strong, was surprised by Prince *Maurice*, by making use of a boatman, who using to carry Turf into the Castle, filled his Boat with armed Souldiers, covered both above and beneath with Turfs, who by this means entred upon the Castle, and made themselves Masters, both of it and the Town, being seconded by Troops and Companies who expected to be let in. *Watchtendone*, upon the River of *Niers*, was surprised by a Bark full of straw; in which *Matthieu Dulchan* and 13 others were concealed, and one Souldier, who used to guide in the straw, who being known to the Sentinel desired him to lend him his hand, to help him out, and so drew him into the Water, giving oportunity to the rest to land undiscovered, to seize on the *Corps du Guard* and to kill the Souldiers on the Bridge, where they let in *Henry de Bergue*, who was neer at hand to second them with 400 men. Thus one might produce many the like examples, it being difficult for a Town to be so fortified on all sides, that it cannot be surprised in some place or other.

## *The Causes of the taking of* Mantua.

THE losse of *Mantua*, is principaly attributed to three causes. The first was *Gualtale*, who gave Intelligence to the Imperialists, from within so that they were not only well informed, of that *Avenue* which was inaccessible to men, who were not acquainted with the condition and quality of the place, and what courses they ought to take to arrive there, by the Inhabitants themselves, but were also seconded by some of the Inhabitants, after they were once entred. The Venetians bore another part of the Blame, by reason of the long delayes which they used in revictualling of *Mantua*, for the last convoy which they sent, could not enter, the Imperialists having stop't up the *Avenues*; as also for that they defferred the raising of their Troups, it being certain, that had they made their levies and advanced at the beginning of the year, they might have taken all Imperial Garisons and cut them in pieces, whereas they stayed until the new German Army came, and their Souldiers being al unskilful and not trained up to the Wars, it was not difficult for the Imperialists to defeat them, to make themselves Masters of the field, and to take in all the little holds thereabouts. The Duke of *Mantua* is somewhat blamed too, for not being careful enough, to reinforce his Garrison with fresh supplies, at the same times that the sickness decreased them, whatever instances the Marshal *d'Estree* used to him from the King to that effect. The neglect whereof, was the cause, that the Enemies found not men enough in the Town, to oppose their fury or beat them off, which doubtlesse might have been done, had there been barely a thousand men in it.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is too great an excesse of bounty, and very hurtful, to a new Prince, who takes possession of his Estate by some extraordinary change, which may clash with the minds of the people, to permit those to live in liberty under him, who have pretended to the same Government, and may peradventure, hinder him in the en-

enjoyment of it; To do ſo, were to leave fire amongſt ſtraw, which wil ſoon raiſe great flames, and he may be very ſure, his Country will not long continue without troubles. The rules of Tyrannie, oblige him to put ſuch a one to death, and declare to us, that to take away his State and not his life, were a cruel pitty: But not regarding thoſe, the Laws of Juſtice, which permit him to reſtrain him of his liberty, exempt him from all blame, for that his poſſeſſion being juſt; he is obliged to make uſe of all his Authority, to preſerve his State, by all warrantable means, and wayes whatever. Beſides when there is a Queſtion of ſetting an Army on foot, he ought not to be a little careful of preventing his Enemies, and their deſigns. We have already declared how neceſſary and profitable celerity, and a dexterous diſpatch is in warfare, and no one can doubt but that it is a great piece of Prudence, to fall upon our Enemies before they have aſſembled their forces to aſſault us. For beſides the infalliblenes of a good ſucceſſe; the Victory doth mightily augment the courage of the Souldiers, and the cuſtome of overcoming, is one of the greateſt advantages which can be thought upon in all enterpriſes, which are afterwards to be attempted. Above all, the keeping of neceſſary Souldiers in a Town, which the Enemies have either inveſted, or made their approaches unto muſt not be neglected, for ſuch a deficiency, were to put their Armes for a prey and to render their being taken infallible. There is no need of a ſurpriſal, for in ſuch aſſaults as are made, the Enemy not finding any to reſiſt them, do as it were ſeize upon it. The ſlighting which we make of our Enemies, in neglecting to forteſie our ſelves againſt them, expoſeth us to the danger of receiving a far greater loſſe, and in conſequence the ſhame to be overcome by them, which is almoſt inevitable.

## Cazal *aſſaulted by the Marquis of* Spinola.

THE Cardinal had too much Prudence and Generoſity, not to ſecure *Cazal* againſt ſuch an accident, though expoſed to a far greater danger. But for the better underſtanding of his Conduct, it will be good to look back upon the beginning of the Siege. After the taking of *Pignoral*, both the Cardinal and *Spinola* had the ſame deſigns of quitting *Piedmont*, the one that he might joyn with the King at *Grenoble*, and accompany him in the Conqueſt of *Savoy*, the other to lay ſiege to *Cazal* and to recover if poſſible the honour he had there loſt, the precedent year when he drew off at the ſame time, that he had the news of the Kings arrival at *Suza*, without abiding that his Majeſties Army might approach his neerer then ſix great dayes march. He was provoked in point of Honour in the deſign, his courage inflamed his paſſion and the ſhame he had to find the glory, which he had got by ſo many victories, blaſted with this diſgrace, gave him an extream impatiency, to repair that fault which occaſioned it. He reſolved either to periſh or carry the place, not being able to ſurvive the loſſe of his Honour; and in proſecution thereof, there was no Stratageme or force omitted, which might render him Maſter of it. Never was place ſo vigorouſly aſſaulted, as never more ſtoutly defended: Few dayes paſſed without freſh aſſaults or ſallies; Nothing which the Cannon could do, was left unaſſayed, almoſt continually; the Place was undermined on every ſide, wild-fires were made uſe of in ſuch abundance that the Town had been ſundry times burn't to Aſhes, had then not taken a very great care to hinder the effect of them. In a word, the diſcontent which accompanied his Courage, ſuffered him not to forget any invention that the art of War or Paſſion could ſuggeſt, to overcome.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

SHame is a venemous root, from whence we ſometimes ſee excellent effects produced; and it cannot better be compared, then to certain plants, which we obſerve in Nature whoſe roots are deadly, and whoſe leaves on the contrary, proper to cure many diſeaſes. Is it not that, which hath often excited the courages of the greateſt Commanders, to that height, that perceiving Victory to encline to their Enemies, they have precipitated themſelves, into the fight and goared their Weapons and

their hands in the Blood of their Enemies, by which they have ingaged their own party to make new endeavour, and fortune hath thereupon accorded them that glory, which they were upon the very point of loosing? Have we not seen the like amongst Souldiers, who after they behaved themselves ill one day, have presently after appeared like so many Lions, in the pursuit of their Enemies, and so have defended themselves from that disgrace, with which they had been branded? The shame which the Persians had, as *Justin* reports, to see their wifes come towards them, with their Coats trust up, made them face about and charge the Enemy before whence they fled. And *T. Livie* writes how that the Roman Consul *Agrippa*, did commonly use to throw some of Ensigns, among the middest of his Enemies to the end the shame, the Souldiers should have had to loose them might oblige them to redouble their courages and regain them. Both the Greek and Roman Historias are full of such like examples needless to be rehearsed: The shame that *Cæsar* had, seeing the the Image of *Alexander*, who had won so many remarkable victories, as soon as ever age had made him fit to bear Armes, so touched him that afterwards, he never ceased bending his mind to generous actions, which have eternized his glory.

## *A Treaty to renew the Alliance with* Holland.

NOw for the perserving of this place, notwithstanding *Spinola's* extraordinary passion to take it, two things were necessary. First, to hinder the Spaniards from having such numbers of men, as they would have desired; Secondly, that the Kings Army might want nothing, but be recruited from time to time, by the supply of new Troops in the place of those whom the plague had wasted. The Cardinal had foreseen and provided for the first, before he parted from *Paris*, giving such exercise to the Spaniards in the Low Countries, that they had much a do to furnish themselves, with the Troops there requisite, without diverting them to new enterprises, especially seeing the King of *Swede*, of whom we shall speak hereafter, began to give them employment in Germany. The Cardinal having discovered about the end of the Precedent year, that the Sparniards were upon the design of offering great advantages to the Hollanders, to bring them to a truce, whereby to have means to draw Troops out of the Low Countries to send into *Italy*, acquainted the King how much this truce was prejudicial to the rest of *Europe*, giving way to the Spaniards to maintain themselves in the injust usurpatation of the States, of many Princes of *Germany*, as well as of the Duke of *Mantua's*. The King apprehended that danger, and his Majesty thereupon impowered *Monsieur de Bungy* his Embassador in *Holland*, to renew with them the ancient Treaties of alliance, upon condition, that they might not for some years come to any truce with their Enemies. That power was given him from the month of *December*, of the Precedent year 1629. and yet as affairs of that nature, are not so readily determined, the Treaty was not signed till the month of *June* of the Present year; The Cardinal thus preventing by his unparralel'd Prudence, the most crafty subtilties of the Spaniard.

### *Politique Observation.*

AS it is glorious for a Minister to prevent the force of the Enemies by a contrary force, as we have said, so is it very honourable to prevent the effects of their Prudence by an opposite Prudence. He ought to be like a good Pilate, who have attained great experince at Sea, can discover a Tempest before it comes, and prepears all that is necessary to resist it: or I will compear him to a wise Physitian, who preserves those he takes into his care not only from sickness, but even from the danger of falling sick, and to say the truth therein consists one of the highest points of Politique wisdome: and I have alwayes esteem'd that one of the greatest services, he can render that Governes a State, is to prevent by his Prudence; the craft from which the Enemy pretends to draw advantage, to avoid his undermining by a Counter-

Counter-mine, and by his good conduct, to slight all the works of his industry. Prudence without doubt acquires great glory, when it surmounts force. *Thucydides* in his History prefers its victories before all others; Prudence it self, which ought to be so much more honoured as it cuts the evill in the roote; and preserves an Army oft-times from running the hazard of a combate, weaken in such sort the Forces of an Enemy, that he has not the boldnesse to dare an encounter; as the Cardinal hath made appear in several occasions.

*The Kings gives the command of his Army to the Duke* de Montmorancy, *Marquis* d'Effiat, *and the Marshal* de la Force.

IT was requisite besides that to send new Troups to the Kings Army, the Marshall *de Marillac* having shew'd himself obstinate till then, not to follow his Majesties commands in leading the Army of *Champaigne* into *Italy*, the Cardinal thought to go himself, to make them passe the Mountains, and take the reins into his own hand. But the great Cabals he found at Court, which were capable not only to hinder the relief of *Casal*, but to overthrow the whole State, if not dissipated, constrained him to stay at *Lyons* with his Majesty, who thought fit to send in his place the Duke of *Montmorancy* the Marquis of *Effiat*, and the Marshal of *la Force*. Those great Captains commanded the Army every one his week by turns, with such Order, that notwithstanding the Marquis of *Effiat* was above the two others, one commanded the Van-Guard one week, the other the Battalia, the third the Rear-Guard, and he who commanded the Battalia gave during his week, all the general Orders necessary for the conduct of the Army. The principal consideration which induced the Cardinal to propose this expedient to the King, of committing the command of his Army to many Generals, was the necessity of Counsel, and the great need which he saw there was of the advice of many persons of great understanding, and experience in those affairs which should happen. Now it was impossible to send them thither without command, by reason that being persons of great quality, they would hardly be under command in the Kings absence, if they might not have Governed in their turn; Not that he was ignorant that the multitude of Generals often stirs up envy among them, and consequently, is cause of great confusion in an Army, but his incomparable Prudence, who could find remedies for the most desperate maladies of the State, wanted not inventions to hinder those inconveniences; and this same, to make them command the Army in their turn in the Van-Guard, Battalia, and Rear-Guard, was an excellent one, by reason that making them all participate of the same glory, they had no occasion to envy one another.

*Politique Observation.*

AS there is no person goes under the notion of being excellent in any profession whatsoever, if he doth not shew some effects which are not common, so a Minister of State shall never passe with the reputation of being endued with an extraordinary Prudence, if there be nothing singular in his conduct; And he doth not set up a new Order, both in Peace and in War, which is evidently advantagious to the Publick. The ordinary rules of War admit but of one General to command an Army, because the Commonalty know not the wayes of conserving a good intelligence amongst divers, to whom the charge of them is committed. But this here was found to be so much the more profitable, as the Counsel of several persons, whose judgment and experience being as eminent, as there qualities, is advantagious upon all occasions. Who knoweth not that a happy successe doth as often depend upon good Counsel, as upon the quantities, and indeed the courages of Souldiers? But who is more capable of giving and resting stedfastly upon good resolutions then several great Captains, the least of which is able to command an Army? One only person of this temper is worth six Regiments, and that expedient which happens not in the thoughts of one, falls into those of another; and if one misse

miſſe to diſcover any Stratagem of the Enemy, another doth not, if one foreſeeth any danger, the other finds out a neceſſary remedy to prevent it. It is difficult to find in any one man all the qualities neceſſary for the General of an Army, but whoever joynes three together, ſupplies that defect, provided he keep them from diſſention: one perchance excels in ſtoutneſſe, and being blinded with it, is by conſequence fitter for execution then Counſel; another is more dexterous in the Prudence of his Counſels, and to invent neceſſary expedients, but being of a colder conſtitution, is leſſe proper to be made uſe of when there is occaſion of a ſudden execution; and another haply may have an admirable addreſſe, and a winning carriage to retain the Souldiers in their Diſcipline, and to make them live in good order; ſo that joyning theſe great perſons in commiſſion together, and giving them the ſame commands in the Army, not leaving any ground of jealouſie, or cauſe of confuſion, there cannot follow any other then a glorious ſucceſſe.

## *The Proſecution of the Hiſtory.*

EXperience hath made it appear a truth amongſt theſe three great Captains, who advanced the Kings Arms to ſo high a pitch of glory in *Italy*, that the Spaniards and Germans will not eaſily reſolve to give them a new occaſion of encounter. The firſt encounter that they had with the Enemy, was upon paſſing the Bridge of *Villane*, where the Duke of *Savoy* and the Prince of *Piedmont* came with 6000 foot and 200 Horſe, and made a moſt furious aſſault upon ſome Troops which remained to paſſe over; But the ſucceſſe was ſo diſadvantageous, notwithſtanding the great inequality of the Forces, that all the Enemies Army was either put to flight, or cut in pieces. The two Princes that led them, ſwearing (as was afterwards heard) that they never ſaw any fight ſo well. In Proſecution of this victory, they marched directly to *Saluces*, with deſign to take it, and to make uſe of it, in the room of *Pignerol*, whence the plague did hinder the drawing out of any neceſſary commodities. The Marſhal *de la Force*, whoſe week it was, commanded his Son with 500 Horſe, to go ſummon the Town with all ſorts of civility to ſurrender, thinking it proper ſo to deal with them, that he might get the good will of the people, of whom he intended to make uſe, in the deſign which he had to raiſe a Magazine there. Thoſe of the Town could not imagine the Kings Army to be ſo neer, ſo that they deſired leave to ſend their Deputies to treat with the Generals, which was granted to them, and accordingly they were conducted where they then were: But upon their return, 500 choſſe men were clap't into it, diſcharging both at them and ours too, with ſuch inſolence, that the Generals being informed of it, advanced with the Army. Many who made the firſt approches, were ſlain and wounded: But the courages of others, who ſaw them in his condition, could not endure to ſuffer the Kings Army to receive ſuch an affront, without a ready help and aſſiſtance; ſo they uſed ſuch diligence in planting the Cannon, that they were mounted within twenty paces of the Walls, and ready to make a breach, within two or three hours, after their arrival. Whence it happened, that the Inhabitants, being aſtoniſhed, preſently rendered themſelves, and the Caſtle had not the hardineſs to hold out above 24 hours, though there were 500 men in it, whom they would not receive but in the quality of Priſoners of War, to quaſſie by their fear, the heat of the raſhneſs which they had uſed. It is true, that the moſt part of them were quickly freed from this fear, being in a Bravery that day ſent to the Duke of *Savoy*, with this meſſage, that ſeeing he wanted men, they had ſent him ſome, and only kept *Balbian*, who was Commander in chief of the five hundred men, and ſome of the principal Officers, who were carried to the Caſtle of *Dauphine*.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

RAſhneſſe is much to be blamed in ſieges, as courage is to be commended, it is baſe for ſuch as find themſelves in a place of defence, to render at the firſt ſummons, and not to ſell it at the price of the lives and bloods of ſome of the beſiegers;

ſiegers; but it is imprudent ſo to do, if the ſtrength of the beſiegers, or weakneſſe of the place, make them deſpair of keeping it. It is handſome for them before they yeeld to teſtifie by ſome generous action, that it is not out of cowardize that they ſurrender; but it is not commendable for them to provoke the anger of their enemies, which if they ſhould draw upon themſelves, it were an exceſſe of heat, which were hurtfull upon ſuch an occaſion, as well as in all other enterpriſes, and ſubject to turn into Ice, after its firſt heats are over, and produceth nothing but confuſion, in thoſe whom it poſſeſſeth. The Laws of Prudence in War, oblige thoſe who are in an apparent weak condition, to ſtoop under the Arms of their enemies, at leaſt not to provoke them with outrages, thoſe of Juſtice giving leave to the victorious, to chaſtize the inſolency of them who do otherwiſe. I have alwaies much eſteemed of *T. Livy* his opinion, who ſaith that temerity beſides its inconſiderateneſſe, doth ordinarily puniſh it ſelf by infortunate ſucceſſes. True Courage is founded upon ſtrength, which giveth hope of overcomming. It is not onely animated with paſſion, which ſerveth for a ſpur to quicken it, but with judgment, which maketh one ſcorn thoſe forces and deſigns which are formed againſt it. Now although this raſhneſſe be more pardonable then a ſhamefull cowardize, yet it hath alwaies paſſed in the judgement of the wiſe, and perſons of Conduct for a fault full of conſideration.

## *The taking of* Veillare, *by the Marſhal* de Schomberg.

THe Marſhal *de Schomberg* had order, at the ſame time, to march over the Mountains with 8 or 10000 men to recruit the Army; ſo that paſſing by *Veillare*; he reſolved to aſſault it, and in eight daies he became Maſter of the Town and Caſtle; which ſtrook ſuch a terror into the Duke of *Savoy*, that he began to think of putting an end to theſe affairs by ſweetneſſe; acknowledging that the firſt Victories which the King and the Cardinal had obtained in commanding his Majeſties Army, had given the Souldiers ſo great a Courage, that there was nothing able to oppoſe it ſelf to their violence.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

IT is with Victories as with Torrents when the way is once open, and the paſſage free for the Waters, they overturn whatever they meet with, and there is nothing found which can reſiſt their violence; ſo the firſt Victories of an Army do ſo ſtagger their enemies courages, that it is afterwards eaſie for them to vanquiſh all that preſent themſelves before them. True it is, thoſe are the abſolute effects of a true Valour, whereas thoſe ſecond ones, are rather to be attributed to their reputation. The firſt advantages infuſe fear into their enemies, which if they once apprehend, they are almoſt half overcome before hand. Souldiers are ordinarily more affected with what they fear, then with what they hope; and they do many times leave and forſake the field, not becauſe they have loſt the Battel, but becauſe they beleeve that it is loſt; in fine, an Army fights with ſo much the more courage, and aſſured hopes of overcomming, by their being fleſht with Victory, whereas the t'other defend themſelves faintly becauſe they expect to be vanquiſhed in proſecution of the forepaſt victories obtained againſt them. And if any ſmall loſſe happen to them, be it never ſo little, all the Towns abandon them, and ſubmit to the Conquerors party. Thus after the defeat of *Antiochus* his Army, all the Towns of *Aſia* ſent their Key to the Conſul who led the Roman Army, to bring them under obedience as *Titus Livy* hath obſerved. And ſo after the loſſe of the Lacedemonians Army, all their Towns rendred themſelves in two or three dayes to the Romans, as the ſame *T. Livy* hath recorded. And *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that upon the getting of one Victory by thoſe of *Thebes*, under the Conduct of *Epaminondas* againſt the Lacedemonians, they became Maſters of all *Greece*, ſo available and powerfull are the firſt advantages which are gotten in

Wars, that they give a continuance of happy ſucceſſes, to all following enterprizes.

## *The Death of the Duke of* Savoy.

THis taking of *Salnces*, together with the other Victories, which were obtained at *Veillane*, and the taking thoſe other little places thereabouts, ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the enemies, that they abandoned the Fort of St. *Pierre*, and all the Valley, excepting onely the Caſtle of *Breſol*, which was taken the day following: But that which was moſt ſtrange was, the Duke of *Savoy* conceived ſo ſenſible a diſpleaſure at it, that it deprived him of this life, in a few daies, after fortune had taken away from him, the greateſt part of his Eſtates. Grief hath made evident in this Prince, what experience hath ſhewed us in divers other perſons, that it is able to drie up the radical moiſture, to extinguiſh by little and little the natural heat, and to ſtrike its poiſon even to the heart, and at laſt to kill out-right. As the neceſſity of death is not to be avoided, ſo the Law which hath impoſed it, admits not of any exception. Death doth alike exerciſe its power over Princes, and poor people, delighting to make them once equals, after they have lived in an extraordinary difference. It is as natural, as our births, and as agreeable with mans nature, as it is with the Sun to ſet; and as it is natural, ſo it cannot be bad; for that nature maketh nothing which is evil: Beſides why ſhould any one think it evil, ſeeing our departure out of this World, is followed with fewer affl ctions then our comming in? There is nothing in it of ſuffering, but the inquietudes which trouble the mind, and the grief which the body indures before the ſeparation of the Soul: Wherefore I eſteem the quickeſt to be the happieſt, ſo it come with Gods grace, for that it hath leſſe pain with it.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THat which I eſteem to be moſt deſirable by Grandees in that particular is (after the well diſpoſal of the Soul) to die, before the miſeries of this World make them deſire death. That Prince is to be pittied, whom death hath ſpared onely that he might undergo the diſgraces of Fortune, and be diſpoiled of his Eſtates. If he be ordained by the Divine Providence to indure ſuch diſpleaſures, it were however much ſweeter for him to die in a Battel with Honour, then in his Bed with ſhame. He who dies in a skirmiſh of War, wounded with any turbulent commotion in the heat of a Combate, doth hardly feel his wound; for whileſt death it ſelf guides him out of the World by the Gate of Honour, it makes him leave it with the leſſe regret. But true it is, the ſickneſſe of the body cauſed by the griefs of the mind, which puls the Soul away with violence, in theſe diſaſters of Fortune, do not ordinarily convey it forth but with great Convulſions.

## *The Prince of* Piedmont, *takes the Government of the Army, after the Duke of* Savoy's *death.*

THe Duke of *Savoy* being dead, the Prince of *Piedmont* who had alwaies commanded part of the Army, took the whole charge of it upon himſelf; and one may ſay, he had none of the beſt good luck in it: For the Kings Army proſecuting the point of their victory, went to ſeize upon *Ville Franchie*, and *Pancallier*; and afterwards the Bridge of *Carignan*, which gave them full liberty to paſſe the *Po*, and march up to *Cazal*: It is true, they found much reſiſtance, but ſo that it was advantagious for them, being onely an augmentation of their Glory. The choiceſt of the enemies Army, as well Spaniards and Germans, as of the Duke of *Savoy*, were intrenched and fortified ſo advantagiouſly, under a Half Moon which they had raiſed, that *Argencour* who was ſent to diſcover them, informed the Council of War, that it was impoſſible to carry it, but by time: However the Kings

Army

Army fell upon them with such violence, that they entred the Half Moon unawares, and the top of the Bridge, in despight of all the resistance which was made, the chief of the Spaniards, being all either taken prisoners, wounded or killed upon the place. Now although this new Duke had no greater inclination to the Kings Interest then his Father; yet the displeasure which he found in so many crosse incounters, so opened his eyes, that he began to imagine that Peace would be more for his Interests then War, though he did dissemble it. He was more and more strengthned in that resolution, by the many reasons which were represented to him by some means or other: amongst others, these were the most considerable (that his Majesties Army was not likely to be hindred from getting to *Cazal*, seeing they had not as yet met with any resistance; that if it were relieved without him, and the War continued on against him, he would inevitably, he would inevitably find the Kings Army fall in upon the rest of his Territories, that it was a joy to the Spaniards to ingage him in the War, they not having lost any thing in *Italy* & that they should but lose the hopes of Victory, if *Cazal* were relieved; whereas he would find himself quite despoiled; that he did but deceive himself, to believe that the Spaniards would raze the Castle of *Cazal* (if they should take it) for which they had used so many indeavours, and been at so great a charge, onely that they might make themselves stronger in *Italy*: That the Duke of *Mantua* would grant to him some part of *Monferrat*, to which he made pretensions, and that he ought to rest satisfied therewith, it being as much as he could expect from the Spaniards, if they should become Masters of *Cazal*: That in fine, he had more reason to suspect the neighbour-hood of the Spaniards, then of the Duke of *Mantua*, seeing they were but too potent in *Italy* already, in relation to the design (of which they had oftentimes given testimonies) of making themselves absolute Masters of it. All these reasons were very considerable, and did so work with the Duke of *Savoy* (though he could not as yet declare himself) that he did not so eagerly prosecute the enterprise he was ingaged in, wherein he could not meet with any thing but his ruine, and it was perceived, that from that time he had not such frequent intelligence with the Spaniards as formerly he had used to have.

*Politique Observation.*

THere is not any motive which doth so strongly unite and divide Princes, as Interest. They quickly break a League, when they cease to believe that it is for their advantage. It is long since, *T. Livy* saith, common good is the bond and knot of Treaties; each one regards not but his own advantage, and cares not for that of another, so it do but accord with his own. All their common enterprises are built on this Foundation, which if once it begin to decay, you may see all their designs come to nothing. Grandees have neither friend nor foe, but in relation to the good or evil which attends it. But what is there of strangeness in it, seeing all the Elements of the whole Universe are as it were tied together and united with invisible Chains, which quickly fall into division, if any one attempt any thing upon another.

*A Cessation of Arms between his Majesty and the Spanish Army, by the mediation of* Mazarini.

THe Treaty of Peace was now upon breaking up, yet *Mazarini* continued to negotiate daily both of one side and t'other. At last about the fifth of *August* he proposed a Truce to the Generals of the Army with such conditions, that at first dash were not all liked, *viz.* They were to deliver the Town and Castle of *Cazal* into *Spinola's* hands for a certain time (still keeping the Cittadel) and this was to give the Spaniards some satisfaction, who as yet had not got any advantage in *Italy*; and that which made *Spinola* the more willfull was, he had seen in a Letter, how

that his Maſter the King of *Spain*, was in a great anger with him, for that his Army had not made any progreſſe at all; ſo it was thought fit to grant this favour for *Spinola's* honour, and the Arms of *Spain*, but upon aſſured confidence that the Treaty would produce a good Peace. However this did but excite the ſpirit and courage of the French, whoſe impatience was ſuch, that it would have carried them on to the relief of *Cazal* by plain force. A propoſition of ſo extraordinary a conſequence could not ſuddenly be reſolved on; but a Ceſſation of Arms for three daies was concluded, and that ſeconded for three daies more. Shortly after there came Letters from the *Sieur* ..... which made them give *Cazal* for loſt; ſo that *Mazarini* comming again about the beginning of *September* to renew the propoſitions of the Truce, was more favourably received then formerly. The General aſſembled the principal Officers of the Army, to deliberate upon it, and eight of nine that were there having approved of it, they were received, and the Ceſſation reſolved on untill the 15 of *October*, with condition, that his Majeſties Army, might Quarter any where on t'other ſide the *Poe*, and take for their money any victuals or proviſions neceſſary for them: That the Town and Caſtle of *Cazal*, ſhould be put into *Spinola's* poſſeſſion, upon promiſe that he ſhould reſtore it, if the Cittadel were relieved by the 30. of *October*; and however that the Kings Army might have free intercourſe with the Cittadel; and that if the Cittadel were not relieved before the thirtieth day of *October*, it ſhould then be delivered up to the ſaid Marqueſs, and that the Spaniards ſhould be obliged to make neceſſary proviſions of victuals in *Cazal*, until the ſaid thirtieth day of *October*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

A Treaty is the ordinary beginning of Peace, whoever begins to treat on condition to ſurceaſe for ſome time all Acts of Hoſtility, hath a great inclination to make an agreement. The onely indeavouring of a Treaty doth ordinarily teſtifie, that the fire which inflamed the War is now extinguiſhing, and the pleaſantneſſe which is found in a Truce, is a certain Charm, which doth inſenſibly allure one to a final accommodation, as *Plutarch* hath demonſtrated in the life of *Nicias*, ſpeaking of the Truce which was made between the Athenians and the Lacedemonians; ſo that he who would make a good accommodation, conſidering the incertain ſucceſſe of War, ought never to refuſe a Treaty, provided it be upon honourable terms. So much the rather ought he ſo to do, for that thoſe very actions by which he propoſeth to obtain a Victory, may end in a ſhamefull flight; in Treaties one ought not alwaies to look for ſuch advantagious conditions; but each ſide muſt yeeld and give away a little of that which is their own. Thus did *Pericles* (one of the wiſeſt Miniſters of State amongſt the Ancients) make no difficulty, to grant the Treaty which was made between the Athenians, and thoſe of *Sparta*, that the Athenians ſhould every yeer ſend them two Talents, though they did in ſome ſort pay dear enough for them, as *Plutarch* obſerves in the life of *Pericles*. So *Lewis* the Eleventh, whoſe Prudence is much commended in our Hiſtories, eaſily accorded to the Treaty made with *Edward* King of *England* for nine years, paying him yearly 50000 Duckets of Gold, which the Engliſh vainly called Tribute; but were in effect a Penſion, and was accordingly ſo termed by the French. It is true it cannot be paid with any great deal of honour; but it was however commendable by the Laws of Prudent Policy, becauſe ſent the Engliſh out of *France*, who had they joined their Forces with *Charles* of *Bourgogne*, might have much indangered it. In fine, ſafety is to be bought in any eminent danger, and it is at any time advantagious enough to hinder an enemy from obtaining a victory, and to get time to render ones ſelf ſtronger for the next fight.

*Proſecution of the Hiſtory.*

THis Truce was much condemned by many, and by the Cardinal himſelf too, who was juſt upon the point of perſwading his Majeſty to make a Declaration, by

which

which he ſhould diſ-own thoſe who had ſigned it, and with expreſſe command to his Army to advance: The Gallantry of his Courage, which knoweth not what it is to give ground, could not endure that the Town and Caſtle of *Cazal* ſhould be delivered up into *Spinola*'s hands; and it is not to be doubted, that had his Majeſty been there, it had never been aſſented to at all. But however, take the reaſons upon which it was ſo reſolved, which I do the more willingly ſet down, to excuſe thoſe who undertook it: The firſt and principle was, the Duke of *Savoy* was much inclined and promiſed, to join himſelf with the Kings Army, if the Spaniards did not agree to thoſe conditions which had formerly been aſcertain'd with *Spinola*. *Mazarini* paſſed his word, that the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould write a Letter about it to the Dutcheſſe of *Savoy*; of which the Generals of the Army ſhould have a copy for their diſcharge; ſo that agreeing in this manner with the Duke of *Savoy*; the Spaniards were obliged to conclude the Peace; and if not the Duke of *Savoy* was ingaged to joyn his with the Kings Forces, to relieve *Cazal*. There was nothing to fear in reſpect of *Cazal*, but on the contrary, the delivery of it was certain; and moſt true it is, without that the Generals had never reſolved upon that particular. And the extream neceſſities, to which *Cazal* was reduced, as *Monſieur de Thoyras* ſent word, cauſed them to doubt, leſt that in few dayes (and before the Army could come up) the inhabitants who were wearied out, with ſuffering of inconveniences for three years together, ſome of them who were gained by the Spaniſh party, ſhould force the Garriſon to ſurrender, which could not be ſuffered without great diſhonour to the Kings Army. Beſides the Marqueſſe *de Breze*, had order from the Generals to go to *Cazal*, under pretence of finiſhing the Treaty however, not to execute it, untill he had conferred with the *Sieur de Thoyras*, and underſtood whether or no he could hold out, till the relief came, without danger, and then to aſſure him, that in caſe he could, they would bring up the Army forthwith, and not conclude the Treaty. In ſhort, the Treaty was not executed, until it was underſtood that neither he nor any one elſe would undertake to warrant the ſucceſſe.

To be ſhort, it was thought neceſſary to refreſh the Army, and to give them more ſcope, they being much afflicted with the ſickneſſe, and to releive *Cazal*, they were of neceſſity to march 30 leagues through an Enemies Country, with a ſmall proportion of victuals, and without any retreating place at all.

*Politique Obſervation.*

A Man may ſay thus much in the behalf of thoſe, who were Authors of this Truce, that whoever pretends to make a long and durable Peace, ought not to refuſe ſome ſatisfaction to his enemies; who in caſe they be forced to conclude with diſhonour and confuſion preſently break out again, as ſoon as they find themſelves in a Condition of taking their revenge. Such was the opinion of *Archidamus*, when he would have perſwaded the Lacedemonians, to make a Peace with the Thebans, upon the relation of *Iſocrates*. And indeed it is impoſſible to make a good and firm eſtabliſhment of a Peace, if one ſide hath all the advantages, and t'other be driven into deſperation. And as nothing doth ſo much excite courage, as the loſſe of honour, ſo it ingageth them to new attempts, without any hopes of reducing them to a ſecond Peace. If one hath not Forces infinitely above theirs, and be not abſolutely aſſured of the victory. Neceſſity it ſelf when a man finds that he ſuffers with ſhame and diſcredit, makes one of them worth four; and forceth him who before fled, to face about with fury. It ſnatcheth away all fears, and there is not any thing which it doth not perſwade and lead him to. The Events of War are incertain, and it is in fights, as in other affairs of the World; ſometimes he who negotiateth findeth himſelf reduced in certain conjunctures, to put himſelf upon an eminent hazard of loſing all, to gain all the advantage to himſelf; ſo he who in a combat would carry away all the glory by a high hand, doth often ſee it reaped by his enemies, for that he attempted to reduce them to too great an extremity.

*The*

*The King falls very ſick, and diſpoſeth of his State-affairs.*

During the Treaty, God Almighty (who hath not made Princes of any other temper, then other men) permitted the King to fall into a violent diſeaſe, the iſſue whereof being incertain, put the affairs of the Kingdom into a ſtrange confuſion. But as all the ſickneſſes wherewith he doth afflict men, are not to deſtroy them, (his love alwaies guiding and conducting the order of humane affairs) ſo he would not deprive *France* of a King, who was ſo neceſſary for them, nor the Church of her eldeſt ſon, who fought for her Liberty. He reſtored him his health, and imployed the ſickneſs, to let him know, that he was liable to the Laws of humane frailty, as well as the leaſt of his ſubjects. He gave him this occaſion to make known that vertue and extraordinary Piety, wherewith he had inveſted his Soul. His Courage evidenced to all the World that he did not fear death, but conſidered it as an eaſie paſſage from the miſeries of this life, to the eternal happineſſes of Heaven; his thoughts were not fix'd upon any thing, but how to render his Soul worthy of the divine mercy which he did hope to obtain. The onely regret which he teſtified, was, not the leaving his Crown, but the having committed offences, which humane weakneſſe cannot avoid, and for which he deſired pardon of God, which (all bathed in his tears) he begged thoſe who were preſent to aſſiſt him in.

*Politique Obſervation.*

KIngs are not exempted by the luſtre of their Crowns from the neceſſities either of ſickneſſe or death. If their Birth and Scepter have advanced them, ſickneſſe and death render them equal. The greateſt part of adverſities do not ſpare them at all during their lives. But it ſhould rather ſeem on the contrary, that the greatneſſe of their birth, hath obliged them to undergo the greater afflictions: The divine Prudence having ſo ordain'd it, to let them know they are but men. The valiant *Alexander* bewitched with his Conqueſts, ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded by his flatterers, that he was of the Race of the Gods; and he was not undeceiv'd of this preſumptuous opinion untill he was wounded, and ſaw the blood run down from his wound. There is indeed nothing more ordinary with great men then to forget themſelves amidſt thoſe extraordinary reſpects which are payd to them. God hath left them ſubject to the ſame afflictions with the reſt of men, which ſerve as ſo many calls to advertiſe them, that their Felicity is not on earth, and that their Kingdom is but a place of exile, where God hath left them liable to the ſame inconveniences. That true greatneſs doth not ſo much conſiſt in the power to do whatſoever one would, as in the will to do what one ought. That it is blindneſs to meaſure their power by the licentiouſneſs of ſatisfying their Paſſions, and that the greateſt Princes in ſubjecting all things, have firſt ſubjected themſelves to reaſon; ſhewing in all their actions, that though they could do any thing, yet they would attempt nothing, but what were fit and worthy of Gods Lieutenant; that greatneſſe doth not acquit them from well-doing; but on the contrary, as it hath furniſhed them with more opportunities, ſo more is expected from them; that their ſureſt Revenue is the good and love of their people, and that they ought not ſo much to fear to ſuffer evil, as to do evil.

*The gentleneſs of the Cardinal towards his Enemies.*

THe Kings ſickneſſe produced ſeveral occaſions, by which the Cardinal perceived, but with great grief, the extremity of the hatred which the Queen Mother had conceived againſt him, which made him redouble his care, to do all things which might render him agreeable to his ſpirit. There was no one quality or thing able to beget good will in the hearts of men, with which he did not ſtudy

to

to furniſh himſelf, that he might render himſelf deſerving of the honour of his Majeſties good favour. Good Offices make a man acceptable, and it cannot be related with how much Paſſion he imbraced his Majeſties Intereſts. We uſually love them, that love our relations, and the Cardinal had ſo great a deſire to pleaſure his Majeſty, that forgetting all the injuries which he had received from the Marſhal *de Marillac*, he got ten thouſand Crowns to be preſented to him, and a Command given him, equal with that of the Marſhals of *Force* and *Schomberg*, to go to the relief of *Cazal*.

It is impoſſible to hinder our wills from loving them who love us, it being very true, that there is no ſtronger charm to oblige others to love us, then our firſt loving them. Now there is not any perſon can better teſtifie (then the Queen Mother her ſelf, and thoſe who were neer her, both at *Lyon*, and in her return to *Paris*) how much zeal and affection the Cardinal vowed, proteſted and ſhewed to her in a thouſand actions which concern'd her ſervice. Great ſubmiſſions reclaim the moſt brutiſh natures. Now nothing could be added to thoſe which the Cardinal made to his Majeſty at *Lyon*, and in the ſame journey to *Paris*, when he begged his pardon in behalf of his moſt juſt intentions, as if they had been moſt grievous offences; and in ſuch a manner as was able to allay the fury of a Lyon. Was it needfull to imploy ſo many cares, to uſe ſo much induſtry, to make him be beloved who was the chiefeſt of men, and the moſt amiable? Thoſe eminent qualities wherewith the Creator of the Univerſe hath inriched him, as a Maſter-piece of his Power, and which he form'd but once in ſix ages, and ſo many glorious exploits, which have immortalized his honour, are not theſe I ſay ſuch efficacious charms, that it is impoſſible to ſee him and not to love him? It is true, that they were ſufficient to have wrought upon any ſpirit, which had not been cemented in its Paſſion for above two years together. And though it were ſo, he for his part did never forget any of thoſe things which are imagined to be capable of re-eſtating himſelf in her good thoughts. The ordinary diſcourſe with which he entertained her was, that he could never do enough to recover that place (which he had heretofore had the honour to poſſeſſe) in her good opinion; and to confeſſe and acknowledge to her, thoſe great favours for which he was ſtill ingaged to her; though indeed, and by the ſtrict Laws of Equity, they were procured and beſtowed upon him, as ſo many juſt recompences of his ſervices, or to ingage him to do others of more importance, as the effects of a pure liberallity. But after all, either theſe indeavours, theſe cares, theſe ſervices, theſe reſpects, or theſe ſubmiſſions, could mitigate that ſharpneſſe which had taken poſſeſſion of her ſpirit. They wrought for ſome time ſo much upon her reaſon, that ſhe kept all fair, and ſeemed not to be diſpleaſed, but aſſoon as ſhe was arrived at *Paris*, her Paſſion revived, and to that height, that ſhe removed out of her family, Madam *de Combalet*, and *Monſieur de la Meilleray* and in proſecution her paſſion carried her to commit and act unheard of violences upon the Kings diſpoſition, to induce him to deſtroy this incomparable Miniſter, without whoſe Prudence *France* it ſelf had been deſtroyed.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

AS Women do not ordinarily love men, though the moſt amiable, with or by reaſon, the only inſtinct of their paſſion making a deeper impreſſion in their ſouls, then the merit or worth of thoſe whom they addreſs themſelves to love; ſo there is no reaſon which is able to root out any hatred, which they ſhall once conceive. They eaſily paſſe from one extremity to another upon thoſe Wings of Inconſtancy which nature hath given them with their births, and the changeableneſs of their humour is eaſily known by the pride which they take to hate ſuch perſons againſt whom they have once taken any impreſſion, and of which there is not any hopes to cure them by any lawfull waies. The ſtrongeſt reaſons of truth paſſe in their opinions for Artifices, and the moſt humble ſubmiſſions, do not at all touch their high minds, and the greateſt inſtances, make them the greater Rebels. They being

being of the ſame humour with fortune, who doth ordinarily beſtow her favours upon thoſe who leaſt ſeek after them.

### *The conſtancy of the Cardinal againſt thoſe who would remove him out of the Kings Favour.*

IT cannot be denied, but that the Cardinal was affected with ſuch apparent grief on this occaſion, as cannot be imagined, and as it is not generoſity but a poorneſs of ſpirit, to a ſhew an inſenſibleneſs on ſuch occaſions; ſo in the Cardinals face one might ſee all the lively marks of diſpleaſure. It was not the apprehenſion of loſing his fortune that did touch him, for he had learnt by a long experience, that the greateſt happineſſe of this life is not confined to the greateſt honours, and that thoſe who govern an Eſtate, are like the Celeſtial Bodies, which receive much honour from the earth, but have no reſt at all; ſo that he had moſt readily renounced all, according as he ſupplicated his Majeſty, if his Majeſty would have thought it fit, who too too well knew of what concernment he was to his State. It could not be, that he did ſuſpect his Majeſties goodneſſe or conſtancy, to whom hee knew his fidelity, was better known then to all the reſt of *France*, and of whoſe affection he had ſo many daily teſtimonies, that he could not but without great blame have him in any doubt at all. But as Innocence cannot without trouble paſſe for guilty; ſo the vice of ingratitude with which the Queen Mother did ſtrive to ſully his glory, made it ſo much the more inſupportable, by how much leſſe he had deſerved it. He was not to learn that the power of Grandees was potent enough to inſinuate into the peoples minds, their particular thoughts for infallible truths, and that ſhe might in *France*, and to poſterity, make him paſſe for an ungratefull ſervant of thoſe favours which ſhe had conferred upon him. It was for this, that he could not imagine (no more then the Kings loyal ſervants) that (after he had given cauſe to the whole World to admire him) the Artifices of ſome ſeditious ſpirits, would be able to counterpoiſe his glory.

Ingratitude is a deficiency of that acknowledgement which one ought to have for good Offices, ſo that who ſo confeſſeth himſelf to be indebted, cannot be accuſed. But ſurely he cannot be called ingratefull, who hath no greater deſires then of paying eternal ſervice to thoſe from whom he hath received obligations, and who hath no more apparent grief, then to ſee the malice of his enemies able to remove him from the opportunities of ſo doing. But what appearence can there be of caſting this infamous quality in his teeth who hath paid all imaginable ſervices to his very enemies, onely that he might make them Mediators of his Reconciliation, which would inable him to imploy the reſt of his life, to ſerve her who had obliged him? Can he be called ingratefull, who would loſe the firſt place of Honour in a State, to preſerve that which he had formerly poſſeſſed in the good opinion of his Benefactrix, ſeeing he could not make a more perfect demonſtration of his acknowledgement? And now cannot the whole Court bear witneſſe, that all this was but one part of the care which the Cardinal took to recover ſome part of the honour of the Queen-Mothers good opinion?

He whom ſhe made his principle accuſer, never durſt diſavow it in his writings. But not well knowing how to deſcribe his ingratitude, he would fain make him paſſe for ingratefull, becauſe he did not adhere to, and follow all the Queen Mothers ſentiments in State affairs; as if a Miniſter could with Juſtice prefer the opinion of ſuch a perſon as ſhe was, before the Kings ſervice! And as if the condiſcendence which he ſhould make to the Queen Mothers will, would not be one of the greateſt defects in a perſon of his Truſt! It is true that her birth, might oblige him to extraordinary ſervices, but they never ought to run counter to the fidelity due to his Maſter, which commands him to paſſe by no occaſion of preſerving or augmenting his glory. He is obliged to know what is due by way of recognition to thoſe who

who favour him, and what is due by Juſtice to the King his Maſter, and never to prefer the acknowledgement of of particular kindneſſes before the Intereſt of the State, which is entruſted to his conduct. He would perchance have him paſs for ingrateful, becauſe he did not diſcover ſome important ſecrets to the Queen-Mother, which was only in matters contrary to her opinion; as if ſecrecie were not the ſoul of counſel, as if to reveal a thing were not evidently to obſtruct the execution of a Deſigne. The ſageſt Polititians have ſaid, He is the wiſeſt King, who after he hath cauſed divers expedients to be propoſed, communicates his reſolution of what ſhall be done, but only to a few perſons.

*Politique Obſervation.*

HAtred, which hath no juſt foundation, is ſo inconſiderate, that it propoſeth *Chimeras* for very plauſible, nay ſtrong reaſons, without regarding that they will not be credited but by ſuch ſpirits as ſhe hath got the poſſeſſion of, when Truth doth not furniſh it with ſolid reaſons, it attempteth to make pretenſes paſs for currant lawful cauſes. There are no ſorts of wickedneſſes, which are not powerful enough to entertain the minds of women, eſpecially when they believe that the ſubject they work upon would ſet bounds to their Authority, and hinder them in their Governing according to their own Fancies. The greedineſs of abſolute command hurries them with a greater impetuoſity to revenge, then any other cauſe whatſoever, without this conſideration, that God hath not created their Sex for Government: and experience hath evidenced it upon many occaſions, that they are very unfit for that purpoſe. But as Ambition is a blind Paſſion, we do many times ſee great obſtacles oppoſed to their Powers, when they think to increaſe their Authorities, and the greateſt props of their Grandeur ruined, whileſt they uſe their greateſt endeavours to render themſelves more abſolute.

*The great Qualities of the Cardinal.*

ALL the Artifices of the Queen mother made no other Impreſſion upon his Majeſty, then to carry him to recollect and reiterate in his mind the Fidelity of the Cardinals ſervices, the great affection wherewith he had behaved himſelf, in all occaſions where his Majeſties glory was concern'd, the good ſucceſs which accompanied his Conduct of his Armies, the Incomparable Prudence wherewith he was endued, with which he did penetrate into what was to come, and foreſaw effects in their Cauſes, and accordingly prepared Remedies before they hapned, the indefatigable vigilance which made him ſo intent both day and on the affairs of State, that though he gave Orders in the greateſt, yet he never forgot the leaſt, and that prodigious promptitude, which produc'd effects, from reſolution in Counſel, before one knew whether it were reſolv'd on or no: Theſe were thoſe juſt conſiderations which the King recalled into his mind, to oppugne the divers Artifices of the Cardinals enemies; and one may ſay, they did ſo fix his Majeſty againſt thoſe violences with which they would as it were ſhake him, that to the end he might evade thoſe perpetual inſtances which the Queen-mother hourly made to him, he reſolved to go to paſs away ſome days at *Verſilles*. In effect, that was the cauſe of the King's going from *Paris*, and the Queen-mother could get no other ſatisfaction from his Majeſty, then that of Reſpect and hearty affection by his taking leave of her.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THe King well knew, that the diſgraces of a grand Miniſter are as diſ-advantagious to a State, as his ſervices have been profitable, and that in it a Prince receives as much blame, as he had once gotten glory in drawing him neer to Perſon. An excellent Workman never uſes to throw away his Inſtruments where-

with he is accuſtomed to make rare pieces of his Art; and a King doth much recede from a great Conduct, if he doth drive from the Government of his State-affairs, ſuch a Miniſter whoſe admirable *Genius* is the principal inſtrument of his glory. Undoubtedly the Counter-blow of ſuch a ſtroke, might rebound againſt his Authority. He ought to know, that it is eaſie to blame thoſe who govern, and to lament their Conduct, and that many more find it very perfect and compleat, ſeeing it doth not give them leave to do whatever they would in their own particular, and that the Eſtate of Publick Affairs ought not to be judged by thoſe of their own houſes. There need no more but to conſult with experience, to evince, that it is very difficult to find a great *Genius*, on whoſe Prudence they may confidently rely; for that two or three whole ages do hardly bring forth one only ſuch. How many Kings have been conſtrained to leave both their Courages and States as unuſefull, for that their Country produc'd none ſuch in their times? He who is ſo happy, as to meet with one, ought to preſerve him with as much care, as the moſt aſſured foundation of his Kingdomes happineſſe: How frequent are the misfortunes which happen in Battels, for the only loſſe of an expert great Captain.

And how many confuſions arrive to States by the loſs of one grand Miniſter, his only conſervation, is of greater importance then that. I will not ſay of Towns, but of whole Provinces; for he is not only capable of regaining them, but conquering new ones; whereas the loſſe of him is irrepairable, for that hardly many ages produce one that doth reſemble him.

## *Why the King went from* Paris, *and cauſed the Lord Keeper of the Broad-Seal, and his Brother the Marſhal* de Marillac, *to be Arreſted.*

THe King went from *Paris*, only to give himſelf more liberty to negotiate in his important affairs, and to withdraw himſelf from thoſe importunities, not to ſay violences of the Queen-Mother. In whoſe preſence, the reſpect which he had for her, hindred him from doing any thing which might diſpleaſe her. His Majeſty knew, that it was neceſſary for the good of his Eſtate, to chaſtiſe thoſe contrivers of Intreagues; and on the other ſide, he cemented himſelf in an unalterable reſolution (which being an effect of his own onely Prudence, acquired him ſo much the more Glory) never to part from the Cardinal. Now it was often ſeen, that theſe Cabals had no other beginning, then from the Lord Keeper, and the Marſhal *de Marillac*, therefore his Majeſty took away the Seal from the former, as the Arms of a mad man which he had imployed to do evil, cauſing him to be carried to *Lyſieux*, and ſent Orders to the Marſhal *de la Force* and *Schomberg*, to arreſt the t'other, and ſend him Priſoner to the Caſtle of St. *Menehoud*. What reaſon was there to ſuffer any longer the inſolence of theſe two ambitious humours, who had been ſo audacious to commit ſuch offences, between the King and Queen-Mother, and to breed a diviſion between their Majeſties, which keeps them at a diſtance to this very day? Was it poſſible to ſuffer their unbridled Ambition, which made them aſpire to the Government of the State, by the deſtruction of him who had eſtabliſhed it, in ſo ſublime a pitch of Glory, that it is not only more honoured, but more feared too by ſtrangers? Again, could it be that the Ingratitude of theſe two Brothers, ſhould not pull down as it were by force the Kings Juſtice, to daſh them as with a Thunder-Bolt, and to punish their devices, which they uſed with the Queen-Mother, to carry her on to the ruining of him, by whoſe Counſel his Majeſty had raiſed them to the higheſt degrees of their profeſſion, winking at their unworthy actions, which had heretofore rendred them culpable, and by which they made their firſt attempts? His Majeſty knew in how many occaſions the Cardinal had favoured them, the great gifts which he had obtained of him for them, and how that in ſom affairs he had become their Protector, when in their conduct there was juſt reaſon to complain of them: And on the other ſide, when he reflected on the extremity of their ingratitude, he could no longer permit, that

one

one of them ſhould be any more imployed in affairs, or that the other ſhould remain unpuniſhed for thoſe many Crimes, of which he had often been accuſed. So that it was but reaſonable to deſtroy theſe ungratefull wretches, who would have ruined the *Genius* of *France*, by accuſing him of Ingratitude. It is an ordinary effect of the Divine Juſtice, to cauſe thoſe evills to fall upon them, which they would pull down upon him, and to permit that they become really culpable of thoſe crimes, which they would falſely lay to his charge.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THere is no injury ſo unpardonable as ingratitude, which renders men ſo much the more blame-worthy, for that they are impeached by good Offices. An infamous life hath three ſteps, firſt to forget kindneſſe; ſecondly, not to recompence them; the third, to render evil for good. The firſt is, the effect of a great neglect: The ſecond, may ſometimes proceed from a want of ability. But the third, can proceed from no other cauſe but a black deformed malice. So though the firſt cannot be excuſed, yet it may be born with. The ſecond, was in ſo great deteſtation by the Egyptians, that they cauſed ſuch as they found culpable, to be proclaimed by the City-Crier, to the end, that no one might afterwards do them any kindneſs, thinking it very reaſonable that he ſhould loſe all his friends who had not been carefull to retaliate like for like to him who had obliged him. But the third, hath alwaies been had in ſo great an abhomination by all men, that they thought only death was fit to expiate it, that the earth might quickly rot ſuch an execrable creature as it had brought. An ingratefull man is worſe then a Traitor, a Traitor being only to blame, for having fallen back from thoſe promiſes which he was tied to by his Parole. But an ingrateful perſon is not onely deficient to what he was obliged to perform by promiſe, but by the obligations and favours which he had received. At leaſt, the moſt moderate of men, could never indure it, ſeeing they are like thoſe vapours, which the Sun having exhaled from the earth, do indeavor to obſcure his ſplendour. They deſerve to be puniſhed, eſpecially when their treacheries are prejudicial to the good of a State, as here they were when they attempted this deſtruction, who next to the King, was the greateſt prop and ſupport of the Kingdomes Felicity. Is not the attempting to deſtroy ſuch a Miniſter, who is the firſt inſtrumental cauſe, by which he hath arrived to ſo high an accrument of glory, as ſtriking at the very perſon of the King himſelf? I ſhould much blame that Miniſter, who would indeavour and make uſe of his power to obtain a Remiſſion for ſuch a Crime. There are ſome injuries which it is noble to pardon, and there are others, amongſt which I rank this, for which the Publick Intereſt requires vengeance. Mercy is not contrary to Juſtice, but Juſtice is governed by Mercy, which ſerves for its guide. Too great Lenity breeds too great Licentiouſneſſe, and makes both the Prince and Laws to be little eſteemed of. It is more noble in a King to pardon, then to execute the rigour of Juſtice; but it muſt be to ſuch perſons, whoſe Imprudence may not augment their licentiouſneſſe of doing evil, and whoſe Crimes ariſe rather from their weakneſſe, then from black deteſtable Villany.

*A Treatiſe of Peace between the Emperour and Duke of* Mantua.

DUring his Majeſties ſickneſſe, and their beginning of theſe Intreagues, the affairs of *Cazal* were finiſhed upon the Treaty aforeſaid. The Duke of *Savoy*, *Mazarini* and *Colalte* received news from *Germany*, that the *Sieur de Leon*, who was employed by his Majeſty for a Peace to the Emperour had concluded a Treaty; and ſhortly after the *Sieur* of *St. Eſtienne* brought it to the Generals, with Letters from the *Sieur de Leons*, and an expreſſe promiſe from the Emperour, that he would inſtall the Duke of *Mantua* in his Dutchy and Marquiſate of *Monferrat*, with conſent that the Town, Caſtle, and Cittadel of *Cazal* ſhould be delivered into his hands.

This was as much as could be deſired for the foundation, but the circumſtances how to do it, were difficult, it being agreed by the Treaty, that the Emperour would inveſt the ſaid Duke, only within ſix weeks, and that fifteen daies, after he would withdraw his Arms out of *Mantua*, and the King of *Spain* his from *Cazal*, and other places of *Montferrat*. This did much trouble the Generals, becauſe this Article did much oblige them to remain in *Italy* two moneths longer with the Army, before the Spaniards would leave *Cazal*; which ſtay they could hardly make, becauſe the Plague was very riſe in the Army, and they had victuals but for certain days; theſe two reaſons would infallibly force them to break up, before half the time were elapſed: which ſhould they have done, the Spaniards might with eaſe become Maſters of *Cazal*, who had not ſubſcribed to it, with their uſual deſigns, becauſe they had liberty to hold the advantage they had got, whenever the Treaty ſhould be brought. Theſe juſt conſiderations were debated by the Generals, who believed his Majeſty would never ratifie it, ſo they reſolved not to regard it, but to march with the Army with all ſpeed before *Cazal*. The Spaniards being inform'd of this reſolution were ſo much ſurprized by their apprehenſions of the firſt ſtock of the French, who at the firſt onſet, fight like Lyons. They preſently ſent back *Mazarini*, who had brought them the news, to aſſure them that they would obſerve the Treaty of Peace, and that to put it in execution, they were content to permit the importation of a whole years prouiſions into the Cittadel of *Cazal*. But the Generals having once heard that they began to be in fear, concluded, eſpecially the Marſhal of *Schomberg*, that they ſhould preſently advance to *Cazal*, thinking that their appearance only, would force the Spaniards to quit the Siege forthwith, without ſtaying till the end of the two moneths, which was accorded by the Treaty.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is very difficult to Treat a Peace, which may have an aſſured end, in a place far diſtant from Armies, whileſt they are enemies. Great diſtance maketh many things be unknown, in point of particular Circumſtances, and of the preſent State of the Armies, which do many times hinder the execution of what is reſolved on. It is with thoſe who tranſact affairs at a great diſtance, as with Aſtrologers, who do contemplate here below the Stars of Heaven, perceiving only that which is moſt apparent in them, without being able to obſerve many particular Qualities. So thoſe ſee nothing but the Lump of buſineſſe, and are moſt commonly to ſeek in the particular and preſent diſpoſition of affairs, without the exact knowledge of all which, nothing can be certainly reſolved on, which ſhall ſurely be put in execution. It is good to ſound at a diſtance the inclination of him, with whom a man doth treat; but when it once comes to reſolve on particular Propoſals, a man ought to know every particular paſſage; if that be omitted, there doth moſt commonly happen ſome one thing or another, which doth hinder the obſervation of it.

## *The King ſends an Embaſſadour to the Diet of* Ratisbonne.

THe Cardinal knew it full well, when he propoſed to the King, to ſend the *Sieur de Lyon*, to the Diet at *Ratisbonne*, where the Treaty was concluded: And on the contrary, he knew that in great affairs, ſomething muſt be hazarded, and that this Negotiation would alwaies ſerve to diſcover the Emperours deſigns, as well as many others the Princes of *Germany*, who deſired protection from his Majeſties Arms. That if a Treaty were made which were impoſſible to execute, it would however ſerve for an induction to make a better, becauſe it prepared their minds, and did hinder the advancing of ſuch Troops, as the Emperour was ſending into *Italy*.

*Politique*

*Politique Obſervation.*

A Prudent Miniſter, never propoſeth one only end in his Actions, but imitating as much as in him lieth, the ſeries of the Divine Prouidence, aſpires to many things at the ſame time, that he may not do any thing which is vain, or to no purpoſe; His Eye is not alwaies fixt where his mind is; ſo, though he be not ſure of effecting what he ſaith, yet he is ſtill ready to execute what he thinks: He is acquainted with all the Turnings which lead to the Concluſion of his Deſigne, and with all Trap-doors to carry him to his wiſhed for end, without giving to the world any juſt cauſe but of eſteem and admiration. This being one of the ſublimeſt points of prudent Policy, by which he never goes leſs then his Word. It is true, this kind of Prudence is not proper but for a grand Genius, and ſuch as are of extraordinary fine and ſubtile ſpirits: But who ſo is endued therewith, may well vaunt, that he hath an aſſured means to prevent ſeveral inconveniences, and to give a happy iſſue to divers affairs, without which it were impoſſible to accompliſh either the one or th'other. After all, he ought to be vigilant and careful, that his Prudence be accompanied with Fidelity, that he may be exempt from all blame, and that will render his conduct as it were Invincible, and will acquire him more reſpect then without; ſo that no one being able to penetrate into the moity of his Deſignes, they will however trace him in many places, where he is not, but will never find him in any, where he is not prepared to defend himſelf.

## *The French Army Embattel in view of* Cazal.

THis being reſolved, the Marſhal of *Scomberg* (whoſe turn it was to command the Army) advanced with all diligence, and on *Octob.* 26. came within ſight of *Cazal*. He plac'd them in Battalia on th'other ſide the Brook *Gattola*, and after publike Prayers (which are uſually made on ſuch occaſions) marched directly againſt the Enemy, whom they found intrench'd in a circumvallation of ſix miles about, and well finiſhed, but which ſerved only to augment the glory of the French Army.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THe King had obſerved in the Beginning of the War with *Savoy*, (notwithſtanding the fair Propoſals of Peace which *Mazarini* had made) that it is great Prudence in a General (though to hearken to them, yet) not to forbear the carrying on of the War, and to ſhew all ſort of Couragiouſneſs and Hardſhip; following herein the counſel of *Archidamus* in *Iſocrates*, who ever made moſt honourable conditions by this means. As it is Action which ſets off an Orator, and makes him more powerful to perſwade: as *Demoſthenes* anſwered one who queſtion'd him concerning the perfection of Eloquence, ſo it is Action too which doth moſt powerfully perſwade an Enemy to make a Peace. It is not reaſonable for a General to lie ſtill without action any long time together; the only time to do is after a Parley, and ſuch action it is which acquires him the glory of being eſteemed Valiant. The only ſhewing of a good mind to be in Action, and putting an Army into Battalia, doth ſtrike fear into an Enemy: He ought in a long Treaty to ſhew that his Courage maketh him deſpiſe any danger; and as he propoſeth nothing but to vanquiſh, ſo he feareth nothing but not to overcome. He ought not to have any apprehenſions of the Inconſtancies of Fortune, but to hope, that his Courage may enforce her to be favourable. It is good that his Prudence ſhould carry him to take time for deliberation, but that done, his Courage ought to furniſh him with wings to advance his deſigne with the greateſt celerity and promptneſs, ſeeing he ſhall never have any good progreſs who ſpends too much time in conſidering of hazards; and that many have oftentimes turn'd their affairs, by taking

taking too much time for Conſultations. It is an act of Judgement to begin with coldneſs, but to proſecute with heat and ardour, when things are once brought to the point of being put in execution: The fearful are moſt ordinarily overcome. War is a thing which acquires Glory from the moſt difficult enterpriſes, and thoſe Battels wherein the greateſt dangers are, do render a man the more honourable.

### *Cardinal* Mazarini *accomodateth the Affairs of* Cazal *with dexterity, between the King and the Spaniard.*

AS ſoon as ever the Army approached within ſix hundred paces of the Spaniſh Trenches, *Mazarini* came galloping out, and finding the Marſhal *de Schomberg*, told him, that the Spaniards had accepted of certain Propoſitions which he had made to them, and that he doubted not but he would likewiſe conſent to them, for the good of the Peace: They were to ſurrender the Town and Caſtle of *Cazal*, which were depoſitated in their cuſtody; They were to march out of *Monſerrat*; but inſtead of delivering them into *Monſieur du Maynes* hands (to whom they might have ſurrendred them, until his Father had receiv'd the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy) they would depoſite them with an Imperial Commiſſary, who ſhould tranſmit them over to Monſieur *du Mayne*, or to ſuch as he ſhould appoint, on *November* 23. upon which day the Inveſtiture was promiſed. They conſented (for the greater ſecurity of the Treaty) that the Imperial Commiſſary ſhould carry none but his own Train into *Cazal*, and that he ſhould not meddle with any thing, but only to give the Word. The Propoſitions were taken into deliberation by the Marſhals *de la Force*, *de Schomberg*, and *de Marillac*, who conſidering that the King deſigned nothing more then the re-eſtabliſhment of Monſieur *de Mantua* in his Eſtates, and the ſetling the Peace of Italy, did conſent to them, ſeeing they had the advantage to make them firſt lay down their Arms, who had firſt taken them up: An advantage which is no little one, as *Thucydides* teſtifieth in his Hiſtory. In proſecution whereof they prevented the Army from advancing and breaking in upon the Trenches, though it were with great difficulty, the Courage of the French not being able to endure that the Spaniards ſhould make them take the pains to come ſo far, and not give them a *memento*. Soon after the Spaniards marched out of the Town and Caſtle, the French out of the Cittadel, and the Imperial Commiſſary entred in their place.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

IT is not without great reaſon that God hath called himſelf in the Moſaick Law, *The Lord of Hoſts*, ſeeing he holdeth in his hand the Courages of thoſe who conduct them; as he himſelf thinks fit, he gives them Peace or War; and when they think that they are upon the very point of fighting, then it is that he compels them to lay down their Arms; to teach them, that it is his gift, and that it is not in the power of all humane wiſdom, if he himſelf doth not lend a helping hand to it. His Providence guides things to their ends by means, which to appearance are contrary to it: But his Power is always Maſter, and it is in vain for us to endeavour or labour to reſiſt him. It is worth looking on the Sun in a ſtorm, and to behold the Ayr cut with lightning and thunder, the Clouds cleft aſunder, the impetuouſneſs of the Winds and Thunder calmed, the Ayr cleered, and in a while, all that diſſipated which hindred the ſhining of his rayes: But how much better is it to behold the Sun of Juſtice (who over-ruleth Hoſts) to make the force of his power to appear, juſt when Battels are joyning, to cover the earth with dead Bodies, to dy the Fields and Rivers with blood, to obſcure the Sky with the ſmoak of Cannons and Muskets, and to fill the Ayr with lamentable Cries, and then to allay their rage, to cauſe their Arms to drop out of their hands, to fill their ſouls with gentleneſs, and in a word, to give a happy Peace? After ſuch an affair, ſeeing all things fall out contrary

contrary to our expectations, may not one conclude that God laughs at our Designs, and that his just Power over-rules the Order and Conduct of all humane Affairs.

## *The re-victualling of* Cazal.

After all this, the Spaniards whose arrogant humour could not well away with the disorder they were now put to, had much ado to march out of *Monferrat*, and they did not only delay the time, by pretending that their Ammunitions of War and Victuals could not so soon be drawn off, but began to take up new Quarters about *Cazal*, which the French (when they retired) had left. This made the Generals resolve to dispatch three Regiments of French to *Cazal*, under the Mareschal *de Marillac*, and accordingly it was effected. The Mareschal gave an account to the Imperial Commissary of the Reasons which occasioned his return, and that he pretended not to stay longer in *Cazal*, then till the Spaniards and Germans should withdraw from *Monferrat*, at which the Commissary could find no exceptions, it being reasonable that both should march off at the same time.

Some of the Enemies were so much netled at this, that the Generals having divided the Army in two parts, one Division marching by the Coast of *Livorn* and *Pyanzay*, they were advised to follow them with intention to fall upon them. This breach of Faith did more affright then hurt them: They ranged themselves into Battalia, and so stood one whole day expecting when they would come on. In the mean time there were six thousand Quarters of Wheat clapt into *Cazal*, and the French marched off at the same time that the Spaniards and Germans went out of *Monferrat*, &c. Thus the War ceased for that year, though the Treaty were not as yet absolutely concluded on.

### *Politique Observation.*

It were great rashness in a General, after a Victory, or the taking in of any Place, so to despise his Enemy, as to let his Forces be in disorder, or to give them any opportunity to regain what they had lost. The Anger which an Enemy is possessed with after he is either beaten, or forced from his Siege, should induce him still to be ready for a fight, his enemy waiting only for an advantage to take his revenge. If they be once beaten out of one quarter of their Trenches, they should be so look'd after, that they do not enter in at another part; they should never be thought to have left a Country, so long as there remains but one place which may make any resistance, not so much as a Castle which may quickly be fortifi'd, or the Gate of a Town, which one may suppose to be secure by a Treaty, ought to be left unregarded: Desperation doth somtimes re-double an Enemies courage, and even when an Enemy is absolutely routed, there ought to be a strict watch kept, seeing a broken Army doth often rally, and rush in upon the Conquerors, and do them so much the greater mischief, by their not being prepared to make defence.

## *The King of* Swede *enters into* Germanie.

Whilst the King carried his Arms into *Italy*, for the just defence of *Monsieur de Mantua*'s Interest, several Princes of *Germany*, and amongst the rest, the Dukes of *Pomerania* and *Mecklebourg*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and divers Common-wealths, oppressed by the House of *Austria*, imagining that the King of *Swede*'s Nobleness would defend them from this violence, called him in to their assistance. They sent sundry Deputies to him, to engage him with all earnestness to assist them; whom they found so much the more enclined to it, in regard he thought himself justly offended with the Emperour for his unworthy dealing with him,

him, for he had cauſed his Letters to be broken open, his Characters deciphered and interpreted, impriſoned his Subjects, trading upon the Baltique Sea, after he had taken away their Merchandiſes, prohibited the Commerce, though it were a natural right, and free to all the World, had by ſeveral means hindred the concluſion of that Peace which had been treated on with Poland; had ſent whole Companies under his own Colours into *Pruſſia*, to fight againſt the Swediſh Army, to deſtroy him under pretence of aſſiſting the King of *Poland*, had in a worſe then barbarous manner refuſed the Embaſſadours, whom he had ſent to him to treat a Peace; and had openly and under-hand ſpoiled and deprived his kindred and Allies of their States, ſo that ſome of them were even brought to Beggery, without being able to get any reaſon or ſatisfaction to their juſt complaints. Theſe are the true cauſes which ſtirred up his Courage, not able to ſuffer ſuch injuries; and which at laſt made him imbark on the Sea a moſt puiſſant Army. About *July* he came before the Iſland of *Rugen*, which he made himſelf Maſter of in a few days, notwithſtanding thoſe great oppoſitions which he met with; thence he went to *Stralzund*, a Hans Town, ſeated upon the Baltique Sea, in the Dutchy of *Pomerania*, which he had taken into his protection, in the year, 1628, and there he landed: The Imperialiſts had kept the Town cloſe blocked up untill *March*, and did ſtill belabour it with all Acts of Hoſtility, though they were conſtrained to raiſe the Siege, after the loſſe of above twenty thouſand men; but they quickly drew off for altogether, not thinking it poſſible to reſiſt him in a field, who had ſo eaſily taken in the Forts of the Iſland *Rugen*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THere are four principal cauſes which make Kings to march out of their own Country, Ambition which hath no limits, makes them impatient of being confined within thoſe of their own States, and deſirous to inlarge them at their neighbours expences. The natural inconveniences too of their own Country, may draw them out to ſeek a better, where they might live with more eaſe, as our firſt French, the Vandals and Goths did Some flatter themſelves in the belief, that there is not at this day any lawfull Prince at all, whoſe Eſtate had any other beginning, and that Kings have no juſter Titles, then by Conqueſts with their Swords. Laſtly, they go forth to revenge thoſe injuries which are done them, it being allowable to repel Force with Force, and to decide their differences in the field by that power which God hath given to them. They quit their Countries to aſſiſt their Allies, it being not only neceſſary for a Prince who aims at an extraordinary pitch of Glory not to injure any perſon, but alſo to defend and protect thoſe who are joyned with him by intereſt, alliance or kindred.

## *The Aſſembly at* Ratisbonne.

ABout the ſame time, there was held an aſſembly at *Ratisbonne*, and the King of *Swede* underſtood, that it was then and there reſolved to make a ſtrong reſiſtance againſt the Juſtice of his Arms, and that the Emperour had contrived a deſign (wherein, though he was much miſtaken) to force him out of *Germany*, and to make him periſh in the Baltique Sea, not vouchſafing to treat a Peace upon thoſe Propoſals which had been ſent to him only for reſtoring the States and Liberties to thoſe Princes and Republiques, from whom he had raviſhed them. Reſiſtance heightens and augments Courage, and this made the Swediſh King march up into the Country, and reſolve upon great deſigns, which we have ſeen him bring to paſſe: But firſt he had recourſe to ſuch Kings and States with whom he was in League. About *September* he writ to the King, deſiring him by that ancient Alliance which had been between the Kings of *France* and *Swede* with mutual promiſes, not only to preſerve friendſhip between one another; but alſo when occaſion ſhould ſerve, reciprocally to aſſiſt one another, to imploy the power of

his

his Arms and Authority, to defend that cauſe which he had then undertaken; in proſecution of which he had paſſed the Sea, and all in the behalf of thoſe who were tied to him by kindred, and allied to the Crown of *France*. The King, whoſe courage could not indure that any wrong ſhould be offered to his Allies, received this requeſt ſo much the more favourable, in reſpect it were as glorious a thing in him, to contribute to their eſtabliſhment; and accordingly, he gave the moſt advantagious anſwer to his Embaſſadours that could be expected. However the Cardinal offered one thing to his Majeſties conſideration, that it would be needfull to take care for the maintaining of Religion, in preſerving of States, and to ingage the King of *Sweden* not to commit outrages againſt it, where he found it ſetled. His Majeſty took time to deliberate and reſolve on the Articles of their Treaty, which being concluded and ſigned about the beginning of the yeer following, I ſhal then re-aſſume my diſcourſe of it, in its due order.

*Politique Obſervation.*

HAſty raſhneſſe in reſolving upon grand affairs, is as dangerous, as a nimble executing of them is advantagious; Prudence ought to guide both one and t'other. And whatever Juſtice appear above-board in deſigns, yet they are ſubject to have but ill ſucceſſes, if not commenced with mature deliberation. Though the wiſe man reſolve to do ſuch a thing which he knows to be juſt, yet he will take time to deliberate on the means. And as the intereſt of Religion is very conſiderable, ſo the Cardinal would not act any thing untill that were ſecured: Whereas on the contrary, raſh, haſty perſons, do greedily run unto the end which they have once concluded; but never examine the ways which conduce to attain to it; thus they do many times find themſelves ſo at a loſſe, and intangled in the executing their deſigns, that they at laſt find no dore to walk out at with honour, and ſo leave off with ſhame and confuſion. Hence it is, that *Demoſthenes* in his firſt Oration againſt *Philip* ſaith, They who counſel with great haſt, are not the greateſt Counſellours, thoſe Stomacks which make a quick digeſtion, do not concoct ſo good a *Chilus*, as thoſe whoſe heat is moderate, as Phyſitians tell us; and true it is, thoſe ſpirits which make their reſolution with moſt heat and promptneſs, do commonly come lamely of at laſt caſt.

*The King honoureth the* Sieur de Montmorancy *and* Thoyras, *with the Staff of Marſhal of* France.

SHortly after his Majeſty came to *Paris*, well knowing that rewards of honor, are not only due to thoſe who have deſerved them, but withall uſefull to incourage others to follow their example. He reſolved to honour the *Sieurs de Montmorancy* and *Thoyras* with the Staffs of Marſhal of *France*, as a mark of Valour which the former had ſhewed in the War of *Piedmont*; and which the ſecond had ſhewed to all *Italy*, during the Siege of *Cazal*. They being perſons of great eſteem, every one commended his Majeſties choice which he had made, in raiſing them to that eminent degree of honour. But the Rebellion of the one, and the evil Government of the other, did ſhortly after fully part of that glory which they had merited, they ſhewing by their Procedures that valour and prudence do not alwaies meet in the ſame ſubject.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THe rewarding of ſervices is ſo neceſſary for the good of a State, that when it is once laid by, the practice of vertue is neglected, eſpecially if it be not diſtinguiſhed by marks of honour. There are but a few of the ſame mind with the Phyloſopher, who ſaid he never expected other fruit from his good deeds, then the con-

tentment to have done them, and that he thought himſelf very happy to receive that teſtimony from his Conſcience, which ſhe gave to him. It is true, a truly noble man, doth not ſo much regard the Recompence, as the Action of Vertue which render him deſerving; but it cannot be denied, that thoſe marks of honour do make lively, and excite reſolutions to noble actions. The wiſeſt Philoſophers have ſaid, that the two ſupporters, upon which all the motions of a State depend, are reward and puniſhment, without which, there were no doubt but that great diſorders would ſoon follow, and vertue become totally neglected.

## *The King Honours the* Sieur de Servient, *with the Office of Secretary.*

THe King who was not to ſeek in any thing which concerned the good of his State, would now make another proof of the knowledge he had of that Prudent maxime. One of the places of Secretary of State, being vacant by the death of the *Sieur de Beauclere*, his Majeſty recollected in his mind, the ſervices of the *Sieur de Servient*; the Prudence wherewith he treated in *Piedmont* and *Savoy*; the fidelity wherewith he had guided himſelf in thoſe Treaties, wherein he had been imployed ſince the beginning of the War. The intelligence of Forraign affairs, which had made him happy and conſiderable in ſeveral encounters. The good order which he kept in the Army, whileſt he was ſuper-intendent of Juſtice; and the eloquence which he had teſtified in his younger daies, in ſeveral Charges. Now that ſo many good qualities might not be let lie without honour, and ſo many noble actions without reward; his Majeſty as I ſaid, thought fit to impoſe the Charge on him, of having a care concerning the Affairs of War, making it evident by his judicious choice, how exactly well his Prudence knew to make uſe of perſons, according to the particular qualifications of their minds.

## *The quality and good parts of a Secretary of State.*

THe Charge of Secretary, being as it is one of the moſt important of the Kingdom. It is needfull, that the Perſon with whom it is intruſted, ſhould be indued with qualities accordingly. He ſhould have Experience to manage both at home and abroad, the affairs in which he is imploied. He ſhould be well acquainted with the particular humours of Princes, ſtrangers, and Grandees of the Kingdom, as alſo of their ſeveral intereſts and pretenſions. Eloquence in diſcourſe is neceſſary for him, becauſe the King intruſts his Pen with him, to write to all Monarchs, Princes, Parliaments, and Eſtates, and generally to people of all ſorts: For it is not enough, barely to let them underſtand the will of his King, but he ſhould do it in fit and proper terms for a King, that is, with Majeſty, and the Elegance of a Maſculine generous ſtile, without any thing of bombaſt or affectedneſs. I know nothing ſo abſurd, as to make a King ſpeak beneath his Majeſty. As for that which concerns Eloquence, though to write Letters in the name of ſome barbarous King, which are not ſo exactly digeſted, may be tolerared; yet it would be extreamly found fault with in *France*, where neatneſſe hath made her Throne, and doth particularly inhabit, and where our Kings have nothing, but what is eminent and of the beſt. The very name of Secretary of Eſtate doth ſufficiently ſhew how much Fidelity and Secreſie are required in him; he ought principally to be bleſſed with theſe two qualities, becauſe ſhould he diſcover ſuch things as are intruſted with him, there could not but great inconvenience follow it.

## *The King pardons the Duke of* Vendoſm.

AFter that the King had evidenced in the courſe of this yeer an invincible courage, to reduce his enemies under the Law, an admirable Prudence in the good

good Orders both of Peace and War: A conſtancy not to be ſhaken in reſiſting the Artifices of ſeditious ſpirits: A Juſtice full of Courage to aſſiſt his Allies; and in a word, all other vertues which are proper ornaments for a Kings Crown; he would conclude all with an action of Clemency, in pardoning the *Monſieur de Vendoſme*, after ſome aſſurances of his repentance, and fidelity for the future, in relation to thoſe Crimes, for which he had been till then kept Priſoner in the *Boys de Vincennes*, and gave him liberty but on condition to go paſs away ſometime out of the Court and Kingdom.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is an act becomming the greatneſs of a Prince, to pardon the faults of Grandees, when there are no longer any apprehenſions of danger to the State, and when they are waſhed out by an humble repentance. The moſt generous are ſtill the moſt merciſull, and they eſteem it as honourable to forget an injury, as to remember a kindneſſe. That Emperour was highly commended by all Antiquities, who being to ſign a Warrant of Condemnation, wiſhed he had never learnt to write. And *Solomon* who hath left to all Kings a perfect example of Wiſedome, ſaith it is the glory of a man to paſſe by offences. However a King ought to be mindfull, that he do not too ſoon recall into his Court, a Prince or Grandee, who may be provoked by that Juſtice which hath been paſſed upon him, leaſt the opportunity of revenge which he may meet with in affairs, do carry him inſenſibly to a relapſe. Opportunity is a charm which ingageth men ere they think of it. The leaſt diſguſts which they ſhall receive, will revive their old grudges, and it is impoſſible for a great perſon to conſerve any Love for a King, from whom he imagineth he hath received ſome harſh uſage, and once not loving him, he is above half diſpoſed to raiſe embroils whenever occaſion ſhall ſerve. It is very difficult to join cloſe together that which hath been once broken aſunder, and a reconciliation in point of friendſhip is not ſtronger, then the glue which joyns crackt veſſels, which are eaſily broken aſunder by a ſmall blow. An imaginary wrong or a ſmall diſpleaſure, ſhould not make a reconciled Prince fall back again, when he is replaced in his firſt ſtation of affairs. They who imagine that juſt puniſhments are ſoon forgotten, do much deceive themſelves. It is as much as a Stoick would ſay that he had forgot injuries; but Princes are far enough of from ſuch maximes, ſo that the ſafeſt remedy for all their evils, is a removal from the Court, that not meeting with any, who are uſed to ingage people in Intreagues, they will be (as it were) forced to keep within their limits, when as peradventure their paſſions would make them flie out again.

## *ANNO* 1631.

IT is much more pleaſant to behold the Heavens twinkling with a thouſand ſeveral ſtars, or ſhining with the glorious light of the Sun, which rejoiceth the earth with its ſplendour, then to look on it ful of Prodigies, flaſhed with lightnings, ful laden with Clouds, ſhaken with Tempeſts, and covered with the Vail of an obſcure night: Juſt thus, without all peradventure, was it much more agreeable to conſider *France* in the ſplendour of her Victories, which ſhe obtained in the fore-going years, in the enjoyment of a happy quiet, cauſed by the ſubmiſſion of the Grandees of the State, and by uniting of all the people, all things being eſtabliſhed in excellent order under the Conduct of ſo wiſe a King, and every one living with Peace in his own profeſſion, then to contemplate her full of factions, troubled with Combinations, and threatned with a general diſſolution, by thoſe intelligences which the chief perſons of the Kingdom held with ſtrangers: But as the Laws of Hiſtory oblige me to write them impartially both in one relation and t'other, ſo I look upon my ſelf as compelled to give an accompt of thoſe turbulencies, wherewith ſhe hath been aſſaulted, that by thoſe glorious actions of the King, and thoſe Prudent Counſels of the Cardinals, the way of ſecuring and warranting an eſtate from thoſe dangers, whereunto it is commonly expoſed by civil Wars may be learn'd. Though the Queen Mother had reaſon to have reſted ſatisfied, knowing her ſelf to be the happieſt, as well as the greateſt Princeſs upon earth, yet ſhe could nor live contented, after the Cabal which had beleagured her Soul, had once perſwaded her, that ſhe was obliged to ruine the Cardinal. She did neer upon the matter equally divide the honour with the King. All the French did indeavour in emulation of one another, to teſtifie by their reſpects and obediences, the ſweetneſſe which did ſhine in all her actions: The Revenues which ſhe injoyed were greater then thoſe of three Queen Dowagers of *France* all together: There was no charge or expence, which ſhe was not able to go through with, witneſſe that magnificent ſtructure of *Luxenbourg*, which contends with the *Louvre*, and is the moſt accompliſhed piece of all that ever any of our Kings have attempted, She could not deny but that ſhe injoyed upon the matter an abſolute Authority in the State. The King permitted her to take upon her ſelf as much as ſhe could wiſh in the adminiſtration of affairs. He reſolved upon no one thing of importance in his Counſel, but upon her advice. When neceſſity enforced the King from *Paris*, and that ſhe would remain there, he ſtill left the government in her hands, and alſo ordered that Embaſſadours ſhould attend upon her, to communicate forreign affairs to her, and to receive from her mouth reſolutions thereupon. Was not this to poſſeſſe all that is glorious and noble in a Government? Was not this indeed to injoy her ſelf with more pleaſure then the King, ſeeing ſhe was exempted (in what ſhe pleaſed) from thoſe great troubles which accompany the Conduct of Affairs, and from thoſe embroils which are frequent in Wars and Voyages, all which the King was obliged to under-go; but ſhe tied to nothing but what ſhe pleaſed her ſelf, excepting thoſe affairs only, which related to the good of the Kingdom. Laſt of all, that Cabal factious as it was, being ſo much favoured by her what did it, but abuſe her bounty, to ſerve the Paſſions of ſome particular perſons? Did it not ſo trouble her repoſe by ſiniſter impreſſions, which were infuſed into her concerning the Government, and by thoſe ſuſpicions which were inſtilled into her againſt the Cardinal, by her eagerneſſe and deſire

ſire to intermeddle in affairs with greater power; inſomuch, that the good order eſtabliſhed in the State, wrought no other effect in her mind, then to make her doubt that the moſt glorious victories of his Majeſty, inſtead of tranſporting her with joy, would fill her Soul with Fears, and that Forraigners would invade his Country. Thus the moſt ſublime Acts of the Cardinal, which ſtrook both terrour and admiration into ſtrangers, were no otherwiſe conſidered by her, then as ſo many tricks and deceits. Whence it happened, that inſtead of acknowledging his Majeſties bounty, and the reſpects which he ſhewed her, ſhe repayed his kindneſſes with complaints, and inſtead of enjoying quiet and content, which ſhe had reaſon to imbrace, her life was filled only with vexatious inquietudes.

*Politique Obſervation.*

GReat perſonages, though raiſed up a little above other men, yet are neither more happy or contented. If they ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported with Paſſions, it is with them, as with the Sea, which being of a vaſt circumference, is no whit the leſſe ſubject to the agitations of the Winds; ſo they being raiſed a little above others, are not the leſſe ſubject to be vexed with inquietudes. Though they poſſeſſe more then enough wherewith to content themſelves; yet they giving themſelves the liberty of deſiring ſtill more, rather out of a humour then a neceſſity, are never in quiet or repoſe, but give us juſt reaſons to believe, that although Fortune hath denied Crowns to poor men, yet nature hath made them happier in requital of it by giving them minds deſirous of leſſe. That ſhining flame which we may behold at the end of a Torch, dwells not there, but by the force of that matter which feedeth it, and is continually raiſing it ſelf towards the Heavens, as diſdaining the place where it then is, deſiring, as it were, to get up into the Concave of the Moon; ſo grand perſons, though cloathed with ſuch ſplendour as makes them ſhine in the eyes of all other men, cannot reſt with quietneſs of mind in that authority from whence they receive it; but their aſpiring ſouls carries them ſtill onwards to new deſigns of raiſing themſelves above all things. They can never be contented with the command over men, unleſſe they can alſo command their Paſſions which nature hath created in them as in other men. Without this, all their glory ſerves only to ſtir up in them violent deſires to get ſtill more: Whereas on the contrary, he who hath circumſcribed his will with reaſon, hath added this happineſſe to his greatneſſe, that he will be exempted from the troubles of the World.

*The Queen Mothers hatred againſt the Cardinal.*

THe deſire of deſtroying the Cardinal, was the chief cauſe of the Queen Mothers diſcontents, and no one can imagine with what impatiency ſhe deſigned it. Her moſt faithfull ſervants were aſtoniſhed at it, conſidering that meekneſſe was the quality which every one ſaw to ſhine with ſo much ſplendour in her whole deportment: So that her Majeſty cannot be accuſed with that violence; but to ſet the ſaddle on the right horſe, it ought to be imputed to certain imbroiling ſpirits, who had ingaged her in it, before ſhe was aware of it: Whoever hath had the honour to be often neer her Majeſty cannot but conclude ſo, and they who have had never ſo little knowledge of the Intreagues of thoſe times, cannot be ignorant that her Majeſty did openly drive on at a meeting at *Dupes*, the deſign of ruining the Cardinal to that extream and utmoſt verge, after ſhe was counſelled to it by the enemies of that great Miniſter for two chief reaſons. The one was, they concluded that the King could not, in fine, deny the abandoning of him, if her Majeſty ſhould continue to urge him to it, with freſh and continued inſtances. A Mother having but too too attractive powers over a ſon to draw him to her own deſires; eſpecially ſuch a ſon ſo full of reſpect and obſervance as the King was. The ſecond, becauſe in caſe the Cardinal ſhould get the better of them, he would then ſit on their skirts, for thoſe ſeditious Aſſemblies which they had contrived againſt the Kings

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ſervice, and againſt his own particular Intereſts, which if it ſhould ſo fall out, 'twere better for them to drive on their firſt deſign to the very utmoſt.

### *Intreagues of the* Ladies *neer the Queen Mother.*

THe Miniſters of *Spain*, who had great intereſt in the ruining of the Cardinal, did endeavour with their utmoſt the heat of theſe flames to which infamous intent, they employed ſeveral Ladies who were neer the Queen Mother; but eſpecially, three great Princeſſes, to whom her particular favours gave moſt free acceſſe, *viz.* the Princeſſe of *Conti*, the Dutcheſſes of *Elbœuf* and *d' Ornano*: Several other great perſons of the Court were of the ſame party; ſome of them not ſo much caring for the good ſucceſſe of any publick affairs, but onely for their own particular intereſts, which they thought would be much bettered by this means, if it ſhould hit accordingly: Others found themſelves ingaged in the Faction, by their Love which obliged them to ſerve the Paſſions of ſome of the Ladies: Others ſuffered themſelves to be led into it by their extravagant humours, which carries ſome capricious minds, to the never-liking of any thing in the publick Government: Had the Queen Mother been of a more malicious and fiery nature ſhe might have been ſafe and free from their invenomed artifices; but they wrought upon her, made advantages of her good nature, and ſuch were the chief Agents, to whom ſhe had done the honour, to give a more particular part of her gracious favours; beſides, in all their actions, they only pretended a Paſſion to preſerve her Majeſty in her power and authority, the only abſolute charm to bewitch the Souls of great Perſonages. They had at laſt ſo fortified her, that it was impoſſible, in a manner, for any others to whom ſhe diſcourſed but little of her deſigns, to diſ-abuſe her. They were never out of her Majeſties ſight; and if, by chance, one of them was obliged to go forth, another ſtept in, as if it were, on purpoſe to prevent any of her loyal ſervants to diſ-deceive her, or with deſign of picking an occaſion to entertain her in ſuch diſcourſes, as might tend to the increaſing of her Paſſion. They made her believe that the credit which the King gave to thoſe ſage Counſels of the Cardinal, were an authority ſo great that ſhe was as it were forced to be jealous at it. They excited her upon the ſcore of honour, that ſhe was bound to let all Chriſtendom ſee that the power which ſhe had in the State was not ſo ſlight, that her will ſhould become leſſe conſiderable by the oppoſition of a Favourite. Neither did they omit to ſuggeſt to her the re-eſtabliſhment of *Monſieur de Mantua*, as a crime, who was now upon the point of being reſtored to his Eſtates, as if the Intereſts of that Prince ſo important to the Glory of the King and his Crown, ought not to have been preferred before the hatred which ſhe had conceived againſt him.

Poſteritie will have much adoe, to beleeve that they could drive things to that point, of informing her Maieſtie with ſuſpitions of the Fidelitie of this grand Miniſter, and of making her beleeve, that he deſigned to raiſe himſelf into the Royal Throne, upon the ruine of her children, inſteed of repreſenting to her, that he ſacrificed his life, his goods, and his honour to their glory, upon any occaſion which did preſent it ſelf. If her Majeſty had not been acquainted with any ſecret of affairs, they preſently told it her by way of complaint and accuſation of the Cardinal, as if it had been abſolutely neceſſary to have given her accompt of euery thing, whileſt ſhe was ingaged in thoſe Contrivances and Aſſemblies, where ſtrangers too had a good ſtroke, who might make uſe of it to the Kings diſadvantage. In her Majeſties preſence they could never wonder enough, that he ſhould ſuffer the King to propoſe to Monſieur, the marrying the Princeſs *Mary*; whereas they ſhould have told her, it was with deſign to ſtay him in the Court. But that was no part of their intention: And is it not yet more ſtrange that they made the real indeavours which the Cardinal obliged her in, to paſs for diſguiſes and falſities, even to the perſwading her, that he onely deſired to ſet himſelf upright with her, that he might take his own advantage, and find an occaſion of removing her, as *Monſieur de Luynes* had done, well knowing, that the bare belief of that one thing would

more

more and more fix her in the deſign of deſtroying him? Theſe are the diſcourſes wherewith thoſe of the Cabal did ordinarily entertain her, or to ſpeak more properly, the Charms wherewith they inchanted her Soul, ſo that perverting the genuine ſweetneſſe of her diſpoſition, they rendred her incapable of any reconciliation, and immoveable in the deſign of ruining him, whoſe Prudence was the greateſt prop and ſtay of her Grandeur, and whoſe ſignal ſervices done to *France*, had raiſed it to that eminent point of glory.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THere is hardly any one thing which they who are neer great Princeſſes, may not in time perſwade them to, when they have once gotten a little credit with them, and that they will but uſe thoſe Artifices to obtain it, which the corruption of the Court ſoon teacheth. The firſt and chief thing they labour, is to inſinuate into their minds, that they are very paſſionately affected for their ſervices and intereſts, and that they have no other deſigns, but what contribute to their glory; this they do, as well knowing affection to be a reaſon able to perſwade Ladies to any thing. Their next care is never to incenſe them either by words or deeds. They flatter all their faults, even to a commendation of them, which makes the word incurable. And though there be nothing more free then love and hatred, yet they profeſſe openly they neither love noe hate any but whom they do. They ſerve them with a ſeeming heat and earneſtneſſe upon all occaſions, but are in effect like Curteſans who wiſh to thoſe whom they love, all that is good, excepting Prudence and Judgment. Is it not eaſily obſerved, that if any one diſpleaſe them, they are the firſt who ſpeak ill of him? They had much rather deceive them, then hazard their anger by telling truth. And thus by their Compliances and a thouſand ſervices, which are powerfull attracts upon the minds of that Sex, they make themſelves beloved, and acquire a great part of their Truſt and Confidence: This once done, how many artifices do they then find out to ſurpriſe them? No one can ſo eaſily deceive us, as he who hath once poſſeſſed our minds, with a belief that he loveth us: The bare affection which we repay him, gives him advantage enough in that he is not miſtruſted. The honour which they have to be ordinarily neer her, gives them no little advantage, ſeeing it furniſheth them with opportunities and occaſions of ſaying whatever they have a mind to; they never hazard any thing, for that they have liberty to ſpeak that at another time freely, which peradventure they then cannot without danger. Inſomuch, that if they would make any one be hated, it is a moſt eaſie thing for them to bring it to paſſe. Firſt, they attempt to make them miſtruſted, with great caution, they ſpeak ill of them; but ſo, as it may ſeem to have proceeded from an affection which they have for their ſervice; and this commonly maketh their advices be well received; and having once diſcovered an inclination to receive theſe firſt preparatories, they are not to ſeek in re-criminating them with new charges; and by little and little they inſinuate a belief of their being evil, which renders them hated: And all this, with ſuch a meekneſſe of mind, but ſo full of diſſimulations (of which, the Court is the moſt perfect School) that great Princeſſes can ſo much the leſs eaſily defend themſelves from them; in regard the moſt part of thoſe who come neer them, do hardly ever tell them any truth at all.

*The Cardinal indeavoureth to reſtore himſelf into the Queen-Mothers good Favour.*

AS there never yet was any Soul more gratefull or more reſpectfull then the Cardinal, ſo it cannot be expreſſed with what grief he indured the Queen-Mothers anger, and to how many ſubmiſſions he ſtooped, that he might recover her good favour. Shortly after *St. Martins* day, ſhe uſed her very utmoſt

power

power over the Kings inclinations to deſtroy him, inſomuch that ſhe would not indure to ſee him. But he having reſolved it to be his greateſt Felicity, next that of ſerving his Majeſty, to render all teſtimonies of his fidelity, and of that great Paſſion which he had for her Glory, pretermitted no invention to get the honour of ſeeing her. Sometimes he would addreſſe himſelf to Father *Suffren* the guide of her Conſcience, and beg him with ſigns of extraordinary grief, that he would zealouſly uſe his utmoſt power to procure him that ſatisfaction, and to re-eſtate her mind in her firſt kindneſſes to him, which ſome of her Confidents had now diverted. The Good Father did it ſo much the more readily, perceiving that this bitterneſs of the Queen-Mother, did ſet the whole Court into Factions, that it did divide the State, raiſed combinations and fomented parties againſt the King himſelf, he repreſented to her, that God commanded her to moderate her hatred, and to behold him with reſpect, who had done ſuch eminent ſervices for the King her ſon but it was to little purpoſe, for he could not at all diſcover any diſpoſition in her, tending to follow his advices. The Cardinal accepted with much affection thoſe offers of the Cardinal *Bagny* his Holineſſes *Nuntio*, a Prelat, not leſſe recommendable for the greatneſſe of his Soul, then that of his dignity to attempt and indeavour with her upon the ſame ſcore: There could not be any thing added to that great care and prudence which he uſed to allay her Paſſion; at laſt he obtained this advantage, that ſhe condiſcended to ſee him, and to promiſe him ſhe would forget what was paſt. The meeting was at *Luxenburg* Palace, where the King was preſent: But ſhe diſcovering by her eyes, her words and actions, that there was nothing but apparencies in her reconcilement, he was neceſſitated to make uſe of a more potent cauſe for the obtaining of that, which neither the Piety of Father *Suffren*, nor the Quality or Merit of Cardinal *Bagny* could attain to. The King took the pains upon himſelf, to ſpeak to her once and again with great earneſtneſs, conjuring her to him whom ſhe was equally obliged to as himſelf, to acknowledge him for her moſt faithfull Servitor, and for a Miniſter capable of executing ſeveral great deſigns, of which he had already laid the ground-work. He beſeeched her to re-aſſume her former familiarities with the Cardinals, to aſſiſt at Councels where, of late, ſhe would no more appear, and his Majeſty preſſed her ſo vigorouſly that ſhe could not deny him, which his Majeſty had been ſenſible of two or three ſeveral times. It is true, ſome have been bold to ſay, that they who nouriſhed her mind with this ſharpneſſe adviſed her to ſtoop in this particular to his Majeſties will, that he might gain a greater power over his Soul, and that ſhe might gain a greater power over his Soul, and that ſhe might find out new occaſions fit to deſtroy the Cardinal: But for my own part, I can never believe that her goodneſs could credit them in this point: I ſhall only ſay this much, indeed the Paſſion which ſhe conceived againſt him, was ſo violent, that ſhe could not long forbear, ſo much did his very ſight torment her, and that in effect this meeting was a recommencing of it.

## *The Marſhal* de Schomberg *interpoſeth.*

THe Marſhal *de Schomberg*, whom ſhe had heretofore much honoured with her Counſels; being return'd from *Piedmont*, imagined that he might perchance work ſomewhat upon her mind; he reſolved accordingly to aſſault her, with all kinds of reaſons, and ſo evidently to demonſtrate to her the wrong ſhe did her ſelf, that he would force her by the conſideration of her own intereſts, to give up her ſelf though ſhe would not do it, either for the Love or Reſpect which ſhe owed the King. He knew belike that intereſt was the breach by which all great Perſonages are taken. He beſeeched her firſt to conſider the great benefits which ſhe received by his Counſels; and that whileſt ſhe had followed them, ſhe was becom the moſt glorious Princeſſe of the World; whereas now ſhe was in a maze, by having adhered to the advices of hers and his enemies. It is true, Madam, would he ſometimes ſay, he ever perſwaded you cordially to love the King, to have no other

then

then his interests, and to be inseparably united with him; for that he well knew, all your greatness and quiet depended upon it, whereas they who now advise you, put other imaginations into your Majesties head; but she would not yet see to what pitch of extremity they had then brought her. He entreated her to open her eyes, and to recollect with a difference she found in the effects, and made her apprehend and confess, that she could wish for nothing which she might not make her self sure of, if he did but continue in a strict union with his Majesty and the Cardinal. That if she desired any authority from the King, he had beseeched her to assist in the Councels, only to give her all kind of respects and distinctions, and had in a manner divided his power with her. That if she desired Gratifications the Cardinal had never been backward to pay them unto her. The great zeal which he had to serve her, did even transport him to tel her, that her separating her self as she did from the King, would force the King to withdraw himself from her; which if it should so happen, she would lose all her power, and the people themselves would no longer pay her their usual respects.

These reasons were so potent and considerable, that there was nothing could be alledged against them and the Queen-Mother had accordingly believed them; but that some factious spirits about her; perswaded her that she should add to her authority and greatness if she could make her self Mistress of this one affair, and thus they easily re-inflamed that fire, which the other had taken a great deal of pains to extinguish, though in never so little a manner. In fine, she became inflexible, and those unworthy miscreants brought her to that passe, that she refused his Majesty, when he entreated her to pardon the Cardinal, which she was so much the more obliged to have done, he never having really offended her at all.

*Politique Observation.*

NOthing is more easily effected, then to infuse violences into the minds of great men, when they are once perswaded it is necessary for the preservation of their Authority. There is not any thing but only power which advanceth them, above other men, and they are easily led by it, to ruine every one whom they conceive to hurt them. But above all, women are most subject to this fault, in regard they are weaker and more wedded to their Passions then men are. The natural levity of that Sex makes them passe with little adoe, from the extremity of love to that of hatred, not being able to keep a *medium*: It is enough to ingage them not to do a thing, if you do but earnestly entreat them to do it; especially, if they be but a little provoked to anger. Such entreaties as are made to them when so affected, cause them to passe from that of Anger to Fury, and when they cannot dis-allow of the thing which is entreated of them, yet it is enough to deny it, if they love not the person who desires it. Rigour hath a greater Empire in their Wills then Submission. And they whose Souls seem to be more heightned then others, are so much the more to be feared, they having more mettle then conduct; it is impossible ever to root out of them any jealousies which they have once conceived, and their humours are so fixed in suspicions that it is almost impossible to defend ones self from them by lawfull means. If the beauty of their countenances, give them an almost absolute dominion over the minds of men, yet the weakness of their Sex doth subject them under the commands of all and every Passion, especially that of hatred; from which it is impossible for them to dis-engage themselves, after they have once given it admittance into their breasts.

Although I look upon all Queens as exempted from the *major* part of their qualities, by reason of the particular assistance, which they receive from God, who considereth them as his own Images here beneath; yet it is very rare to find any, who are not liable to that violence which is inseparable from their Government. And this is one of the reasons upon which *Aristotle* groundeth that saying in his Politiques, that they are not proper to govern States. In regard Clemency is known to be one of their chiefest Pillars. It is also most assured, that such as are

born with a more generous temper then others, are the more to be feared; for being unable to direct with Prudence, they fortifie themselves with rigour, and become inflexible towards those, of whom they have conceived the least suspicion.

## Monsieur *the Kings Brother disapproveth of the Queen-Mothers Intreagnes.*

MOnsieur Brother to the King was not ignorant that the Queen-Mother was in the quality of a subject, as wel as in that of Mother to his Majesty; and that therefore she was bound to obey him in every thing, which absolutely concern'd the good of his Kingdom, so that he could not approve of her opposing his will and pleasure, neither was he backward of testifying his dislike of it to the King. The discourse which he made of it did give no little satisfaction to his Majesty, who was resolved not to let pass any opportunity which might conduce to the firm establishing of him in his due respects, especially seeing Monsieur himself had confirmed him in it, by his protesting to the Cardinal, that he loved him as a person whom he thought necessary for the good of the State. Yet we know that the favourites of great Personages, do sometimes pervert their best inclinations, and are the common instruments made use of to divert them from their duties; therefore the King concluded it very fit to make sure of *Coigneux*, *le Sieur de Puy-laurence* & *Montigot*, whom *Monsieur* principally confided in; he knew there was no chain which could tie the *major* part of such people stronglier then good Offices; and accordingly, he resolved not to wave or let slip any time to advance them, and to hold them off from being gained by such as were already ingaged in any Faction. His Majesty caused three hundred thousand Livres to be given to *Monsieur de Puylaurence*, that he might buy the Dutchy of *Anville*: He granted to *Coigneux* an Office of President *au Mortier* of the Parliament of *Paris* with hopes of a Cardinals Cap, which his Majesty had also writ for to the Pope. *Montigot* had fifty thousand Livres for his share, and each of them received these gifts with such handsom actions and expressions of thanks, that they made a thousand protestations of preserving and continuing their Master, in a strict intelligence and obedience to his Majesties will and pleasure.

### *Politique Observation.*

IT is very important for a Kings service to make sure of those in whom the Princes of the blood do most confide. It is the only means to keep them within compass, and they are only able so to dispose them, for that they do make such impressions upon their spirits as shall carry them when and where they please to incline them. Princes commonly are notwithstanding the greatnesse of their Souls, which they receive with their birth, more addicted to their pleasures then their affairs; whence it happens, that they do not give themselves time enough to examine of what qualities any things are, or whether fit to be ingaged in or not, but remit the particular care of that to those whom they confide in, and are contented when things come to be acted, if they do but hear them tell them they are good, and they had rather suffer some disorders in their houses, then lose a quarter of an hours passe-time. These are they who share the government with Princes, whiles they impose on them the burthen, and so divide the honour of commanding, thinking on nothing but delights, and supposing that as their births hath created them the chief in the State; so Fortune cannot but be propitious to them, for the obtaining of whatsoever is necessary to give them a continual subsistance. It is for this reason it cannot be doubted, that it were necessary to keep their Favourites obliged very strongly to the Kings service, and to be dependent upon his Majesties will and pleasure, that they may be made use of as occasion shall present themselves for the good of the State. In *Spain* none are allowed to the Kings Brothers, but such

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as are belonging to the Kings themſelves, which are changed too very often, leſt a long continuance in their ſervice, might in time beget too ſtrong a confidence, and draw them off from the firſt ties of their obedience. For this reaſon it is, that there ought no great deliberation to be had for the removal of ſuch from them, who are experimentally known to ingage them, in affairs prejudicial to the good of the State; for the great compliance in permitting them a longer continuance neer them, will ſoon produce very dangerous effects. Their removal peradventure may ſeem harſh to Princes; but it is better they ſhould be diſpleaſed, then the whole State be indangered. It is a great good fortune for a Miniſter, never to be put upon ſuch a rock; and therefore it is, that he will indeavour to work upon them by good offices, which are the moſt powerfull means to oblige men and tie them very ſtrictly, the chains wherewith they are fettered, being ſo pleaſant and agreeable to them. Intereſt, is that which doth moſt efficaciouſly move them: And indeed, it is in a manner impoſſible to gain them by other means, then by making proviſion for their advancement. There is no deſign which they will not approve of, alwaies provided that they have but ſatisfaction in their own particulars. They perſwade their Maſters to reſt contented, if they themſelves are once ſatisfied. The moſt part of affairs of the world, are like thoſe Pictures wherein you ſhall behold different Figures and ſhapes, according to the divers poſitions and ſcituations of them who look upon them. They never repreſent any thing to their Maſters, but on that ſide which they beſt like, and thus they can as eaſily retain him in quiet. There ought to be care had, that all which is intended for them be not done at once. Ambition ſtill increaſeth, and thoſe benefits which are done to a favourite, do but whet his appetite for the receiving of others Therefore it is, that one ſhould alwaies reſerve ſomething to keep them in breath by the expectations of greater benefits to come.

### *The Queen Mothers Reſolution to win Monſieur.*

THe Declaration which Monſieur made to the King of his reſentment, ſtrook a great aſtoniſhment into the Queen-Mother, ſhe having before-hand placed all her confidence in him, as alſo choſen him for the chief inſtrument of her deſigns. They had perſwaded her, that could ſhe but ingage him in her intereſts, ſhe might ſoon find men enough to uphold them, and ſuch as would put themſelves into the field in Arms to carry on her deſigns to their very utmoſt, and yet her natural goodneſſe was ſo great to oblige her, to preſerve Monſieur conſtant and faithfull to the Kings intereſts: But this factious ſeditious Cabal, which inverted her ſtrongeſt inclinations, made her miſlike thoſe procedures, and carried her on even to reproach him; for that after ſhe had ſo particularly cheriſhed him, he ſhould take ſo little care for her concerns. It is true, it was heretofore verily beleeved in the firſt yeers of her Regency (though I think without juſt grounds) that ſhe was more affectionate and tender towards *Monſieur*, then towards the King, and that ſhe might well caſt her eyes upon him, as many others of her quality have done, to make uſe of him for the upholding of ſuch deſigns, as ſhe might have, to which the King might not be ſo favourable: But it muſt be confeſſed, that ſhe governed her ſelf ſo prudently, by thoſe ſage Councels which were given to her after her firſt going off from the Court, that no one could diſcover any thing in her behaviour but real intentions to preſerve her children in a good intelligence with one another, and never to attempt any thing which was not conformable to the Kings Will; inſomuch, that this prudent Conduct of hers, gained her a great eſteem with the people, who being deſirous of nothing more then peace, they regarded her Majeſty with extraordinary affections, as her who was the greateſt advancement of publick tranquillity, by her preſerving the bond of union between her children. Though now ſhe gave them juſt cauſe to change their good opinions of her, by her frequent entertainments of Monſieur and his chiefeſt Officers, in that deſign, which all men knew ſhe had to gain him to her party, whatever it

coſt, that he might become inſtrumental for her in the reſolution which ſhe had taken to deſtroy the Cardinal.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is very uſual with Mothers to love their youngeſt better then their eldeſt children, and to rely upon them, to be maintained in the greater authority. It ſhould ſeem it is with Children, as with fruits, the neweſt are ſtill moſt agreeable, ſo it frequently comes to paſſe, that the youngeſt are pleaſures and diverſions to their Parents, when as they who are older, ſhake off the yoke of obedience, and follow the inclinations of unbridled youth; but moſt eſpecially ſo it is, when as mothers are become Widdows, and have loſt that protection of their husbands which kept their children within their bounds, that they do caſt themſelves upon the intereſt of the younger ones, whom they look on as the ſupporters of their old age, and as thoſe who muſt uphold their Authority againſt the eldeſt, whom they look upon very often, as men do upon Creditors who come to take away their goods from them; withall, they are dependent upon them in ſeveral reſpects, becauſe by the deaths of their Fathers, they are become the heads of their Families; and this dependency upon them is inſupportable. If this be ordinary in private Families, how much more is it in thoſe of Kings? Hiſtory is pregnant with relations of ſuch Queens as have advanced their youngeſt children to the Government, in prejudice of their brother. *Ptolomeus Phiſcus*, gave at his wifes perſwaſions, the Crown of *Egypt* to his youngeſt ſon; and to go no further then *France* it ſelf, *Lewis* the *Debonnair*, did not he prefer at his Wifes entreaty, *Charls* the *Bauld*, before *Lothair* who was the eldeſt? Did not *Conſtance* wife of *Robert*, ſeeing her husband intended after the death of his eldeſt ſon, to Crown *Henry* her ſecond ſon King, oppoſe it, in her earneſt deſires that he would prefer *Robert* her third ſon, whom ſhe loved moſt intirely? And when ſhe ſaw ſhe could not arrive to the end of her deſign, did ſhe not embroyl all things, even whileſt the King yet lived; but much more after his death, by fomenting the diviſions between her children, that ſhe her ſelf might have the more Authority? This occaſioned a moſt ſad Civil War, to the great damage of the Kingdom and that good King, both in the declining of his age and Kingdom, when as he expected repoſe and tranquility in his family, eſpecially after he had ſuffered (upon his firſt coming to the Crown) ſo great afflictions by reaſon of the misfortunes of his firſt marriages, & their diſſolutions which afterwards hapned; for the remedying whereof, the godly Abbot of *Fleury* Abby was employed. Not to ſeek for examples far from us, is not that of *Katharine de Medicis* very certain, it being yet freſh in the memory of man. for ſhe was ever known to favour ſome of her children againſt other ſome? Was ſhe not likewiſe ſuſpected to have haſtned the death of her eldeſt, that ſhe might make way to raiſe the Duke of *Anjou* to the Crown? And was ſhe not ſeen after he was attained to the Government, to enter into the Combination againſt him, becauſe he did not relie enough upon her for the the Government of affairs? It is ſo frequent in hiſtory, that we ſhall need no other proofs for it; it may ſafely be ſaid, that it hath alwaies been a very dangerous matter for States, that it hath cauſed many Civil Wars which have neer hand brought whole Kingdomes to an abſolute ruine. For that the particular affection of a Mother, raiſing jealouſies between her children, hurrieth them into all extremities whatſoever, they divide the Grandees into Factions, then they appear all in Arms, and nothing eſcapes ruine; in fine, they are forced to quench the fire of their private quarrels, in the blood of their people.

*She gaineth his Favourites.*

IT was both difficult and ſuſpitious for the Queen-Mother ſo often to diſcourſe with *Monſieur*, ſo it muſt needs be to draw him off from that reſolution which he had taken of adhering to the Kings Intereſts: They who kept up her ſoul in thoſe diſcon-

diſcontentments, adviſed her to make uſe of thoſe Favourites whom he did moſt of all truſt in: This counſel was as judicious as it was wicked, becauſe it was hard to ſhake the mind of this Prince, who received with his Birth the ſeeds of obedience which is due to the King, and which had alſo been cultivated by thoſe Signieurs who had had the charge of his education. It was altogether impoſſible to overcome his Inclination, unleſs by the means of them who were never from him, who knew his humour, and by what devices they might work upon him. Virtue which hath taken deep root in a good nature, is not plucked out but with great labour; it will be needful to aſſail it by ſtrong means; and none but ſuch in whom he hath confidence and truſt can bring it about. The buſineſs then was to gain his Favourites, who were three, *Coigneux*, the Sieur *de Puy-Laurens*, and *Monſigot*: But it would do the work if *Coigneux* only could be gained, for that *Puy-Laurens* had but a little before received a ſtrong Obligation from him; for having removed *Bois-dennemay*, who partaked with him in the honour of his maſters good affections, and ſo would not offer to be againſt it; and as for *Monſigot*, he was ſo much his creature too, that he had no other motion then that of *Puy-Laurens*. There were great endeavours uſed to get him, and a favourable opportunity was ſoon found; for he being poſſeſſed with an abſolute unbridled deſire to have the Cardinals hat, which the King had given him ſome hopes of, it hapned that the Pope deferred his Promotion for a few moneths, which he was upon the very point of granting: Some of them caſt it into his head that this delay was a trick put upon him by the Cardinal; ſo that he, as a man bewitched to his own ambitious Intereſts, ſwallowed it, and conceived ſo great a fury againſt him, that he reſolved to be revenged on him whatever it coſt him; inſomuch that he told a friend of his, who endeavoured to open his eyes, That he was freed from his hopes of a Cardinals Hat, but that within ſix weeks time they ſhould be glad to ſend it to him with a witneſs. It was his uſual ſaying, that a Son of France is alwaies conſiderable, if he be in a condition to make himſelf be pitied. And this maxime was the true ground of thoſe hopes which he conceived, That if *Monſieur* ſhould depart from the Court in diſcontent, he would be pitied by all people; That the Princes, Governours of Provinces and Places, and the chief Lords of the Kingdom would come to him, and bring Forces for his aſſiſtance, and give him ſuch means to raiſe and make a war, by which he would die that Cap in the blood of the people, which had not been granted to him according to his deſires and expectation. The true cauſe of its delay was this, The Italians would not give way that the Pope ſhould grant him that favour, unleſs they might be acquainted with the reaſon of it, it being contrary to the Bull of *Sixtus* v. which prohibited the beſtowing the Hat on men who had been twice married, as he had been; and thereupon all the Intereſt of Spain had much ado to promote the Duke of *Lerma* to the Cardinalſhip. As for *Coigneux*, he was much more moved by the hopes which they gave him of ſtepping into the Cardinals place as ſoon as ever he was ruined; and he flattered himſelf ſo much the more willingly into this Belief, becauſe having cauſed his Nativity to be caſt during the Kings ſickneſs, he had been told of great advantages of Fortune which ſhould befall unto him. The ſplendour of this pretended Miniſtry did ſo dazle his eyes, that he loſt his reaſon at the firſt motion of it, and was abſolutely fixed in the reſolution of giving himſelf to the Queen Mother, and to perſwade *Monſieur* to what-ever ſhe pleaſed: That he might give her a ſure teſtimony of it, he had the boldneſs to oppoſe the Kings will, when his Majeſty deſir'd to engage *Monſieur* a little more ſtrictly to the Court, by granting him that ſatisfaction which he had ſo long wiſhed for, of marrying him to the Princeſs *Mary*. The Queen-Mother who could not endure this match, aſſured *Coigneux*, that he would do her a moſt particular kindneſs to divert *Monſieur* from it; who forthwith uſed all the Artifices which the malice of his ſoul could ſuggeſt to him, to break it off, inſomuch that he beſeeched his Majeſty that he would not oblige him to marry ſo ſuddenly. *Coigneux* became ſo inſolently proud of this prank, that *Monſieur* being at *Chantilly*, he vaunted (ſpeaking to ſome one who was not at all engaged to him)

him) that he had hindred the Match, and that it would never be concluded. Its true, the words were no sooner out of his mouth, but he repented them, fearing, and with great reason, lest the King would come to be informed of his insolencie, and chastise him for it. In fine, Fear was joyned to his Ambition: From thence forward, those two furious Passions wrought so mightily upon his inconsiderate Spirit, that he was at no quiet until he wrought *Monsieur* to leave the Court. There was no essay which he left unattempted to shake that resolution of *Monsieurs*, which he stuck close to, of not forsaking the King: He found means to renew in his mind fresh sentiments of revenge against the Cardinal, by remembring him of the Imprisonment and death of the Grand Prior, and of the Marshal *d' Ornano*, and the execution of *Chalais*: He often put him in mind of the Obligation which lay upon him to undertake the Queen-Mothers quarrel, who had alwaies tenderly loved him: But finding that none of these devices wrought any effect, he attempted to possess him with fear, which shaketh the greatest Courages: He made him believe that the King had been inform'd of his relapsing into the Queen-Mothers Intereſts, and was by the Cardinal's advice resolved to send him Prisoner to the *Boys de Vincennes*. Then it was that without more ado he absolutely concluded to leave the Court with all speed, not having the power to recollect (as it was to be wished) that this Favourite led him away, only that he might obtain that Honour by force, of which his small worth made him very undeserving.

*Politique Observation.*

I Have formerly said, It were requisite that the Favourites of Princes should be nearly tyed to the Kings Intereſts, that they might be carried to whatever his Majestie should desire of them; and now I shall add, that it is not less then necessary, to prevent their troubling of the State; for that the most part of such Civil wars have hapned by their means: But there are great obstructions and difficulties in the encompassing it, seeing that it is not sometimes in the power of the greatest Ministers to retain them in their duties, what-ever advantages are prepared for them. And as eating doth but excite the hungers of starved stomacks, so those Riches which are given to them, do but make them more ambitious of other, and greater. It is the humour which doth possess most Princes Favourites, and is the cause which doth often engage their Masters in great Broyls. The most violent storms which turn all things up-side-down, are formed only out of Clouds drawn up by the Planets into the highest Region of the Ayr; and the greatest Revolts which have troubled the quiet of the people, and ruined whole Kingdoms, have proceeded from those suggestions which Princes Favourites (the Stars of the State) have raised in their minds, from whence they often get nothing but mud and dirt. Hath not the last age made it evident here in France, in the time of *Henry* the third, when as the Duke *d' Alençon* had not gone out of the Court, but by the perswasions of *Bussi* and *Semier*, and some others his Favourites, who were troubled to see the government of Affairs in the hands of some who would not give them leave to do what they pleased? And if we look back a little more, shall we not find that *Lewis* the eleventh, whilest he was *Daulphine*, had not withdrawn himself the first time from *Charles* the seventh his Brother, but by the advices of *Chaumont* and *Bouciaut*, and their Partisans, who could not endure to see that his Neece the fair *Agnes* and *Villiquier*, should have so absolute a Power? Our own times have furnished us with examples enough to prove this truth, which are so well known to all men, that I need not trouble them or my self to relate them. I shall only add this, that as Goldsmiths have a certain strong water to separate Gold from Silver, though incorporated by the Fire, that they seem to be the same Body: So the Favourites of Princes have certain Arts, which the malice of the Court teacheth them, the power of which is so great, that when they please, they will divide a Mother from her children, a Brother from a Brother, and generally all whom Nature or Friendship had joyned together, in so strict a league, that one would have reasonably imagined nothing could have been able to have made a separation.

*Monsieur*

## Monſieur's *reſolution to leave the Court.*

WHen *Coignum* had once perſwaded *Monſieur* by his ſubtle devices to leave the Court, he gave him no reſpite, until he had put it in execution. That his departure might be with the more noiſe, which might ſerve for a Beacon to put the whole Kingdom in an uproar; he found a trick to perſwade him, that it would be an act of courage in him, to go quarrel with the Cardinal in his own houſe, before he went off, and to declare to him, that he would be no more his friend, but that he would take the Queen-Mothers part againſt him. Accordingly *Monſieur* went to him, and told him ſo: But the Cardinal who knew ſuch things could not proceed from his goodneſs, which rendred him not only the leaſt evil-doer, but indeed, the moſt obliging Prince of the world, anſwered him with nothing but reſpects and civilities. Aſſoon as *Monſieur* went from him, he got into his Coach, and went directly to *Orleans*, without taking leave of the King. The Queen-Mother ſeeming to be ſurpriz'd at it, preſently ſent notice of it to the King, then at hunting, who was much troubled at it; though he could expect little good from the baſe diſpoſitions of *Monſieur*'s ſervants, of all whom his Majeſty had been fully informed, though he could not imagine they would have carried things to ſuch extremities, conſidering the great gratifications he had beſtowed on them, and thoſe ſeveral proteſtations of inviolable fidelity which they had but ſo lately made unto him. When his Majeſty return'd from hunting, he alighted at the Cardinal's, and gave him ſuch ſingular teſtimonies of his favour, that they were able to obliterate any apprehenſions of *Monſieur*'s proceedings: His Majeſty promiſed he would protect him with and againſt all, and commanded him to be the more confident of it, in regard he was bound in honour to preſerve him, from whom he had received ſuch ſignal ſervices. That if any did him an injury it was his Majeſty whom they did offend, and he would ſo take it, as done to himſelf. From thence the King went to find out the Queen-Mother, to whom he could not diſſemble how much *Monſieur*'s departure did diſpleaſe him, and the juſt grounds he had to ſuſpect that ſhe had a hand in the counſelling him to it, of which for the preſent ſhe endeavoured to clear her ſelf, though ſhortly after it was found to be but too true, by that ſtrict intelligence which was between them, and by thoſe letters which they writ to the King, having one and the ſame ſenſe and expreſſion, As alſo by *Monſieur*'s own diſcourſes to the Ladies at *Orleans*, when they asked of him the reaſons of his ſo ſudden return; not that the Queen-Mother was ever ſatisfied with *Monſieur*, or he with her, but that there was a means found out to perſwade them, that if they would but cloſely unite themſelves, they would be the better able to drive on their own Deſigns, and induce the King to ruine the Cardinal, the only thing which they deſired.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THough the Ring-leaders in a State be of different humors and inclinations, and though they be much divided by the emulation which they bear to one another, yet they do eaſily re-unite, that they may (if poſſible) increaſe their own Powers, by deſtroying that of their King. Experience ſheweth us, that fire can naturally incorporate moſt different mettals, as Gold and Iron; The fire of Ambition is no leſs able to unite the minds of Grandees, when it is once propoſed to trouble the Kingdom. One hath not obtained the Penſion or Boon which he deſired; another could not get his kinſman into a Benefice as he attempted, and another thinks he deſerveth to have a greater hand then he hath, in the government of affairs, or could not procure the Office which he aſpired to; and theſe are thoſe ſeveral diſcontents which they have received, in the diverſity of their deſignes, and which run them up to that paſſe, that they become unſatisfied with the King, or his principal Miniſter, not at all conſidering, that there are ſeveral

other

other concerns, besides theirs in particular, which oblige by necessity, that those things be granted to others, which they would so fain procure to themselves. This general discontent is enough to unite them together, and to engage them in that one designe of a revolt: They know there are two waies to attain to greatness, Prudence and Power, when they once perceive that all the devices of their Wit, or to speak more properly, all their Deceipts, are not able to raise their greatness to that pass which they desire, they presently fly to the latter, imagining in themselves they might get more by it, then by the former. They cannot be ignorant how that many of their Predecessors have been shipwrack'd on the very same score, by which they pretend to raise great advantages to themselves: and as the minds of most men abound rather with hopes then fears, so they fancy to themselves, that Fortune will be more favourable to them then others; and upon this account it is, that they do often associate themselves together, not with intent of putting State affairs into a better posture, as they pretend, but to advance (what in them lies) their own private Families and Interests at the cost and charges of the Publike. I shall liken them to the first qualities, which not holding themselves in a good correspondency, for the preservation of the subject whereof they are compos'd, do unanimously conspire and contrive the ruine of it; for in the same manner do they instead of keeping up and maintaining the State by their Prudence and Authority, of which it is their honour to be chief supporters, they employ them to divide and ruine the people, forcing the Prince to contribute to the means which are necessary to oppose their violences.

### *The Queen-Mother rejoyceth at* Monsieur's *Departure.*

After *Monsieur's* departure, the Queen-mother became more resolute in her eagerness against the Cardinal, and believed that his going away would be very advantagious to her. They who flattered her, and blew the Coals of her Passion, perswaded her, that half the Kingdom would quickly be up in Arms, and proffer their assistances to *Monsieur*, in what-ever he would employ them: That several Towns would revolt; That *Monsieur's* discontent alone, if once known abroad, would raise a war on every side, and that amidst this confusion, the King would think himself very happy, could he but prevent the ruine of his Kingdom, by submitting to that of the Cardinal: She withdrew her self from being at any counsels, to which she had but lately before used to go, and seemed less solicitous in dissembling her discontents. What pity was it to see a Kingdom exposed to so imminent a danger of being totally subverted by Civil wars, and all to destroy him, who for eight yeers together employed his whole time (both day and night) to settle it in its former glory? What Injustice was it to repay the Cardinal's services with such Ingratitude? What a confusion was it to see a Mother and a Brother revolt against their King, and all to satisfie the Hatred and Ambition of their Ministers? The King endured it with the greater displeasure, because he understood that Forreigners had sowed these Tares under hopes of kindling a fire, which should constrain him to withdraw his Forces from *Italy*, abandon the assisting of his Allies, or at least to submit to shameful conditions of Peace, for which purpose they were just upon meeting in *Piedmont*. His Majesty was not to seek in the knowledge, that Queens are not exempted from punishment, when they contrive troubles in the State, that is, if the quality of Mother did exact the respects of a Son from him, that of a King did oblige her not to prefer any consideration before that of the good of his State; and in conclusion, that he ought to use all diligent means to break off the intelligence which she held with *Monsieur*, and those who nourished his mind with discontents. There was no more certain way, then to assign her some Town to live in, a little distant from the Court, to disperse here and there those, who abusing her goodness, did foment the fire of dissention in her soul, and to place near her, some one endued with Discretion and Power, that she might not in future attempt any thing against the good of the State. The Respect where-

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with the King did alwaies honour her was ſuch, that he could never reſolve to uſe any violent remedies, but at the very laſt caſt, after he had tryed all others; to which end he reſolved rather to leave her, then that ſhe ſhould leave him, and accordingly he removed to *Compeigne*, imagining that the ſharpneſs of the ſeaſon would invite her to continue at *Paris* after his departure, and that in this ſmall ſeparation, ſhe could not any longer divide the Court into Parties, as then ſhe had done. There were likewiſe other devices found to draw off ſome of the moſt factious from about her, that their abſenſe might afford ſome opportunities of calming her ſpirit. It were to have been wiſhed, that ſhe had rather (according to his Majeſties pleaſure) reſolved to have lived in quiet at her Palace of *Luxenburgh*, whileſt his Majeſty was out of *Paris*, then to have followed the Court, where her preſence countenanced the Faction which ſhe had there contrived. Indeed the King verily imagined ſhe would the ſooner reſolve ſo to do, becauſe ſhe had declared ſhe would intermeddle no more in any affairs, neither appear at any Counſels, ſo much did the Cardinal's preſence afflict her; whereas ſhe (inſtead of comporting her ſelf to this fair and ſweet way) was guided by the perſwaſions of thoſe who ruled her ſpirit, and who induced her to reſolve to carry on her anger to the utmoſt extremity, and to follow the King every where, aſſuring her, that at laſt the people would all riſe, and that from thence ſhe might undoubtedly find ſome expedient to perſwade his Majeſty to conſent to the Cardinal's Baniſhment or Ruine. This procedure of hers did abſolutely intrench upon his authority, as if he could not have commanded her to quit the Court, and it ſerved only to provoke the Kings anger, and to force him to deal more rigorouſly with her then otherwiſe he deſired to have done.

*Politique Obſervation.*

HOpe is that Root which doth long nouriſh the Thought of Revenge, and without which the moſt generous perſons loſe their Courages, and fall into deſpair, inſtead of proſecuting their deſigns. No one hath ſo well deſcribed the qualities of that which is without reaſon, as the Ancient who ſaid, it is the dream of thoſe who are awake, and whoſe minds are maſtered with this Paſſion. To ſpeak truly, juſt as Dreams fill the mind with *Chimera's*, which have no other being then in our Fancies, ſo an ill-grounded hope fills our Courages with illuſions and imaginary contentments, by repreſenting ſuch things which are abſolutely beyond our reach, as if they were ſubject to our wills and deſires; it flatters our thoughts with a vain belief, that there is not any impediment poſſibly to be met with in our enterpriſes, which we ſhall not be able to ſurmount; and though at the very inſtant a ſtorm be over our heads, yet it aſſureth us that it will not laſt long, but that a calm will ſoon follow. If we are to begin a war, it makes us ſee an Army already in the Field, which nothing can reſiſt. If any enterpriſe threaten us with miſcarriage, it perſwadeth us, that we ſhall ſoon ſee ſome alteration in affairs, ſetting before our eyes the examples of many, who have been raiſed out of great misfortunes, to greater glories and honours. Thus it is, this ſame Hope which fortifieth the moſt dejected Courages, animates the moſt aſtoniſhed men with new ſouls, and recruits the reſolutions of them who were even languiſhing. Have we not ſeen it ſerve for an Anchor to the moſt miſerable, to keep them firm in all Tempeſts, when they have been upon the point of being overwhelmed, and for a North Pole, to guide them to their deſired Haven? Hope is that which preſerveth neceſſary vigour for the executing of hazardous deſigns; our own Wiſhes never laſt ſo long as Hope doth; for we ſoon diſclaim our Deſigns, if we once believe they will not take effect. It hath alwaies been known for the Mother of Valour, and for a vital Spirit, which animateth the heart to great attempts. The charms of Hope are very powerful, but they are alſo dangerous, and much like the Egg of an Aſpick, which is very pleaſant to look on, by reaſon of that diverſity of colours wherewith Nature hath been pleaſed to paint it, but within it is

full of deadly poyſon, of which time brings forth a moſt venemous ſerpent: For if in Enterpriſes there be nothing ſo dangerous as a miſ grounded Hope, yet the pleaſure wherewith it entertains our minds in matters of Revenge, is very dear to us, and makes us pay high Intereſt for it. It is the miſerable man's Treaſure, and ſomtimes too it is an addition to his miſeries. It is not enough that a hope be conformable to our deſires, but it ought to be laid by when it is grounded upon the aſſiſtances of ſome perſons who are eaſily to be ruined, or upon an Inſurrection of a people who every day change their reſolutions, whom a little fear diſarms, and who this day love him. whom but a little before they could not endure at all.

### *The King entreats the Queen-Mother to deſiſt from her Intreagues.*

THough the inflexible ſtubbornneſs of the Queen-Mother was able to provoke the moſt patient Courages, yet the goodneſs of the King could not be overcome by it. Whileſt ſhe was at *Compeigne*, whither ſhe followed his Majeſty, he ſtill made new attempts to ſurmount her reſiſtance. He was not backward to let her daylie ſee (by his frequent conjuring her, and that with a great tenderneſs of heart, which did evidently convince to her, that he neither wanted Reſpect or Affection for her) that ſhe would much oblige him, if ſhe would but recede from the evil advices of thoſe who lived about her, and who only deſired a ſeparation between them, for their own Hatreds, or private Intereſts. He proffered to her to ſet the *Mariliacs* at liberty, if her content depended upon it, though otherwiſe they had deſerved to be puniſhed; and indeed he valued nothing in reſpect of her affections. He often beſeeched her to love the Cardinal for his ſake, and made her ſee, that ſhe was obliged to it, ſeeing ſhe knew better then any one, how beneficial he was to the State, and that he had alwaies faithfully ſerved him. He was not deficient to let her perceive, That the grief which this great Miniſter had to find himſelf in her diſfavour, was a moſt pregnant teſtimony of the affection which he had for her ſervice; and that he did ſufficiently oblige himſelf to an eternal fidelity, by thoſe publike acknowledgements of the Favours which he confeſſed to have received from her goodneſs; and that all her eagerneſs againſt him, could not obliterate the remembrance of them; and at laſt (that he might pretermit nothing which might move her) he cauſed new perſwaſions to be made to her, by the Sieur *de Chaſteaunef*, Lord Keeper of the Seal, and by the Mareſchal *de Schombergh*, that ſhe would be aſſiſtant at Counſels, and recede from thoſe underhand Intelligences which ſhe might have with *Monſieur*. But they could procure no other anſwer, then that ſhe was weary of medling with affairs, and that ſhe would not have any more to do in the Counſels, teſtifying apparently by this anſwer, that poſitive reſolution which ſhe had taken, of following the wicked Deſigns of thoſe who had engaged her; ſo that after all theſe endeavours, the King was only touch'd with uncomfortable grief, that he could work no more upon her; but his ſorrow was accompanyed with this ſatisfaction, that he had omitted nothing which might properly conduce to the obtaining of his Deſigne.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

AS there is nothing which cauſeth greater misfortunes in a Kingdom then Diviſions of Princes of the Blood, ſo there is no greater care ought to be had, then for prevention of ſuch differences. Phyſitians have alwaies hopes of life, whileſt the noble vital parts are uncorrupted, but they once tainted, they look for nothing but death: and the greateſt Politicians have been of opinion, that no very great misfortune could happen to a State, whileſt the Princes of the Blood (who are like the vital parts) live in that decorum and obedience which is due to the King. But on the contrary, they begin to fear and diſtruſt, if once they ſee them falling back, and dividing Parties into Factions, againſt their King's Authority: But more eſpecially, becauſe their diſorder is attended with confuſion at home, and

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gives great advantages to ſtrangers abroad. Other heads of Revolts are eaſily wrought upon, by ſatisfying their own private intereſts. But it is a hard matter to unite thoſe of the ſame Blood, after a defiance ſhall have once ſeized on their minds. From hence it is, that *Micipſa* in *Saluſt* ſaith, the greateſt force of a Kingdom doth not ſo much conſiſt in Arms, or in the richneſſe of Treaſuries, as in the good intelligence of the chief Nobles, which can neither be ſubdued by Arms, nor corrupted by Monies, but eſpecially in the friendſhip of Brothers, whoſe Blood ought to render their union indiſſolvable. The Kingdom of *Cyprus* had not been ruined, as *Juſtin* relateth it, but onely by the diſſentions of two brothers. The whole Eaſt, had not been ſubjected to the Roman yoke, but by the miſ-underſtandings of thoſe Princes who ruled in thoſe Countries. And no other misfortune made way for *Pompey* to make him Maſter of *Judea*, then the contention of *Hircanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, who in envy of one another pretended to poſſeſſe the Crown. *Philip* well knew, of what conſequence love between brothers was, when as beholding the ſmall kindneſſe between his ſons *Perſeus* and *Demetrius*, he ſo often commanded them to love one another; repreſenting to them, that *Eumenes* and *Attalus* at the beginning were ſo ſmall, that they were aſhamed to be called Kings, and could never have raiſed themſelves ſo high, but by their mutual and reciprocal affections, as *Plutarch* reporteth it in the life of *Demetrius*. Not to look after far fetch'd examples, what did ever bring *France* to ſo deplorable a condition, as the reiterated diviſions between our Kings, the Dukes of *Bourgogne* and *Orleans*? Did it not reduce it to an eminent peril of Shipwrack, and expoſe it for a prey to Forraigners, who were only chaſtized by an extraordinary providence of Heaven, which took a particular care for the preſervation of this Monarchy, when it was juſt upon the point of being ruin'd? Undoubtedly, a State is eaſily vanquiſhed, when divided by thoſe of the Kings own houſe and family, diſorders ſoon follow thick and three-fold: The people following their example ſhake off obedience; every one fiſheth in the troubled Waters; the poor are oppreſſed by the Souldiers; the rich have much ado to enjoy their Eſtates; Governours loſe their Soveraigns good wills, and do no longer ſtick to their intereſts, unleſſe upon their own private account; and in concluſion, forreign enemies make what advantages they pleaſe out of it.

### *The Reaſons of the Queen-Mothers Removal.*

THings being at this paſſe, was there any reaſon to defer the redreſſing of them? what colour could there be after ſo many perſwaſions, inſtances and entreaties to leave the Queen-Mother in the Court both animated and diſcontented, where ſhe countenanced a Faction, kept a cloſe correſpondence with Monſieur againſt the King, and divided the State? Had it not been an abſolute defect of all ſort of Prudence to have endured her keeping up of Combinations without the Kingdom, of which we have ſeen but too many ſad conſequences? To have permitted her party, openly to ſlander the King and his Government, to ſtir up the people to ſedition, to ſolicite ſtrangers to make war upon the King, under pretence that they had married her children? Had it not been an extream baſeneſſe, any longer to have diſſembled the knowledge of that Faction, which would impoſe a neceſſity of driving away his moſt ſerviceable and confident Miniſters, and only becauſe they forſooth could not procure from them whatever they deſired? Had it not been an abſolute loſſe of common ſence, to have allowed their abrogating that reſpect which is due to their Soveraign, as God Almighties own Image? Could any one, and not be of this Cabal, wink at their endeavours to draw off his Majeſties moſt faithfull ſervants, from that duty which they owe unto him? Should one have expected untill the Engliſh or Spaniard had brought their Armies into *France*, to aſſiſt the revolt, or until the Princes who were of this party, ſhould have beaten up their drums and ſounded their Trumpets, for to lead their Souldiers into the field to have ruined the whole Kingdom with fire and ſword? To have done ſo, had been the moſt

perfect piece of folly that had ever yet been heard of. Yet for all this was the King much troubled that he was forced to do ſuch things as would diſpleaſe the Queen-Mother, as to remove her, though after he had indeavoured all meek and fair means, which her Abettors had rendred in vain, though ſhe had laid off al natural thoughts ſuch as a Mother ought to have for a Son, and a Subject for a King, and though ſhe had, to her very utmoſt, ſtirred up both the French and Forraigners to trouble the quiet of the Kingdom. But at laſt the King began to conſider that the buſineſſe would grow worſe and worſe, if convenient order were not taken to prevent it, that he was bound to prefer publick before private intereſts, as thoſe of an incenſed Mother (and if it be proper to uſe the expreſſion) of a Mother revolted againſt him, which were things not to be conſidered at all; according to the judgment of one of the Queen-mothers Grand-mothers, who amongſt thoſe inſtructions which ſhe gave her ſon told him, that he ought to prefer without any diſtinction the ſafety of the Common-Weal, before that of any particular or private perſons. Withall, his Majeſty was not ignorant that as God doth ever prepoſe Univerſal before Individual benefits; ſo Kings who bear his Image, and are his Vicegerents on earth ought to do the ſame; That if the Father Almighty did expoſe his ſon, who was one and the ſame with himſelf, to the rage of the Jews, he could not then be blamed for removing his Mother a few days from the Court, yet continuing to her all Honour, Officers, Goods, Liberty and Power, that ſhe could deſire, and this for the neceſſary good of the State, to the conſervation of which God had ſo obliged him, that he ought to prefer nothing before it. The King thought with himſelf, that thoſe great Honours and Lands which he had beſtowed on her, and that almoſt abſolute Authority, which he had alwaies intruſted with her, whileſt ſhe continued in her affection for his Majeſty and the publick good, would hold him excuſed from any condemnation, and would ſufficiently evince to all the World that he had not made uſe of ſo violent a remedy, but by compulſion and conſtraint of thoſe her Partiſans, and by the extremities into which they hurried her; ſo that judging within himſelf, that he ought no longer to defer his reſolution, he at laſt propoſed it to his Counſel.

*Politique Obſervation.*

WHen Eagerneſſe hath laid ſuch deep roots in the mind of Princes of the Blood Royal, that they cannot be eradicated by any poſſibility, it will then be abſolutely neceſſary to prevent their forming into Factions, which uſually ariſe from ſuch beginnings. There will unavoidably great changes ſoon follow in a Kingdome, where partialities have any ſway amongſt them. The very leaſt diſorder which can happen between the Heavens, is capable of reducing the Univerſe into its firſt Chaos, and the diſſentions of thoſe who are neereſt related to the King, are able to bring a whole State into Confuſion, to tie up the hands of Soveraign Authority, and to expoſe all as a prey to Forraigners. The opinion which is held that it is proper to nouriſh ſeveral parties and bandyings amongſt Grandees, whereby to make them leſſe able to reſiſt their Kings Will, ought not to be underſtood of Leagues and Combinations to be headed by thoſe of the royal Family, which may attempt to impoſe a neceſſity on the King, to do what even they ſhall think fit; for ſuch a diviſion would lead a Kingdom into utter ruine, and undermine the moſt ſolid foundations of Monarchy. It is no whit leſſe inconvenient to let Princes alone in any bad intelligence, for their over great union hath produced ſad effects; it alwaies ought to be limited by the reſpects and obediences which they ow their King, for admitting it to be otherwiſe, their Factions being like impetuous winds, the popularity which is gentle and calm (like the Sea) would receive their impreſſions with eaſe, become furiouſly inraged, run into all diſorders, and put a State into deſperate hazards. On ſuch occaſion no perſons ought to be reſpected. As the very greateſt are not exempted from thoſe puniſhments which the Laws have enacted for the Factious; ſo their enterprizes ought to be cut

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off and destroyed the sooner by reason they are more to be feared then others, on the score of the power which they have to work upon the minds of people. It is true, the means which conduce to it are very dangerous, and on such occasions it is, that a great Minister of State ought to testifie his zeal and generosity, by taking the power out of their hands who abuse it, as Arms from a mad man. It is necessary to resolve upon one of these three things, so to reconcile them that they may rest in a true friendship, which is almost impossible, at least very difficult amongst Grandees who are once offended with one another. And this way ought not to be chosen but after a long time of consideration, that the assurance of it may be of some continuance. The second is more rigorous, and withall more certain, which is to take off the lives of the Factions; to which however I should not advise but in case of extremity, and after all other means have taken no effect, by reason of the respect which is due to the Royal Family. I esteem the third and last to be most agreeable, which is to banish them and take away from them the means of doing any more harm. They who are so dealt with, cannot with Justice complain of it, seeing they have deserved it. It is unreasonable to suffer such persons to remain in a Court, who make open profession of comptrolling their Kings Actions, of blaming his Conduct, of setting limits to his Authority, of raising Wars and revolts in his State. Princes though of the Blood Royal, are not exempted from Obedience and Subjection to the Laws of the Kingdom. It belongeth not to them to give Orders for the government of affairs, That Prerogative is inseparable from the Crown, and they who would design the assuming such a power to themselves, by other ways then those of his Authority, deserve to be catechized as Rebels. Do we not all know, that, that which heretofore brought this State into the danger of falling into the Spaniards hands, was the too great condescention of *Henry* the third, towards *Monsieur de Guise*, who was but a stranger Prince too? Certainly, *France* had not been exposed to those extream mis-fortunes which it hath suffered, had he but had the good luck to have held his hands from those enterprizes.

## *The resolution of the Councel for the* Removal *of the Queen Mother.*

ALthough the Cardinal did very well know the reasonableness, nay the necessity of seconding his Majesties inclinations to the Queen-Mothers removal; yet such was his modesty, and so prevalent over his own discretion and interest, that instead of so doing, he on the contrary, rendred his often entreaties to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to give him leave to withdraw himself from the Court. He represented to him, how that peradventure the Queen-mother might thereby be appeased, and induced to leave the State in peace and quiet, and that for his own part, he should willingly suffer himself to be thrown into the Sea to save the Vessel, provided only, that his Majesty would preserve him in his affections, and not remove him out of any dislike either of his Fidelity or Services. Nor did he this, as being ignorant of the obligation which lay upon him, by reason of the place he held in affairs, of truly acquainting him with every thing which concern'd the good of his State; but onely that he might let his Majesty perceive how little he regarded private concernments in this occasion. Nor that he did not much esteem the honour which his Majesty did him, by intrusting him in the first place of the Administration; but onely because the respect which he did bear to the Queen mother, surmounted the consideration of his own greatness. Not that he wanted heart in his persecutions and afflictions; for it was well known, the greater resistances he encountred in the Cabals and intreagues of the Court, did so much the more whet his Courage and Resolution; insomuch, that they could not at all move much lesse shake him; but only because the greatest courages are most temperate; it being sometimes more generous to destroy then preserve ones self.

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In ſhort, not that he wanted affection for his Majeſties ſervice, ſeeing nothing could more ſenſibly have touch'd him, then to have been deprived by his removal, of the means and opportunities to ſerve and defend him from the unjuſt attempts of thoſe who perverted by their wickedneſſes, the minds both of the Queen-mother and Monſieur; but only that he could never with a good will be withdrawn from doing her all ſervice, who had the honour to be mother unto his Maſter. How really was his advice any whit neceſſary to perſwade his Majeſty to remove her. Her own Actions beſpake her unto his Majeſty, and ſhewed him in words at length, that it was not fit ſhe ſhould any longer continue at Court, untill that time and truth had opened her eyes. Theſe were the true reaſons which induced the Cardinal to deſire his Majeſties permiſſion to withdraw himſelf. But his Majeſty who well knew how great a loſſe ſuch a man might prove unto his State, ſeeing many Ages did hardly produce his Equal, and how that he had made the ſame uſe of him, that God doth of the Sun, that is, to diſſipate all thoſe ſtorms which might ariſe, not only refuſed to grant his requeſt; but on the contrary, weighing the great ſervices he did him, the remarkable advantages which *France* had enjoyed ſince his promotion to the Adminiſtration, as alſo the condition in which affairs now were, in reſpect of the diſorders and confuſion into which the Queen-mother endeavoured to bring them. And laſtly, comparing the preſent ſtate of things with what they were, upon his firſt entrance into the management of them, he no longer deliberated on this particular, but abſolutely reſolved to deſire the Queen-mother to paſſe ſome time away from the Court. All the Miniſters of State were of the ſame opinion, unwilling belike, to fall into the ſin of Treaſon againſt their King, to render an unjuſt reſpect to the Queen-mother, every of them conſidering, that ſhe had no juſt ground to complain either of his Majeſty, or them; but only of thoſe who had ingaged her in ſuch wicked deſigns, as made her longer ſtay at Court incompatible with the good of *France*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

AS the end of all Government is the good of the State; ſo all Kings are obliged eſpecially to have a regard unto that, as being the Center, unto which all their Actions ſhould tend, and to avoid all ſuch things as would divert them, out of that way. In vain do they attempt or begin any great or glorious enterpriſes, if any by-reſpect to thoſe of their Blood, or the conſideration of their own pleaſure be able to put a ſtop to their progreſſe: The Intereſts of Grandees have ever been prejudicial to the publick; and if a King would eſtabliſh any Law to be obſerved in his Kingdom, he ought however ſtill to prefer the good of Subjects in it. One Prince of the Blood will perchance demand Peace, at a time when War is more proper; and if to ſatisfie him in particular, he ſhall lay down his Arms, he doth an action unbeſeeming a Royal Prudence: Another will deſire, that he would diſcountenance ſuch a Miniſter, whoſe Councels are however of great advantage to him; and doubtleſſe, if he do it to ſatisfie his humour, he ſhould commit an injuſtice againſt his own State. And what reaſon, I pray, can there be alledged, why a King ſhould upon the *Capricchio* of any Grandee whatever, either make a diſhonourable Peace which may render him diſ-eſteemed amongſt ſtrangers; or remove from him any Miniſter, who like a good and Propitious Planet, doth by his influences cauſe his ſtate to flouriſh, eſtabliſh a good Order amongſt his people, and render his Power conſiderable amongſt his Neighbours? Who can think it any ſtrange thing, if he prefer the good of his Kingdom before their private humours, ſeeing his very own intereſts ought not to ſtand in competition with it? No King doth ever merit the title of Juſt, if he doth not tread under foot all his own pleaſures and delights, for the good and glory of his Crown. He ought to remember that his Kingdom is not ſo much eſtabliſhed for him, as he is for his Kingdom; and conſequently, that the good of his people ought to be dearer to him then any other conſideration whatever. Now, if he thus ought to prefer the

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publike before his own private good, who can blame him, if he do the like (in relation) to the particular ſatisfaction of any of his own Family? The very contenting of a Father ought not to be conſidered in this caſe, and who ſo doth any thing in detriment of the Publike good, to ſhew his Duty unto his Father, rendereth himſelf culpable of a great injuſtice. The Authority of Parents extendeth no farther then the houſe, and in caſe they attempt to enlarge their bounds, he is not bound to obſerve them. Are not Kings the lively Images of God? If ſo, what more reaſonable Rule can they propoſe to follow in their Government then his Conduct? Now as God doth every day permit a thouſand particular ſubjects to ſuffer and periſh, nay, not exempting Kings themſelves, though of never ſo great uſe to their States, and all this for the preſervation of the world in good order; So cannot any one think it unjuſt, that they ſhould prefer the good of their State before all other conſiderations what-ever. And who is ſo ignorant as not to know, that Publike good is the ſubject of all univerſal Cauſes? The Sun, Moon, and Stars are perpetually ſending down their lights and influences here beneath amongſt us, becauſe they are neceſſary and conducing to the univerſal good, notwithſtanding ſome particular and private Subjects may ſuffer and be endamaged by it. Now Kings are in the number of Univerſal Cauſes; whence it followeth, that they are obliged by the Laws of Juſtice, ſtill to regard the Common good; which if they do not, they will inevitably find great inconveniences fall upon them.

## *The King after he had given Order to Arreſt the Queen-Mother, returneth to* Paris.

THat courſe which the King took in this particular, was of all others the moſt moderate. Not that he was ignorant of thoſe Tyes which obliged him to deal more ſeverely with the Queen-Mother; but his own goodneſs, and the ſweetneſs of the Cardinal's Counſels, would not permit him to treat her after any other manner. Indeed if the courſe he took were ſo moderate, the execution of it was no leſs reſpectful and civil; inſomuch that the Queen Mother had not any juſt reaſon to complain of it. The King was at that time at *Compeigne*, and gave out, that he would on the morrow go to hunt, and accordingly commanded every thing to be put in order very betimes. He ſent for the Mareſchal *d' Eſtree*, and privately told him, that he ſhould keep neer to him, to ſerve him, as occaſion ſhould require, as alſo to command ſuch Forces as he left in *Compeigne*, purpoſely to prevent any uproar which the Queen-Mothers Officers might chance to raiſe, and likewiſe to hinder any concourſe of Souldiers in the Countries near adjoyning, and to keep that Town in its obedience. The King made himſelf ready for the Hunting, and before he went forth, called the Sieur *de la Ville-aux Cleres*, and commanded him to go tell the Queen-Mother, that he went without taking his leave of her, becauſe the reſpect and tenderderneſs which he had for her, did hinder him from making a requeſt unto her by word of mouth, which ſhe could not receive but with ſome diſpleaſure, though it were much conducing to the good of his State; which was this, That ſhe would go to the Caſtle of *Moulins* (a place which ſhe her ſelf had made choiſe of for her abode, after the late King's deceaſe) and there ſpend ſome time, companyed with all thoſe of her Houſhold, with all ſort of Liberty, enjoying all their goods and Revenues at any time granted to them, and with all Honour due unto her Majeſty; To which effect he gave her the Government *de Bourbonnois*: And then he called for the Father *Suffren*, and gave him likewiſe order to acquaint the Queen-Mother aſſoon as ſhe did awake, that it was not without regret that he went away without bidding her Adieu, but that ſhe ſhould not be troubled at it, his Majeſty having left the Sieur *de la Ville-Aux Cleres*, to inform her of his intentions. This was the Order, which was obſerved, and after the King was gone forth of *Compeigne*, Father *Suffren* was the firſt that carried her the news of it; a perſon who had been an eye-witneſs of thoſe many endeavours

deavours and cares the King had uſed to allay her ſpirit, and who might thereupon relate thoſe things unto her which had been intruſted with him, that ſhe might not have any juſt cauſe to complain againſt his Majeſty. Not long after the Mareſchal *d'Eſtree* ſent unto her, to know if ſhe would be pleaſed to ſee him, which ſhe thought fit, and preſently told him, ſhe did now perceive that ſhe muſt be this ſecond time a Priſoner: But he having aſſured her, that he was not left there to reſtrain her of her liberty, but rather on the contrary to ſerve her, and to receive the honour of her commands, ſhe became a little more appeaſed; and about evening, the Sieur *de la Ville-Aux-Cleres*, came to requeſt her, that ſhe would go paſs away ſome time at her Caſtle of *Moulins*, with ſuch conditions as he was commanded to relate unto her: and in the mean time the King having ended his ſport, went to lie at *Verbrie*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

QUeens are not at all exempted from thoſe Laws which oblige the puniſhing of ſuch as attempt againſt the King's Authority. Nothing is of greater concern to their Intereſt, than the Publike good and quiet. And indeed Hiſtory doth furniſh us with frequent examples of their Removals from Court, and being ſubjected to other puniſhments, when either their own ill deportment, or the Publike good hath required it. None but Kings themſelves are above the Laws; and ſeeing their Majeſties (both Wifes and Mothers) have with the qualities of Queens, that of Subjects, they are not priviledged from thoſe rewards which are ordained by the Laws. *Helen* wife of *Menelaus* returning to *Sparta*, upon the ruine of *Troy*, was ſoon baniſhed for having occaſioned ſo many misfortunes. The Emperour *Honorius* returned *Placida* back unto *Conſtantinople*, ſhe being ſuſpected of holding correſpondence with his enemies. *Irene* the wife of *Conſtantine* the fifth, was condemned to perpetual baniſhment by *Nicephorus*, her Sons Succeſſor. *Martina* wife of the Emperour *Heraclius*, was forced to undergo the like ſentence by Decree of the Senate, for having put to death her Son in law *Conſtantine* the younger. Our own Hiſtory hath plenty of the like examples, *Lewis* the twelfth removed his Wife from the Court, and divorced her, upon ſuſpicion of her loyalty. *Charls* the ſeventh ſent his Mother *Iſabel* of *Baviers* unto *Bloys*, and thence unto *Tours*, to hinder the growth of thoſe wicked contrivances, which were hatched by ſome certain diſcontented ones, under her name; he likewiſe ſeized on her Jewels and Money, by the Conſtable *d' Armagnac*, and committed her to the guard of three men, without whoſe leave ſhe could not ſpeak with any one whatever; in which condition ſhe continued, until the Duke of *Burgogne* came to relieve her. The ſatisfaction of one only perſon is of ſo little conſideration if compared with the good of many millions committed to the care of a King, and for which he muſt be one day accountable before him who hath only conſtituted him over them, that he might watch for their good: There is not any obligation great enough, or conſideration juſt enough, to excuſe a King from preventing the beginning, or ſtopping the progreſs of any evil which ſeemeth to threaten his people. This Rule is ſo general, that it admits of no exceptions. Beſides, if a King (as doubtleſs he is) be obliged to lay down his own life for his Subjects good, how much more reaſon hath he (*a fortiori*) to prefer it before any other reſpect whatever? The late Queen *Catharina de Medicis* ſaid, and that with great judgement, A King ought to have the ſame Jealouſie of his Authority, as a Husband is obliged to have of his wife.

## *The chief* Leaders *of this* Cabal *ſecured.*

AT the ſame time that the King departed from *Compeigne*, and had requeſted the Queen to paſs away ſome time from the Court, there were Orders given out for the ſecuring of the Principal Authors of this Cabal. Thoſe Ladies who were

were interested in it, were commanded to withdraw themselves. The Marshal *d'Bassompierre L'Albe de Foix*, and Doctor *Vautier* were sent to the *Bastille*, where they received not any violence at all. The Princes *de Conty*, the Dutchess *d'Elbeuf*, *d'Ornano*, and *Desdiguieres*, were commanded to retire to their own houses. The Princes, Governours, and other Lords then absent from the Court, were so fairly dealt withall, that there was only course taken, that they might hold no further correspondence with the Queen-mother, by having an eye upon their actions and telling them, that they would force his Majesty to punish them, in case they did not surcease their Intreagues and Factions. What greater moderation could possibly have been used, and what greater Clemency could there have been shewed towards those Factious persons, who had sowed discord in his Majesties family, held intelligence with strangers, attempted to raise civil Wars in the Kingdom, who had openly found fault with his Majesties Government, traduced his most glorious and just actions, and who were come to that passe of insolency, that they would compel his Majesty to destroy him whom he cherished as the worthiest instrument of his Glory: But had they been continued neer the Queen-mother where they might have gone on in their agitations, what would they not have done, and to what extremities would they not have been transported?

Notwithstanding all this, she complained aloud, that all those in whom she could put any confidence were taken from her; and earnest entreaties she made, that *Vautier* might be restored to her as a person whom she pretended necessary for her health: which was denied, he being one of the prime fire-brands of the whole faction, and one who instead of pacifying her Majesties spirit (as the Cardinal had but lately obliged him, by promising him very great advantages if he did effect it) had added fuel to the fire, and aggravated the violence of her Passion; but that she might not have any just cause to complain, she was offered to take her choice of above a hundred Doctors of Physick, in and about *Paris*, most of them much more able then him.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is not reasonable to suffer them who are factiously inclined to rove at their own liberty, seeing Prisons are only made to restrain them who abuse it against the Publick good. In vain have the Laws ordained this means to stop the progress of their malice, if they be not put in execution. What colour can there be, not to confine them who are troublers of the peoples quiet? It is hard to secure all, who have had their hands in a Faction; and indeed it were not peraduenture fit so to do; but however, the Ring-leaders must and ought to be restrained. It is very dangerous to wink at them, lest the people apprehend too much mildnesse; and besides the favour which is shewed to them, and serves onely to give them time so to settle and contrive their designs, that afterwards it will be to little purpose to oppose them. *Mucianus Vitellius* was much commended in the daies of old, for having commanded his own son to be put to death that he might quench the flames of a War in its Cradle. The Duke of *Alençon* having conspired against *Charls* the seventh, in the yeer 1474 was, not onely imprisoned but condemned to death. And the Duke of *Bourgogne* supplicating to obtain favour in his behalf, by alledging that he was of the Blood Royal and that his Ancestors had done great services to the Crown, was answer'd by the King, that as for being of the Blood Royal, he was not the lesse worthy of punishment, seeing he was the more obliged to have been loyal to it; and as for those services which his Predecessors had done, they ought not to be regarded in relation to him, seeing he had not followed their good example. *Charls* the Fifth, not only shortned the liberty, but the life too of a Gentleman who had dictated a Letter to those of *Gaund*, in which they intreated *Francis* the first to assist them against him. *Philip* the second, King of *Spain*, stood not in expectation untill his son had compleated that Faction which he had

designed against him, and the State, but not sparing his own blood, he presently clapped him up in prison upon his first notice and assurance of his resolutions. *Charles* the Ninth, did not pardon the Duke of *Alençon* his own Brother, no more then he did the King of *Navar*; for upon his first knowledge of their Intreagues, he sent them both unto the *Boys de Vincennes*. Did not *Henry* the Third, after conference with his Nobles at *Bloys*, threaten the late *Henry* the Grand, and the Prince *de Conde*, in case they did not conform themselves to those resolutions which had been concluded for the good of Religion and the State? Neither had *France* ever been so much spoiled by those Wars, had *Monsieur de Guise* been imprisoned, as soon as ever his wicked designs had been discovered.

The Queen-mother her self did the same thing; for during her Regency, she imprisoned *Monsieur* the Prince upon suspicion, lest he might attempt something against her Authority.

## L' Marefchal d' Eſtree, *addreſſeth himſelf to execute his Majeſties pleaſure againſt the Queen-mother.*

During the Queen-mothers abode at *Campeign*, the Marſhal *d' Eſtrée* was very carefull to ſhew her all manner of reſpect, according to the command given him by the King. He went conſtantly to receive the word from her, he ſent to know what courſe ſhe would be pleaſed to take concerning the Keyes of the City, and whether ſhe would have them brought to her. All the Officers of her Family, proſecuted their charges without any diſturbance; ſhe her ſelf went abroad when and where ſhe pleaſed, unaccompanied with any, who could but ſeem to reſtrain her liberty; neither did he ever diſcourſe to her in any other dialect, but to beſeech her from his Majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to go to her houſe of *Moulins*, which her ſelf had made choice of ſince her Widdow-hood; he aſſured her ſhe ſhould not have any guards about her: Inſomuch, that really ſhe could not have any juſt cauſe to complain: And in fine, ſhe condiſcended to go to *Moulins*. Not long after, ſome of her Faction being at liberty, reflecting on the neerneſſe of *Paris*, and how advantagious it might be to their deſigns in regard it was the Center, where all the intelligence of the Kingdom was brought, and where all their Contrivances might be managed with the greater ſecurity and ſecreſie, adviſed her to change that reſolution, and perſwaded her to continue at *Compeign*, although her ſelf had not long before ſaid, that ſhe could not poſſible live there. The King knew that the Neighbour-hood of *Paris* was of a dangerous conſequence, for thoſe very reaſons which made them aim at it, ſo that he refuſed to give way to her longer ſtay thereabouts, but offered her the choice of any other town in the heart of the Kingdom, ſhe pitched upon *Nevers*, and the King had no ſooner approved of it, but ſhe preſently changed her mind, pretending ſhe had not any money for the journey; thereupon ſhe was promiſed a ſupply, and that ſhe ſhould not want for any thing, ſo ſhe pretended a great preparation of Gallies to tranſport her out of *France*, which was only an invention ſuggeſted to her by thoſe who only continued it as a delay: The King proffered the Government of *Anjou* unto her together with the City and Caſtle *Angiers*, in caſe ſhe would go thither: To all theſe Propoſals ſhe diſcovered nothing but a reſolute ſtubbornneſſe againſt the Kings Will, having forgot, belike, that ſhe was his Subject as well as his Mother, and not at all regarding thoſe inſtances ſo often repreſented from his Majeſty, that ſhe would depart from *Compeign*, ſo that her diſobedience againſt his Authority was not the onely offence, but her delays in that City, being ſo paſſionately and ſtifly by her deſired, bred the greater jealouſie and ſuſpicion of her

*Politique*

*Politique Obſervation.*

OBſtinacy is a fault, the more dangerous amongſt great perſons, in regard their example may ſerve for a Spring to give motion unto the people, and their reſiſting their Kings Will, cauſeth great evils in a State. That perverſeneſſe of not being ruled by reaſon and their Soveraigns Authority, ſerveth only to ingage them in great diſorders, which inſtead of advancing, ruineth their Intereſts, and ſhipwracks all their adherents. For the King muſt be obeyed, and that by the very greateſt of his own Blood and Family. Better it is for them to bend then break, to turn to any hand rather then go ſtreight on to their ruine and confuſion. The certainty of Prudence doth not conſiſt in a determinative will, of abſolutely doing this or that thing, but in a reſolution of proſecuting with zeal whatever reaſon doth dictate to be advantagious or proper; when it followeth that whenever Prudence diſcovereth any notable diſadvantage likely to attend that which formerly had been concluded neceſſary and profitable, ſhe preſently with-draws her ſelf. An irrevocable reſolution cannot be commendable but in Angels, who piercing into the truth of things in an inſtant, and knowing all the Qualities or Accidents, which can render them either good or evil, may, without fear of being miſtaken, remain firm in their firſt decrees. But ſo it is not with a humane Soul, which oftentimes coming to learn, that thoſe Subjects by him thought profitable are dangerous, is then obliged to reject them with the ſame earneſtneſſe as he did before proſecute them. That ignorance in which we are all born doth oblige the moſt powerfull men, to follow the Counſels of the wiſe, even againſt their own opions, which rendreth them more inclinable to accommodation then others. Hence it is not any inconſtancy to change in any evil deſigns, neither then when any unſeen misfortune comes to be diſcovered; but it uſually happeneth to us in the confuſion of affairs, as when we are ſick, we are moſt eagerly deſirous of thoſe things, which are quite contrary to our recovery.

## *The Diſcontents of* Monſieur's *Creatures.*

AMongſt the many other complaints made by them who abuſed the Queen-mothers Name and Seal in their Letters, this was one of the chiefeſt, that ſhe had not been removed from the Court, but only becauſe ſhe would not hold a fair correſpondence with the Cardinal. But is not this like the complaining of the ſick, who being fallen into ſome ſhamefull diſeaſe by their own faults, will by no means accuſe themſelves, but indeavour to impute it to ſome other cauſe more likely to juſtifie themſelves? Truly the Cardinal was no more the cauſe of the Queen-mothers Removal, then Vertue is the cauſe, that Sin betaking it ſelf to all wickedneſs, out of the hatred it bears to goodneſs, ſhould by that means come to be aliened from God, who withdraws himſelf from it. It cannot indeed be denied; but that the King before her left he at *Compeigne*, did once and again charm her to love the Cardinal; and it were not amiſſe if the true motives which induced him ſo to do, were here layed down. The good of his State was chiefly in his intentions, and the neceſſity of withdrawing her from thoſe Factions which would ingage the Kingdom in Revolts, and all this to compel him, to deliver up this grand Miniſter, in caſe they could not effect it by the dayly inſtances which they perſwaded her to make unto his Majeſty. This indeed is the true reaſon which forced his Majeſty to part with her as himſelf teſtifieth in his Letter to the Governours of the Provinces, where true it is, mention is made of her refuſal to love the Cardinal, but it is likewiſe ſaid, that the hatred which ſhe bare to him, tranſported her to attempt things contrary to the good of his State, and the publick quiet, inſomuch that he could no longer permit her ſtay at Court. But who can impute her removal to the Cardinal, when it is well known how carefull and ſolicitous he was to appeaſe that anger which ſhe expreſs'd againſt him, which he did ſo effectually as to renounce his own intereſt and

Fortune, and to sue for his own discharge from the Court with that earnestness, that his stay there may justly be said to be only in order to his Majesties Will and satisfaction, who expressly commanded it, and to acquit himself of the Obligation which he had to acknowledge, by the continuation of his services, of the honour which he did him; the King still protesting as great a resolution to preserve him, as the Queen-Mother did eagerness to destroy him.

But lastly, who can deny that a designe tending to ruine (what-ever it cost) one of the chiefest pillars of the State, and him whom the King himself had often professed to be the principal Author of his good, is not a crime *Læsæ Majestatis*? Were it not such in any one, to attempt the destruction of any the strongest places on the Frontires, or rather to invade any the fairest Towns of *France*? Had not experience then made it evident, that the Cardinal was of greater use and concern for the good of *France*, then many Citadels, and divers of the best Towns in the Kingdom? He would easily have retrived them all, if so be any Invasion of our Enemies should have forc'd them from us, but it was not to be hoped ever to find a Minister qualified as he was, who was a greater Protection to *France*, then all the Citadels put together, and who by his Industry had made the King master of a great number of Towns and Cities.

*Politique Observation.*

IT was not without reason that *Theodosius* the younger, and *Justinian*, inserted in their Books, as likewise *Leon* the first, and *Constantine* in their *Politicis* and *Basilicis*, that Law made by the Emperour *Arcadius*, whereby they who had engaged themselves in any Faction tending to ruine the chief Ministers of a Soveraigne, were guilty *Læsæ Majestatis*. And for this very reason, If any one in *England* be convicted of having contrived (though but in his thoughts) the downfal of any Counsellor of State, though he had not executed it, yet such is the Law there, that he lose his life as guilty *de læsæ Majestatis*, against the King; as it was in the case of *Somerset*, Uncle to *Edward* the sixth, and Protector of the Kingdom, for only having designed in his thoughts to put the Duke of *Northumberland* to death, who likewise governed the Kingdom of *England* under the same young King. The Laws of *Swedeland* are so respectful of them, that it is death only to speak ill of them. *Salvian de Marseille* saith, That the enormity of Injuries ought to be weighed by the quality of them on whom they reflect; whence it followeth (saith he) that those injuries done to a chief Minister of State, who representeth the Person of his Prince, are to be reputed as done against the Prince himself. Thou hast commitied an offence (saith *Quintilian*) but because it is against the Magistrate, thou art therefore guilty of Treason. Whence it was that *Verterius* (as *Plutarch* observeth, was condemned to die, he having been defective in his respects to a Tribune, whose place is much inferiour to that of a chief Minister. This was the sense which Antiquity had of those offences committed against publike persons, and thus were they punished who so offended. And who can deny these their Laws and Customs to be very reasonable and just, seeing chief Ministers are like the noblest parts of the Soveraigne, as is declared in the Law of *Arcadius*? And if the Prince be the head of his State, they are then the Members and Instruments by which he governeth. And thus hath another said, Our Saviour is the Head of the Church, the Church are his Body, and the Prelats are his chief members. They are Stars clothed by their Princes with part of their own splendour, that they may the better guide the people by their Influences; they are the lively Images in which they cause the foot-steps of their Authority to shine forth. Whence it is, that if a man be guilty *de Læsæ Majestatis*, for only offending by any dis respect his Princes Image or Picture, made only of Brass, Stone, or the like; surely he is much more guilty who dis respecteth his living Image, in whom the most lively stamps of his Royal Authority are engraved, who is the Organ by which he delivereth his Will unto the People, and indeed the principal Instrument

of

of his Glory. And if it be needful to re-inforce this with any ſtronger reaſon, That is the crime *de Læſa Majeſtatis* which offendeth the Soveraign, or which interfereth with the greatneſs of his State.

And what? Is not this to attempt upon the greatneſs of his State, when a Cabal ſhall be contrived and fomented for the ruine of a Miniſter, who by the conduct of his Maſters Arms, and his own Prudence, hath extended his limits, hath rendered him terrible to all other Nations, hath vanquiſhed all his Kings enemies, and reduced them to an impoſſibility of attempting any new thing againſt his Maſters authority, who hath extinguiſhed all thoſe Factions which troubled the publike quiet, who daylie augmenteth the Revenue of the Exchequer, hath eſtabliſhed Peace in the Kingdom, and in a word, next unto his Majeſty, is the greateſt prop and ſupporter of its greatneſs? *Cicero* ſaith, That he who raiſeth a Sedition againſt the Publike Peace, doth diminiſh the Majeſty of the Empire. There are three ſorts of High Treaſons. The firſt is abſolutely againſt the Princes perſon The ſecond againſt the Reſpect due to him. And the third againſt the Grandeur and Safety of his State and Kingdom. Now it were to be purpoſely blind, not to rank under this third degree, all thoſe Factions which contrive the ruine of any Miniſters of State, they being ſo much contrary to the good of the State; neither were it unreaſonable to range them under the firſt, as in *England*, ſeeing Miniſters carry their Maſters Image inſtamped on their Foreheads.

## *Proſecution of the Subject.*

THe Mareſchal *d' Eſtree*, whoſe Diſcretion hath been often experimented in the many affairs in which he had been imployed, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to induce the Queen-Mother to yeild unto his Majeſties Will and Pleaſure. The Marquis *de Sainct Chaumont* came divers times to her from his Majeſty, to aſſure her, that he could no longer permit her ſtay at *Compeigne*: All which produced nothing but new heart-burnings in her mind, and great lamentations at her Impriſonment, which in its ſelf was but imaginary, ſeeing ſhe had not any Guards upon her, diſpoſed of the keys of the City, and went abroad where-ever ſhe pleaſed. This procedure of hers could not but provoke his Majeſty, neither indeed could it be longer endured in a State, where Obedience is the Foundation of Government; ſo his Majeſty reſolved to diſpatch unto her the Mareſchal *de Schomberg*, and the Sieur *de Roiſſi*, who were known to be both prudent and reſpectful; to the end they might deal clearly with her, tell her the truth, which till then had been forborn, and diſcourſe at length unto her the diſorders of her carriage (of which his Majeſty till that time ſeemed not to take any notice) notwithſtanding the ſhew which ſhe made of her innocence. Accordingly they dealt ingeniouſly with her, repreſented to her, that the King was well informed of thoſe many Cabals contrived againſt his Authority and Glory, that he likewiſe knew *Monſieur*'s departure firſt from the Court, and then out of the Kingdom, was an effect of her only Counſel; Laſtly, that there was not any one in the Kingdom, how great ſoever, who could pretend to a Right of impoſing a Law on his Majeſty for the choice of his Miniſters; and that his Majeſty could not but think it extreamly ſtrange, that ſhe, above all others in particular, ſhould ſo preſs him to deſtroy the Cardinal, ſeeing ſhe knew better then the whole Nation, that there was not any perſon in the Kingdom, who had done, or was more able to do ſervice to the State, then he: To be ſhort, that ſhe had no ſuch great reaſon to complain, that ſhe was forced to live removed from the King, there being not any Law in holy Writ, which require children alwaies to live with their Mothers, eſpecially when they are of age to diſpoſe of their own good; but that its found written in divers places which command Kings to be obeyed as God's Lieutenants upon earth; that his Majeſty had juſt reaſon to be offended, he having ſo often ſent to her to withdraw her ſelf from *Compeigne*, and ſhe having as often ſlighted it; nor could ſhe pretend any excuſe for her ſo doing, ſeeing his Majeſty had offered her the choice of any other

place

place to dwell in; that they were obliged to tell her, that this her diſobedience was not to be endured in a well ordered State, neither that it were juſt for his Majeſty to put up this reſiſtance of hers; that it was the ready way to force him to uſe her with more rigour: and Monſieur *de Schomberg* did not ſtick to tell her, that it had been his own advice to remove her from the Court, ſo prejudicial was her preſence to his Majeſties ſervice. Theſe diſcourſes ſo full of Truth and Prudence, ſhould have opened her eyes, and diſcovered his Majeſties goodneſs unto her, who was ſatisfied only with a ſhort removal of her, for ſuch reaſons as have formerly Impriſoned, nay condemned divers great Princes to death: whereas her mind was ſo charmed by their devices who had ingaged her in this Cabal, that inſtead of diſabuſing her, they only added extremities to the exceſs of her choler.

*Politique Reflection.*

ALthough great men ſhould more eſpecially be informed with the truth of things, ſeeing their affairs which depend on it, are of greater importance then others, yet however the moſt part of them do not much love her, ſhe ſeldome comes within their Courts but naked; and if perchance ſhe appear in their preſence, they turn about from her, as if they could not endure to ſee her. They deſire things ſhould be related to them as they would have them, not as they really are. It is very dangerous to find fault with any of their Actions, which they undertake in confidence, that they are well-beſeeming their greatneſs: If any one preſume to debate their Deſigns, by diſcovering the naked Truth to them, he will preſently be eſteemed but an ill ſervant for his pains: whence it is, that the moſt part of their attendants unwilling to run the hazard of diſpleaſing them, do not diſcourſe to them of any their affairs, but ſo as they think may be acceptable to them; they find by the daylie experience of others, both paſt and preſent, that this complyance of theirs is the moſt aſſured ſupporter of their Fortunes, and a far greater prop to them then Truth her ſelf. Thoſe Princes who are of this humour, never well counſell'd, there being but a few who would willingly for their ſakes renounce their Fortunes, eſpecially ſeeing by telling truth they ſhould get nothing. Such counſels as thwart their Paſſions, are either eſteemed extravagant, or as proceeding from a naughty ſervant. They are for the moſt part like that unjuſt Judge who demanded of our Saviour what Truth was, but would not ſtay to be inform'd. Great and many are the inconveniencies which by this means happen to them: for thoſe ſpecious appearances of Truth with which they are deluded, are like to thoſe Lamps ſet out on the tops of Rocks by *Pirates*, which inſteed of a Harbour entice the veſſels to their ſhipwrack, whereby they make a prey of their goods. An Ancient Author ſaith, That the greateſt pleaſure of the mind conſiſteth in the knowledge of Truth. But it ought to be underſtood of a ſoul free from Paſſion; and which only proſecuteth the Laws of Juſtice. And the Rule of the Wiſe ſays, Happy is the Prince who is ſo diſpoſed, and who knoweth how to eſteem thoſe who counſel him freely, without diſguiſing the Truth, for they, and only they, are the real ſupporters of his State and greatneſs.

*Proſecution of the Hiſtory.*

THis behaviour of the Queen-Mother's ſeemed incredible, conſidering the goodneſs which ſhe had hitherto made apparent in her conduct, neither indeed could ſhe poſſibly have fallen into ſuch diſorders, had ſhe not been lead into them, by thoſe very perſons in whom ſhe moſt confided. Such and ſo great was their wickedneſs, that wanting ſufficient reaſons and inducements to entice her to their own bends, they ſought for ſome amongſt the Stars, and were ſo bold as to caſt the King's Nativity, and foretold her, that by the Poſition of the Heavenly Signs, his Majeſty could not long live; which being ſo, the Laws of Prudence obliged her to ſide with *Monſieur*; that ſhe ought in reaſon to look on him as the Riſing Sun, who

who would shortly sit at the Helm, and whose favourable influences would be necessary for the upholding of her greatness. This foundation being thus laid, it was no hard matter to perswade her in her Passion, that she need not much regard the Cardinal, for the King once ceasing to be, he would of consequence lie at their mercy. These were the vain wicked imaginations of certain malicious extravagant persons, which they went rather to Hell then Heaven, to learn out for the feeding of others ambitious humours, and to continue by this device the pensions which they procured from her Majesty. It is strange that any man should ground a belief upon such like predictions, yet it is a Rock upon which many Grandees have been ruined. By this means was *Lemulus Sura* drawn into *Catiline's* conspiracy; And by this means did the late Queen *Catharine de Medicis* engage her self in several affairs prejudicial to her childrens and her own Interests. Thus indeed did the ancient Pagans in all their great enterprises, on which they durst not think without the Predictions of their Augurs, and other Priests, though in truth it was without any reason or good foundation.

*Politique Observation.*

THat knowledge which we have during this life, hath enough to do, if it can but penetrate into the depth of things present, to extend and stretch it unto things to come, is not only useless, but dangerous. I shall willingly for my part subscribe to the opinions of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Seneca*, all who have absolutely rejected the Art of Divination, and held that the Predictions of Astrologers are vain and idle. The Chaldeans (as most probably may be conjectured) were the first who discovered the use of Horoscopes, but happy had been their ignorance had they known nothing of it. It is very commendable in us to fore-see by Prudence that which may befal us, but it is a foppery to ground the event of our undertakings upon the motion of the Stars. The Divels have sometimes foretold by the frivolous ordinary rules of Astrologie, what shall happen, but most men have attributed the truth of their predictions, not so much to the strength of those Rules, as unto Chance; or as others will have it, unto their care to effect these things by them foretold. To desire to know what shall hereafter happen, is to search into that which belongs only unto God; and it is equally rash to predict, as it is vain to pry into the knowledge of it. Notwithstanding all this, there are such as do suffer themselves to be led away into this errour, and that upon two different occasions. Some, that they may avoid those misfortunes which they fear; but it is commonly seen, that they who would fain shun the Rock, do run upon the Shelve. Others, that they may attain unto those goods for which they hope; but to them it likewise happens, that crediting too much the good fortune promised them by the Stars, they come to run into disasters; if perchance they meet not that amongst the Stars which they desire, presently they slight the Art; but if they do meet with any thing correspondent to their minds, it so flatters their passions, that they are blind, and engage themselves over and over, in such enterprises, as do at last bring them to their ruines. There need no other reason to evince the ignorance of Astrologers then this one, that they are so little knowing of what shall befal themselves in particular; for they know not how to prevent any thing, neither indeed need there more, then barely to examine with Prudence the Rules upon which they ground their conjectures, and it will then soon be discovered that they are Impostors, and that their knowledge is meer ignorance.

*Prosecution of the Subject.*

NOtwithstanding that there was as much clemency in his Majesties, as obstinacy in the Queens procedure, yet did she not forbear to lament, and accuse him of cruelty. His Majesty being then no longer able to endure those complaints which she made to all the Princes of Christendom, especially at her Imprisonment,

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and being equally deſirous to ſtop her mouth, by withdrawing thoſe forces which happened to be then neer her (not upon the ſcore of guarding her, but for other reaſons as hath heretofore been declared) and likewiſe knowing that it would be a hard matter for her to cauſe *Compiegne* to revolt, or to raiſe any Souldiers thereabouts, the principal of the Cabal being either impriſoned or affrighted, did at laſt reſolve to diſperſe them into other places. The only thing feared was, leſt ſhee ſhould caſt her ſelf into the Spaniards hands. His Majeſty to make ſure of her, as to that particular, firſt ſent to her by the Marſhal *d' Eſtree*, that he would readily ſatisfie her, by withdrawing all thoſe forces then in Gariſon at *Compiegne*; provided ſhe would ingage her ſelf not to ſtir out of the Kingdom. She thereupon paſſed her word once and again, not to go out of the Kingdom, and the Forces were accordingly drawn off; only his Majeſty left part of them, ſome certain leagues from thence, to prevent the aſſembling of any ſouldiers.

## *The Queen-mothers departure out of* France.

THis exceſſe of his Majeſties goodneſs, ſhould have wrought upon her, but ſhe inſtead of acknowledging it for ſuch, abuſed it, and that ſhe might adde to his troubles went out of the Kingdom. For the facilitating and private management of this deſign, ſhe gave his Majeſty to underſtand by the Marſhal *de Eſtree*, and the Marquis *de Saint Chaumont*, that ſhe would withdraw her ſelf from *Compiegne*, to ſuch other Town as he ſhould appoint, might ſhe but have the honour to ſee him. The King over-joyed at this her Propoſal, offered to meet her, either at her houſe of *Monceaux* or *Mantes*, or ſuch other places as ſhe pleaſed upon the Roads of *Angiers*, *Bloys*, or *Moulins*. The King pleas'd himſelf for ſome certain time, in this hope, believing it might be a means to regain *Monſieur*; but in the interim, the Queen mother negotiated her retreat with the *Infanta* in *Flanders*, and found means to prevail with the Marquis *de Vardes* to deliver up *Capelle* into her hands, of which he was then Governour. The Requeſt which ſhe made unto the *Infanta* was no long time unanſwered; for the Spaniards who aimed at nothing more then to foment diviſions in the Nation, whereby they might prevent the aſſiſting of any of our Allies, when they invaded them, quickly perſwaded her Highneſſe, to aſſure her of a good reception; that ſhe ſhould be entertained in her Territories with all honour and reſpect, and that ſhe would make ſuch proviſions, as ſhe ſhould not want any thing ſhe could deſire; this anſwer once received, ſhe ſtood no longer in deliberating on her retreit; but providing every thing neceſſary for her perſon, ſhe departed from *Compiegne* with Madam *de Treſnay*, and one woman of her Chamber. The ſame day ſhe came to *Capelle*, but could not get in (the King having ſent thither the *Sieur de Vardes* the Father, upon ſuſpicion of the Son) and from thence ſhe went to *Avennes*, which is the firſt Town in *Haynault*, bordering on *France*. By this ſhe made it apparent to the whole World, that ſhe was not only a Priſoner, but that ſhe did wed her ſelf to her paſſion, by giving her ſelf up to the enemies of *France*.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

TO give way to Paſſion, and let it over-rule our reaſon is very dangerous, ſo are the conſequences which attend it, eſpecially in matters of great concernment. God hath ordained reaſon to govern in Mans Soul, as in a Throne, that ſhe might guide all his Actions. He hath appointed reaſon to be the rule of his motions, as the little fiſh which marcheth before the Whale, to lead him through the Waters, leſt his unweildineſſe ſhould carry him againſt the Rocks. We are all bound to follow the dictates of Reaſon; but of all others, Princes are moſt concerned ſo to do; for if once they ſhut their eyes to reaſon, and ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported by the violence of their Paſſion, what do they but open a Gate to uſher in diſorders and confuſions into their States. This violence may well be liſe-

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ned to that of a Torrent, which rooteth up Trees, teareth up Rocks, and overthrows whatever it meeteth; for juſt thus is it, when reaſon is once extinguiſhed, the judgement is then ſpoiled, and Prudence is of no more uſe, then feathers to a Bird caught in Lime. Is not this the thing which hath deſtroyed moſt, if not all Kingdomes, which hath trodden Crowns under foot, which hath excited people to revolt, and Cities to mutiny, which hath profaned ſacred places, abuſed Altars, and whatever is moſt reverenced by mankind? How many have there been ſeen, who in their fury have not cared to loſe themſelves, provided they might ruine them in that Precipice which themſelves could not avoid? It is great wiſedom to ſuppreſs anger, and to ſtifle it in the Cradle, for by permiſſion and toleration it grows to be head-ſtrong. Violence by giving way to it, becomes invincible, inſomuch that in time it will be difficult, nay impoſſible to overcome it; it is like Lightning, which once broke out from the Cloud which reſtrained it, is not by any means to be again reduced.

### *The Queen-mothers entrance into* Bruxels.

THe Queen mother was no ſooner come into the *Infantas* Territories, but the Baron *de Creve-Cœur* received her, in the Town of *Avennes*, as Governor of *Haynault*. She then gave notice of her arrival unto the *Infanta*, by the Baron *de Guaypre*, and her Highneſs preſently diſpatched the Marquis *d'Ayetone*, to offer unto her Majeſty all the Power and Authority which ſhe had in the Low-countries. and to beſeech her abſolutely to diſpoſe of it. *Don Philip Albert de Valeſques*, Captain of her Highneſſe Life-guard, came at the ſame time with his Company to ſerve her, as Guards from *Avennes*, ſhe went to *Mons*, where the Prince *d'Eſpinoy* put the Towns-men all in Arms, to receive her with the greater ſplendour. Thither came the *Infanta* to meet her, who entertained her with all imaginable reſpects, and confirmed to her the Propoſals which ſhe had made of delivering her power in the Low Countries, into her Majeſties hands. Two days being thus ſpent, they went both together to *Bruxels*, where ſhe was received with the ſame honour, as if ſhe had been King of *Spain*. She was entertained with all the ſatisfaction and diverſions that could be imagined. It cannot be expreſſed, with what honour the Spaniſh Nobility did attend her; but we may conceive, that their deſigns were far different from thoſe of the *Infanta*, who good Princeſs, had in her whole life time teſtified a great deal of goodneſs, ſincerity, and holineſs it ſelf, ſo that what ſhe did cannot be aſcribed but to her civility, and the particular kindneſſe which ſhe had, both for the Queen-mother and *France*. Whereas, the Spaniards had other ends in it. They knew that Women are bewitched with Honour, and by this means did they endeavour to ingage her more and more to them, that they might make uſe of her to ruine the Cardinal, whoſe Prudence alone held their Noſes to the Grind-ſtone, more then an Army of a hundred thouſand men.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

IT is great diſcretion in Kings to receive with honour ſuch Princes, who diſcontented with their own Countries, come to make addreſſes to them. The qualities of their birth make them venerable, in what condition ſoever, though they were vanquiſh'd, yet ought they to be treated with reſpect. *Eunones* King of the *Adorſes* is highly applauded by *Tacitus*, for his courteous entertaining of *Mithridates* King of *Boſphorus*, when his evil fortune forced him, though his enemy, to caſt himſelf into his hands. And if the quality of ſtranger Princes, be an obligation on Kings to receive them with reſpect, amidſt the misfortunes in which they are ſometimes involv'd, yet Prudence doth much more adviſe, nay require it; for the honour done to them, is a Tie which doth engage them to wiſh well to their Countries, upon the ſcore of the good uſage and kindneſſe which was there ſhewed

them. Besides, and which is not a little considerable, it is a most infallible way to foment and exasperate divisions in those Countries, from whence they retire. They may at any time be placed in the head of an Army to go raise a War there, and yet not break with their King. A thing of great concernment to the Spaniards, whose Countries being separated from one another, cannot well be preserved in obedience, but by their setting on foot dissentions and wars amongst their neighbours, as hath been observed by one of themselves who hath treated of the Politick secrets by them used. A wise Prince is never sorry at any partiality in his neighbouring Countries. He knows that he is by that means safe from them, and that whilest they are ingaged in Wars, he may have leave and leisure to execute his own designs, and oftentimes to make great advantages by it.

## *The* Infanta *dispatcheth the* Sieur de Carondelet *to the King, to negotiate the Queen-mothers accommodation.*

SHortly after the Queen-mothers abode at *Bruxels*, and about the moneth of *August*, the *Infanta* desirous of Peace, sent the *Sieur de Carondelet Doyen* of *Cambray*, her extraordinary Embassadour unto the King then at *Monceaux*, for to assure his Majesty that she had not received her into her Country, but out of the affection and respect which she was bound to pay unto her; that she had not for her part any thought of making any advantage against *France*, but would contribute her utmost endeavours to the tranquility thereof. The King, who was not naturally enclin'd to war, but when it was necessary, in order to the establishment of Peace in his Dominions, would have easily been induc'd to an accord, had he not been certainly inform'd that those about the Queen Mother, and the Spaniards procur'd this Embassie, only the better to conceal the designes they had against the Publike Peace of his Kingdom; Nevertheless as Kings are politiquely oblig'd to dissemble their actions, and to acknowledge apparent civilities by apparent testimonies, the Cardinal by his appointment received him with all possible demonstrations of honour and kindness, to flatter his vain ambition, and to render him at least seemingly serviceable to *France*, knowing he had in charge to make divers agreeable Propositions: He made divers journies betwixt the Court and *Bruxels*, and was alwaies receiv'd and entertain'd at his return with honour and magnificence; and when he took his last leave, was presented with a Cross of Diamonds worth two thousand Crowns: But his frequent Voyages made him to be more swayed with imaginary conceits, then prudence in his undertaking; and that after he had wasted the estate by Birth and Fortune derived to him, he would have been glad to have gotten others from the bounty of his Majesty.

### *Politique Observation.*

ALthough one Prince may have received some unkindness from another, yet ought he not however to be deficient in receiving his Ambassadors with civility and honour. Civility is a vertue which ought to be used every where. *Alexander* whose example is the more considerable, seeing he was alwaies esteemed for generous, used it even to excess, and that towards his very enemies. He ought to hold a correspondence with others, though he hath neither reason to love them, nor to think that he is beloved by them: It will not become him to seem as if he would be revenged, but effectually to punish him who hath provoked him; whereas it is discretion to entertain him with Civilities, for the easier surprizing of him; the highest testimonies of friendship which he shall render to him, being the best devices he can use, to give him no cause of jealousie, which may induce him to stand upon his guard. One of the Ancient Sages said, A Prince never ought to receive the kindnesses of others, but with distrust. *Pompey* was deceived by the pretenses of peace, and *Lepidus* by an apparent Friendship, as *Tacitus* hath observed.

In

In general it may be ſaid, that Civilities are like a winding lane, which lead by a Trap door into any deſigned place what-ever. They are alwaies ſeaſonable, and although they are not alwaies accompanied with frankneſs, yet are they nevertheleſs agreeable to the Receiver, and advantagious to the Giver. The Wiſe man ſomtimes ſeemeth to be highly ſatisfied, though he be inwardly diſpleaſed; which he doth, that he may the better take his time, and ſhew his anger to the purpoſe; for by diſſembling his diſcontent with his enemies, he is the more enabled to do them a diſpleaſure; neither ought he to ſhew his Teeth, but when he is in a condition to bite. But more eſpecially ought he not to receive Ambaſſadors ſent to him, but with Honour and reſpect, ſeeing their Quality hath alwaies made them paſs for venerable, in conſideration of the perſon whom they repreſent: Neither is the Honour done them caſt away, for it ſerves to take off from their Maſter's diſtruſt, who may thereby be intic'd to take leſs care in his affairs, then otherwiſe he would; withal, it keeps his Neighbours in ſuſpence, and hinders them from aſſociating themſelves with him; for moſt Princes are apt to divide upon the leaſt noiſe of War.

## *The King ſendeth the Cardinal* de la Valette *unto* Monſieur *then at* Orleans.

HAving related the cauſes of the Queen-Mothers diſcontent, and the manner of her retreat, it will not be amiſs to ſpeak ſomthing of *Monſieur*'s affairs, of his Majeſties and the Cardinal's endeavours to bring him back to the Court, and of the ill Counſel which engaged him to raiſe a War, and at laſt to with-draw himſelf out of the Kingdom. Upon his Majeſties return from *Compeigne*, where he had left the Queen-Mother, he reſolved not to omit any opportunity which might be conducing to reconcile him unto him, and to withdraw him from the Queen-Mothers intreagues, and having thought nothing could be more proper to allay his Spirits, which had been a little exaſperated, then to marry him, his Majeſty diſpatched the Cardinal *de la Valette* to him, then at *Orleans*, to aſſure him, that there was not any ſecurity or ſatisfaction which ſhould be denyed him, in caſe he would return as he was deſired; more particularly, that he would very willingly yeild to his marriage with the Princeſs *Maria*, which heretofore had been importunately entreated. This Procedure was a ſufficient teſtimony of the King's affection, ſeeing he could not marry himſelf, without engaging his Majeſties Intereſts in it, and that his Authority could not but receive ſome prejudice, in caſe he ſhould have any children: Yet ſome ill Counſellors then neer him, ſtopp'd his eyes, that he might not ſee it. The Cardinal *de la Valette* propoſed it to him, and gave him all imaginable aſſurances of the King's affection: But he found him in a thouſand jealouſies, which *Coigneux* and others had inſtilled into him, on purpoſe to decline him from his Majeſties Intereſts, and to make themſelves the more conſiderable with him: For his own part, he was well enough inclin'd to do what-ever could be required of him, but thoſe creatures of his had gotten ſuch a hand over him, by their tricks and devices, that in a minute they unravelled what-ever the Cardinal *de la Valette* had with much ado wrought to any perfection. They repreſented to him the Queen Mother's Intereſts, and perſwaded him that he was engaged in Honour to aſſiſt her in thoſe perſecutions into which the Cardinal had brought her (which were *Chimeras* only) and that it were a great diſhonour for him, to forſake her, ſhe having caſt her ſelf (as it were) into his Arms: withal they terrified him with panique fears, and proteſted to him, that they would not aſſure him of his liberty, if once he came within the Cardinal's reach; as if the King's Arms had not been long enough to have ſecured him, whileſt he was at *Orleans*, had he been ſo inclined; and as if the King's word had not been an aſſurance ample enough: Was not that only propoſal of the Marriage a certain demonſtration that the King had not any intent of impriſoning him, unleſs in the fetters of Love, which he thought

a tye strong enough to continue him neer unto him? But this too they perswaded him, was a Lure to draw him to into the ginns provided for him; insomuch that it was impossible to bring him back, or to perswade him to have any confidence in his Majesty. Thus did those Creatures of his tryumph over his goodness, sacrifice his glory to their own Interests, and raise themselves to that pitch of Insolence, that they would build their own Fortunes upon the despisal of the Royal Authority.

*Politique Observation.*

AS a Wise and Loyal Counsellor is the cause of a thousand good successes, so a bad one serves only to ingage his Prince in the extremity of misfortunes. Princes ought especially to beware of such who make their own private interest their main business; for from such they cannot expect any thing but disservice, and they are obliged to remove such from the Court, seeing they themselves do but seldome take the pains to examine and discuss such affairs as are presented to them, whence by the advices of such men, they come to be oftentimes engaged in very dangerous designs. Happy are those Princes whose Ministers chief ends, are their Masters glory; and this is his Majesties present happiness; for they being neither passionate nor partial in their advices, do alwaies adhere unto that which is most honourable: whereas they who have other Interests, or are prepossessed either with Fear or Ambition, do ever and anon infallibly fall on that side, by which they hoped to secure themselves from the storm, or raise their own Families. Princes in their necessities have the more reason to complain, they then having most need of good advice: Faithful Counsellors being hard to be met with in Courts; there is the place where Interest holds the chief Seat of its Empire, where it is more regarded then Kings themselves; for the most part of their Attendants do serve them only for the love of it: Love and Loyalty are seldome admitted into those places, it being usual to sue for a Princes favour, not so much to love him the more, as for the better effecting of ones own designs. Hence it is that the major part of their Followers give them such advices, as they think to be most conformable to their inclinations, not such as are according to the Rules of Prudence or Justice, and by this means they hope to acquire more favour, then if they had told the truth: Not that they are ignorant of what is good Counsel, but they think it unprofitably bestowed, unless it contribute to increase their Fortunes. Now the best resolution on which they can fix in this misfortune which inevitably will fall upon them, is, not to adhere unto *Cleobulus* his opinion, who (as *Plutarch* observeth) said, That a wise Prince never ought to believe all which his most intimate familiars advise him: for that were to deprive them of a very great advantage, when they are faithful and able; but that they should well examine the qualities and sufficiencies of them whom they advise withal, and then likewise to follow their counsels; not because they proceed from them, but because after a due deliberation, they are esteemed good and reasonable.

*Prosecution of the Subject.*

FOr this reason it was that the King press'd *Monsieur* by the Cardinal *de la Valette*, to discharge himself of those evil Counsellors which were then neer him; being very well assured, that this once done, his inclinations would be no longer so violent, and that he would with ease be disposed to seek the good of France. *Cœuvres* seemed to agree to it, and the Sieur *de Chandetonne*, who came from *Monsieur* unto his Majesty, then at *Estampes*, assured him that he was totally disposed to it. But his Majesty having replyed to him, that this was his only way to raise his Masters affairs unto a height of good fortune, he made it apparent, that his overtures were only words, and that he was yet blinded with those fond hopes which he had grounded on the last yeers State Almanacks, made by his means during

ring the King's late ſickneſs. He was very vigilant and induſtrious that *Monſieur* might make ſure of Monſieur *de Bellegard*, Governour of *Burgogne*, that he might might have the diſpoſal of the ſtrong places in that Province, as himſelf inform'd the King by the Sieur *de Bauvoire* about the end of February. The King likewiſe underſtood from other parts, that he had liſted divers of the Nobility under *Monſieur's* name, in *Normandy*, *Languedoc*, and *Limoſin*, and that *Fueillade*, and others of the Sieur *de Puy-laureus* his kinred, did raiſe forces as freely as if they had had the King's Commiſſions. There was brought a letter unto his Majeſty, written by his direction from *la Ferte*, Lievtenant of *Monſieur's Gens d' Armes*, unto his Companions, that they ſhould come to *Melun* neer *Orleans*, though it ought not to be done without his order. Every one knows that he had perſwaded *Monſieur* to write unto the Sieur *de Thoiras*, to intice him from the Court, and to draw him to himſelf. The Letter having been brought by himſelf unto the King, the deſigne in which this raſh indiſcreet Miniſter had ingaged *Monſieur*, of ſeizing on the paſſages upon the River *Loyr*, and of victualling *Orleans*, was every where known; His correſpondencies with *Spain* and *Lorrain* were publike; His confederates in *Provence* and *Dauphine* were diſcovered, ſo that it was eaſie to judge he had not the leaſt thought of withdrawing himſelf, but deſigned to frame the Body of an Army, and ſo raiſe a war. And moſt true it is, That in caſe the Nobility who were expected above fifteen days before his Majeſty departed from *Paris*, had come, or if thoſe who were imployed in levying of Forces had brought them according to the time appointed, he would not have made uſe of them to march out of the Kingdom, but much rather to have ſetled himſelf in ſuch a condition within, that he might not be ſubject to that Law which the King of Right ought to impoſe on all his Subjects. He little conſidered how eaſily his Majeſty had reduced the whole party of the Hugonots, how he had ſet bounds unto the Spaniſh Ambition, how that he had put the Engliſh to a ſhameful flight, in that very place which they had deſigned for a Theater of their own glory, and that he would but laugh at their attempts, which were ſo repleat with raſhneſs.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is not ſufficient in a Prince, who would attain glory, that he be not apprehenſive of any dangers in war, or that he ſhew himſelf to be more deſirous of honour, then fearing any misfortune, unleſs he conſider before he take the field, what ſtrength he hath; from what friends he can preſume to have aſſiſtance, of what force his enemies are, and whether he have Proviſions enough for his own ſubſiſtence. He ought to meaſure his Courage by his Forces, and not to attempt any thing above his Power, or againſt Reaſon. It is couragious to ſtop the eyes at all hazards in the execution of a Deſigne, but it is diſcretion firſt to diſcuſs all the inconveniences which may arrive, leſt he ingage himſelf in his own ruine. Who ſo doth otherwiſe, cannot eſcape falling into one of theſe two extremities, either he muſt fall with his attempt, or be compell'd to a ſhameful compoſition, after a diſcovery of his own weakneſs and diſcredit. Beſide, that raſhneſs is full of inconſideration, it is ordinary attended with misfortunes. They who give up themſelves to it, are for the moſt part reduced to a neceſſity of quitting their deſigns, with as little advantage, as they uſed conſideration in their attempts. The vain hopes wherewith it feeds them, makes them at firſt all fire; but their flame evaporateth into Ice, by their want of ſubſiſtence; It is blind, and fore-ſees not neither dangers, nor any accident which may happen; whence it followeth, that it is very unſafe, nay pernicious, to be guided by its Counſels, and that experience telleth us, it ſeldome keeps any of its promiſes. The Hiſtory of *Cambyſes* King of *Perſia*, related by *Herodotus*, may ſerve to exemplifie it; he deſigned to make a war upon the *Macrobeans* in *Æthiopia*; to which end he ſent Ambaſſadours to their King, who might under pretence of carrying him preſents, eſpie the force and ſtrength of the Kingdom; but the King ſmelling their deſigne, com-

commanded them to return, and tell their Master, he could not be just who would invade a Country not belonging to him. *Cambyses* receiving this answer, became so enflamed with anger, that he presently advanced his Army towards *Æthiopia*, without making provisions necessary for so long and great an expedition; insomuch that before he had marched one quarter of his way, his Army was forced to eat Horses; and not long after his Souldiers eat one another, himself being forced to return into his own Country, after a great loss of his Souldiers, and to his perpetual dishonour, by reason of his rashness.

## *The King goeth to* Orleans; *With the true Motives of his journey.*

THe King well acquainted with all these contrivances, thought fit to go in his own person, that he might dissipate the storm: he well knew that the presence of a King is like that of the Sun, which soon dispelleth all those thick clouds which attempt to obscure his light. About the beginning of *March* he set forward towards *Estampes*, and thence to *Orleans*, as *Monsieur* had resolved. His Majesty did verily believe, that coming to discourse with him, it would be no hard matter to efface those evil impressions which his creatures had infused into him; that however the expected levies would not dare to come near *Orleans*, whilest he was there; and that peradventure he might ingage him in the match which had been proposed, by laying down before him the many advantages which might from thence arise.

These were the true motives of his Majesties journey, which they who were about *Monsieur* endeavoured to obstruct, by sending the *Sieur de Chandebonne*, unto him with a Letter, which they had perswaded *Monsieur* to write; in which he made protestations of obedience, and beseeched his Majesty not to give credit unto such reports as were spread abroad to his disadvantage. But however, the King who knew that no time ought to be lost in matters of revolt, did not forbear to prosecute his journey. He was no sooner come unto *Estampes*, but he received intelligence, that *Monsieur* was departed from *Orleans* towards *Bourgogne*: His attendants had perswaded him to ground his departure, upon pretence of his Majesties comming, and gave out that he only came thither to make sure of *Monsieurs* person. A report without foundation, for his Majesty had been acquainted, at the least fifteen dayes before that time, by the *Sieur de Bellegarde*, how that *Monsieur* had told him, he would shortly go into *Bourgogne*, and that before his Majesty had designed his journey unto *Orleans*. It cannot be expressed, how sensibly the King was troubled at *Monsieurs* departure. But it had been effeminate only to bewail amidst their present misfortunes, and take no care for the future; the King advanc'd with all diligence unto the same Province, that he might keep the Towns in obedience, and pursued him so closely, that he had not the time to make himself Master of any place, which doubtless he would have done, had he not been followed at hand by some or other, who might prevent his designs. Before the end of *March*, the King came to *Dijon*; and having secured the Town and Castle, gave order to the *Sieur de la Grange Mestre de Camp*, to march with his Regiment into *Bellegarde*, which place *Monsieur* had left behind him; he sent the Regiment *de Piedmont* into *Auxerre*, and *St. Jean de Lone*; he left three hundred horse in garrison on the Frontiers, in such places as were most requisite, to secure *Bourgogne* from any incursions, and the *Sieur de Hauterive* to command them, as Marshal *de Camp Monsieur's* Ministers did every where give out, that he had not forsaken the Kingdom, but only to secure himself from them who pursued him, but it was without truth: His Agents indeed having designed under his name to fortifie themselves in that frontier of the Kingdom, his Majesty was obliged to follow them at hand, to prevent their effecting what they had contrived it being of great consequence, not to lose any time in such occasions; his longer delay could but have given them leave to second their own with forraign forces which as was well known they had negotiated: But if he would not have left the Kingdom,

dom, why did he not condiſcend to thoſe fair propoſals made to him, both at *Orleans* and *Auxerre*: The King was ready to imbrace him, and to give him freſh teſtimonies of that affection which he had alwaies born to him; but his not aſſenting to them, forced his Majeſty to purſue him, that he might divert the ſtorm, which ſeemed to threaten not only *Bourgogne* but *France* it ſelf.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is a great misfortune to a Kingdom, when a Faction is once fomented within its boſome; but that once being ſo, it were a great imprudence in the King of that Country, to give time and opportunity to the heads of the Conſpirators, to draw their forces together, wherewith they might carry on a War againſt him. He ought to be before hand with them, and not to ſtay until revolted Princes are in a condition to put their deſigns in execution. He muſt not indeed be too credulous in beleeving all reports, nor take the field upon the firſt news of a Revolt; but being once well informed and aſſured, he ought no longer to delay. Thus *Alexander* the Great, made not the leaſt ſtop, that he might prevent the riſing of his enemies in *Greece*, and he came ſo ſuddenly upon them with his Army, that himſelf brought the firſt news of his comming. It was his uſual ſaying, that a quick diſpatch in preventing an enemy, is the thing which obtains great advantages againſt him; for this reaſon it was, that *Apelles* painted him with lightning in his hand, which hath a motion ſo ſwift that how little ſoever it be, yet it reduceth every thing to aſhes. Grandees when once revolted want neither courage nor power provided they have but time to raiſe their Forces. They have for the moſt part, perſons of knowledge and valour neer them, who are capable of ſetling their affairs in a good equipage, if they have but leiſure to effect it. For this cauſe, is a King obliged to go in perſon, and encounter them whereby he may break the neck of their Rebellion. A ſmall matter will ſometimes ſuffice to ſet all right again; the Kings preſence is a terrour to Rebels, and takes away their courages who are not yet come up, that they have but little will to ingage themſelves; and in caſe they return not to their obedience by fair means, he is then in a capacity to compel them by force, ſeeing they cannot be in a condition to defend themſelves. *Henry* the third, committed a great overſight by withdrawing himſelf from *Paris*, at the mutiny of the Barricadoes; for a Kings obedience diminiſheth the reſpect due to him, imboldneth the Ring-leaders of a faction, and animateth the fury of the people. *Bajazet* the ſecond did not thus, in the rebellion of his ſon *Selim* the firſt, but ſhewed ſuch an undanted courage that he could never be perſwaded to withdraw himſelf, although the Janizaries of his Guard were corrupted; and ſo behaved himſelf, that what with his preſence, and what with the gravity of his words, they became aſhamed to forſake him, or commit the treaſon they had reſolved againſt him. *Charles* the fifth did the ſame thing in reducing the City of *Gaunt*; for being in *Spain* upon the firſt report of their revolt, he took poſt, and came in great haſt unto *Flanders*, where he eaſily checked their rebellion, and puniſhed the chief contrivers thereof.

## Monſieur *arriveth at* Bezancon, *from whence he writeth unto the King.*

MOnſieur being arrived at *Bezançon*. *Bulgneux* was much afflicted and diſpleaſed that he had ſo poorly played his Cards, having not ſo much as time to draw his forces together, ſo that he had recourſe to his uſual devices, and perſwaded him to ſend a Letter unto his Majeſty, wherein he ſhould lay before him the pretences which he alledged for his departure. The Letter was framed by himſelf with a little aſſiſtance; but ſo imprudently was it contrived, that there needed no more to condemn him guilty of high Treaſon. It was full of injurious language againſt

againſt the King, and ſeemed to call him a Prince without judgement; neither had he any other pretexts for his departure out of the Kingdom, but only the Queen-Mothers impriſonment at *Compeigne*, a Chimæra only, and the neceſſity of ſaving himſelf without, having no ſecurity within the Kingdom; a reaſon altogether inconſiderable, ſeeing he was offered any aſſurance whatſoever: and his third was the Cardinals ill conduct, whom he could no longer endure, ſo dangerous he was unto the Kingdom; which laſt himſelf would have confeſſed to be ridiculous, had he but reflected how effectually he had ſerv'd the King at *Re*, in reducing of the Hugonot Cities, in the relieving of *Casal*, in the taking of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, and divers other expeditions, which have much added to the honour and glory of the whole Nation. Theſe were the weak pretences which *Coignieux* made uſe of, to hide *Monſieur's* imprudence and raſhneſs, in going forth of the Kingdom. But ſuch inſolencie being inſupportable, and the Letter brought by the Sieur *de Brianſon* unto his Majeſty, then on hunting neer *Baigneux* where not one of his Councel had followed him, he commanded the Lievtenant of his Guards to ſeize on him, and from thence carry him unto the Caſtle of *Dijon*, that he might teach others to beware of bringing any more letters unto him, which were not conformable to the reſpect due unto him: The King likewiſe conſidering how that Princes are commonly unfortunate in ſeeing their beſt actions diſcommended by their Subjects, inſtead of being honoured, as ſo many myſteries, whoſe cauſes are to them unknown, publiſhed a Declaration in the Parliament of *Dijon*, wherein he ſet forth the true cauſes of *Monſieur's* departure, both from *Orleans*, and then out of the Kingdom, as likewiſe of his journey into *Burgogne*, which are the very ſame formerly intimated; only adding this one, that his Majeſty was the more oblig'd to march into that Province, in reſpect they had ingaged the Sieur *de Bellegarde* in their party, and had particularly prevailed with him, to ſend the Sieur *Damaſe* unto him, then at *Auxerre*, to contradict the news he had formerly ſent unto the King by the Sieur *de Bucarre*, of *Monſieur's* Deſigns to retire into *Burgogne*; for he had then diſcovered all their intentions, and their pretences were eſteemed as ridiculous. It was not indeed only to manifeſt his own actions, that his Majeſty made the ſaid Declaration, but likewiſe to proclaim the *Comte de Moret*, the Dukes of *Elbœuf*, *Bellegarde*, and *Rouannes*, the Preſident *Coigneux*, the Sieur *de Puy-laurens*, *Monſigot*, and the *Pere de Chantelouppe*, guilty of high Treaſon, every of them having been acceſſary unto *Monſieur's* departure; it being his Majeſties further pleaſure, that they ſhould accordingly be proceeded againſt, in caſe they ſhould not within one moneth make their addreſſes to obtain his pardon for their offences; impowering all Governours and Officers to fall upon any who ſhould attempt to levie any Souldiers without his Commiſſion and Authority.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IN vain were the Laws for puniſhment of Treaſon made, if they be not executed upon them who perſever in their offences. Mercy is indeed one of the beſt Qualities in a King but it bringeth Kingdoms into diſorder and diſobedience, unleſs it be ſometimes accompanied with ſeverity. Impunity doth embolden the head of a Faction to perſiſt in his deſigns; when violence ſcapes ſcot-free, the publike Peace runs a hazard; and when a King teſtifieth unto them an exceſs of Bounty or Mercy, he only reduceth himſelf to the extremity of being afterwards diſabled to correct their inſolencies when he moſt deſireth it. To permit a party of factious perſons to ſave themſelves by flight, at leaſt without declaring them to be what indeed they are, were to be injurious unto the State, and guilty (in ſome kind) of cruelty: The leaſt ſeverity inflicted upon ſuch men (after their Deſignes are once perceived) doth extinguiſh the remaining flame, whereas conniving at them, adds fewel to their fire; in vain it is to hope by fair means to reduce them unto their duties: the ableſt Politicians have thought it an improper way to work upon them, ſeeing it makes not any impreſſion in the minds of Grandees, who are incapa-

incapable of true Friendſhip, and that the means to ſtop the Career of their deſigns, is by Force and Fear.

Not that I would adviſe a Prince to drive them into deſperation, by being over ſevere; for that were equally dangerous, and hath been found to have carried them on to extremities; but ſo ought he to manage his buſineſs, that he ſtrike them with Fear, and make them apprehenſive of his Juſtice. Men are more eaſily ſubjugated unto ſuch as have made themſelves terrible, then to ſuch who only endeavour to be beloved; and they will ſooner break the bonds of Love, then of Fear: Benefits work leſs upon their Natures then Puniſhments. If the rewarding of ſervices be ſo neceſſary for the incouragement of Faithful and Loyal ſervants, ſurely chaſtiſement is as needful to impede the progreſs of ſuch as are factiouſly bent, by ſtriking them with Fear. To be merciful alone, is to want one hand, and not to let them feel the rigours of Juſtice, who cannot be kept within the limits of their duties by clemency, were to endanger the loſs of the Supream Authority.

## *The Debate in the Parliament of* Paris, *upon the Declaration againſt the Rebels.*

THe Crime which they who abuſed *Monſieur*'s name did commit by their boldneſs in writing ſo outragious a letter unto the King, was but too great, yet as one error makes way for another, ſo they did not ſit ſtill there, but ſeconded it by making of parties in the Parliament of *Paris*, to obſtruct the ratification of the Declaration publiſhed at *Dijon*. His Majeſty had ſent the ſaid Declaration to the Parliament of *Paris*, as conceiving it to concern his reputation, to make known the Truth of thoſe paſſages, not only in *Burgogne*, but through the whole Kingdom. Now *Cogneux*, together with divers others of that Cabal, having gained ſome principal members of this Court, by informing them with all things, though quite contrary to the truth, had ingaged them ſo far in their deſigns, that they publikely exclaimed againſt it as violent, for ſuch reaſons as had been ſent unto them, which were as frivolous as falſe. They had raiſed ſuch a confuſion in that honourable Company, ſurprizing them with falſe informations and untruths, that it was debated whether the Declaration ſhould be ratified or not; whereas they ought to have remembred, that ſuch Declarations as regard the Government of State, are ſent unto them only to be regiſtred, proclaimed, and obſerved by his Majeſties Subjects, and moſt commonly they are not acquainted with the true reaſons which induced his Majeſty to make them. The debate was ſo hot and great, that their opinions being equally divided, the Declaration remain'd unconfirm'd, and unproclaim'd. Whereupon the King being upon his return to *Paris*, was forc'd (that he might not let ſuch a diſorder paſs unpuniſhed) to command the Parliament unto the *Louvre*, with order that they ſhould come on foot, as guilty, and in a poſture to receive that rebuke which they had incurred, whereby he might give them to know, that to diſcuſs State affairs, did not concern them at all; that he only ſent this, and other Declarations of the like nature unto them, to be proclaimed, inrolled, and cauſed to be obſerved by his Majeſties ſubjects, and that they ought to have been more readily diſpoſed to have paſſed this Declaration in particular, there being a very great difference between a bare Commiſſion to form an Indictment againſt any one, and to adjudge it, and between a Declaration publiſhed by his Majeſty for the information of his Subjects, concerning thoſe perſons againſt whom he complains, with what reaſons he hath ſo to do, and for what cauſes it is that they are guilty of high Treaſon; for that in a Declaration his Majeſty aſſigns them a certain time, within which they may obtain his pardon, if they have recourſe unto his Grace; and moreover, for that after all this, not any formalities are omitted, which are neceſſary in the proceſſe of Criminals before their Condemnation. This was effected in the *Louvre*, the King ſitting in his Counſel, and the whole body of the Parliament being on their knees before him,

where after that the Lord Keeper of the Seals had in his Majesties name given them to know, that it was not in their jurisdiction to determine concerning any Declarations of State, which should be sent unto them; the King with his own hands tore the sentence of * Division, which was Registred as a Record, and commanded that the Order of his Councel, whereby it was declared void, should be entred in its places, with probibitions of intermeddling for the future in debating Declarations of the like nature: And lastly, for the punishing the fault of the whole Body in some particular Members, the Presidents *Gayon*, *Barrillon*, and the *Sieur Lesne* Counsellour, were commanded, by Order from his Majesty to withdraw themselves for some time from *Paris*, and suspended from executing their Functions, in regard they had discoursed too freely, and without respect concerning his Majesties proceeding, and the Government of the State; which notwithstanding his Majesties goodnesse was such, that lasted not long, for they were soon after recalled and restored unto the Parliament, and to the discharge of the Offices of which their integrity and merit had made them very deserving, and from which they had been restrained not without the grief of all wise men, who were sorry to see that they had blemished their reputations, by a zeal too rash and inconsiderate.

* *Upon the equal Division of their Members debate, they Registred that Division as a Sentence.*

*Politique Observation.*

PArliaments are no lesse bound by the Laws of Prudence then those of Justice, not to separate themselves from the King in State-affairs. I say, they are obliged to it by Justice, for for them to judge of such affairs, were to assume a Power which belongs not to them; their first creation was by Kings, and that only to do Justice unto the people, as the President *de la Vaquiere* told the Duke of *Orleans* Chancellour, who in his Masters behalf moved the Parliament that they would press his Majesty to come to *Paris*, and make use of their advice in certain weighty matters. The self-same answer did the same Parliament make unto *Lonys de Bourbon*, after his taking of *Orleans*, and sending his Declaration unto them. *Francis* the first, prohibited them from intermedling in affairs of that nature, in the proceedings commenc'd against the Chancelly *du Prat*; and after him *Charles* the ninth did as much in prosecution of the Arrest which had been issued out for the summoning the Princes of the Blood, and Peers of *France*, to consult concerning such complaints, as tended to the good both of King and State. Thus, his Majesty having impowered and intrusted them, with the hand of his Justice, that they might only preserve his Subjects right each to other, they may not intermeddle in any other businesse without particular Order from his Majesty, who can only confer that Authority upon them. But how can they with any reason, dissent from his Majesty in State affairs, especially in this particular of Declarations, which are sent unto them to be proclaimed, when as they are not acquainted with the many circumstances which induced them, without the cognizance of which, it is impossible to make any true Judgement? Were not this to determine things without judging of them, as also to do it without lawfull power so to do? But if they complain of their want of Authority, the Stars might as well murmur against the Sun, for not imparting a light unto them, as glorious as his own. They ought to recollect unto their memories, that that Power which makes them considerable, is no more natural to them then that of the Stars; that from the King it is, that they receive all their Marks of Greatnesse, and Badges of Authority, and that from him alone all those rays do proceed, which make them shine in the eye of the people.

And if Magistrates would but look a little neerer into themselves, they would easily perceive that they have not any power but what is derived from their Kings; it is from them that they hold their Authority, and which lasteth no longer then their Will and pleasure: Hence it is, that all Bodies corporate are bound to take their confirmation from all new Kings who shall succeed to the Crown, whereby they might learn, that as they were created for the good of their Soveraign, so

their

their subsistence depends meerly upon his Will and Grace. Peradventure they wil pretend, that what they do is to conserve his Majesties Authority; but why do they not then consider, how they themselves abuse it by resisting it; and that whilest they violate his Authority, their own flowing from his, cannot remain entire and survive it. When as the Moon, jealous of the Sun, attempts to obscure his Rays, and sets her self just before his face, she depriveth us of his light; but we all know she loseth her own likewise, and that she receiveth her whole light from those Rays which she obscureth. As true it is, that Magistrates who become jealous of their Princes Authority, which alone hath cloathed them with lustre, and made them to shine in the eye of their fellow Subjects, and attempt to abridge their Majesties of their Power and Glory, cannot so do, without wounding themselves, and eclipsing their own light.

## Monsieur's *Request to the Parliament, to Indict the Cardinal.*

THe Cardinals ruine, was the main design at which all they who were with the Queen-mother and *Monsieur* did drive; they verily beleeved, that in case they could induce the Parliament to impeach him, that then his Majesty would begin to have his Fidelity in suspicion; and to give credit unto those Crimes wherewith he should be charged; but this was a resolution very inconsiderately taken, seeing they could not be ignorant, that it lay not in the Parliaments Power; and withall, seeing they could not but know, that his Majesty being better acquainted with his integrity and services then any other person whatever, would never permit that he should be intreated with such ingratitude. However, in order to this design of theirs, they caused a request signed by *Monsieur*, to be presented unto the Parliament, wherein he protested that the persecutions which he had received from the Cardinal, had forced him to go out of the Kingdom. He desired an instrument of his Protest, that the Declaration made in the Parliament of *Bourgogne*, might not prejudice either himself nor his Dependencies, and that he might be admitted as a Party against the Cardinal. This Request indeed was one of the causes which ingaged the Parliament in the Declaration, of which we shall anon speak, and which made them culpable, in not publishing that of his Majesty. But the King having commanded the Request to be brought unto his Councel, it was ordered by Arrest, that it should be suppressed as contumelious, contrary to the good of his Service, the Peace of his Subjects, the safety of his State, and as presented to that intent by those who had induced *Monsieur* his Brother, to withdraw himself out of the Kingdom, whereby they might escape the punishment of their Crimes, and traduce his Majesties chief Ministers, against whom no charge or complaint can or may be given (although there were cause for it) but by way of humble Petition to his Majesties own person, who hath the particular cognizance of their services and proceedings. Besides, his Majesty not satisfied with this bare Arrest, dispatched a large Declaration unto *Fontainbleau*, to let his Subjects know, that the evil Counsels which had been given unto *Monsieur*, had carried him out of the Kingdom, as those given unto the Queen-mother had caused her removal from the Court, and that the Cardinal could not in the least be taxed therewith, including a most honourable mention of his Integrity and Sincerity, concluding that his Majesty was well satisfied and assured by a long and continued experience that the Cardinals chief ends and designs did only tend to advance the glory of his Crown, and the good of his State; and lastly, conjuring his Subjects and Successours still to preserve his memory in their minds: Thus was this great Minister secured by his own sublime vertue, and his high services, from the violences of a factious potent Party.

*Politique Observation.*

NEeds must that Minister be indued with an extraordinary Prudence and Wisdom, who can preserve himself immovable in all the shocks which are raised to his ruine. Low and mean souls are frequently constrain'd to stoop under the violence of calumny, and to give way unto those storms which are falling upon them; but great persons, like rocks, are not to be shaken, though in the greatest turbulence of wind or weather. It is said, that of all Birds the Eagle alone can soar above the Clouds, whereby he may secure himself from storms; and upon this reason it is, that the ancient Heathens feigned *Jupiter* to have committed the guard of his Thunder unto the Eagle. Now great men are like the Eagle, and they only can support themselves amidst all the storms and designs which are raised and contrived for their ruine. These are those Suns whom the clouds can only dusk for some small time, which once pass'd, they dissipate of themselves, and become annihilated. All the attempts made against their Fortunes, are but like so many blows in the Ayr, so ineffectual they are either to hit or move them. The Prudence wherewith they are endued, affordeth them the means to foresee all their enemies designs, as also to secure themselves, and to command even Fortune her self to be favourable unto them; their innocence is so great a Bolwark of their glory, that it gives Truth power to tryumph over Calumny. There needs nothing more to preserve them in their Masters affection, then the services they do him, for those alone will easily make apparent, that all the slanders spread abroad against them, are only inventions of some base people, who would endeavour to destroy honest men of their reputation, whereby they might be made useless amidst their disgraces, and that themselves might get somwhat by their shipwrack; notwithstanding all which, they still persist in the prosecution of those glorious designs which they have laid, and make it daylie evident, that souls which are truly great, do but laugh at those who endeavour to injure them, and wipe off with their fingers such Vipers, without receiving any hurt; neither will they be discouraged from continuing to act what they have well begun. Their generousness is like an armed Souldier, prepared to resist what-ever shall oppose their Reputation. Their Fidelity is like a Wall, impregnable against all Force and Artifice: Their Wisdom maketh them Masters of their Passions, neither will they suffer themselves to be surprized by them, so that any advantage may be taken against them. Their address dictates unto them, to watch the time, when they may gain that from their enemies which they designe to obtain. Their Abilities are enough to secure them from discredits and disgraces with their Prince, where it is impossible for him to get their like: In a word, those excellent qualities of theirs; do discover unto them their enemies contrivances, and renders them Masters of their own Fortune, which is impossible to be ravished out of their power.

*The Queen-Mothers Request to the same effect.*

THis Request was only the beginning of those Calumnies wherewith *Monsieur's* Agents did endeavour to bespatter the Cardinals glory; for from that time laying their heads together, with those of the Queen-Mother, they never ceased from inventing and spreading of defamatory Letters and Libels. The Queen Mother too her self presented a Request unto the Parliament against him. But when they perceived all their attempts were vain, either as to the ruining of him in his Majesties good opinion, or for the advancing of the Army which they had already contrived in their conceptions, then their Anger turned into Fury, and they resolved not to leave any thing unsaid which might bring his Reputation into dis-esteem. They verily perswaded themselves, that at last some Neighbour Prince would assist them with an Army, to maintain their Quarrel, or that they might raise so great a hatred against him in the peoples minds, as they would rise and take up Arms, so

to

to force his Majesty to sacrifice him unto their Fury. Indeed I should have concluded him very unfortunate, had his glory depended upon their testimonies, and if the honour which he hath merited by laying out so much of his health, by drying up his blood, by watching day and night over the Affairs of State, by giving up his Freedom, his very soul, his words, his writings, and all his time unto his Kings service, and for the good of *France*, by doing things even above admiration it self, should need their approbation. But as the reward of Vertue is extracted from Vertue it self, and as there are no Theaters where great mens actions appear with more pomp, then in the testimony of their own proper Conscience, whereby Noble deeds glance out rayes of honour, like the beams of the Sun, so it was happy for him that they chose this time to calumniate him, when he had newly accomplished such glorious actions for his Majesties service, as cannot easily be described in History. He needed not have desired (as that Ancient did) to have a house so built, that all the world might behold him, seeing the glory of his actions was of so great advantage unto all *Europe*, that every one was taken up in contemplation of him with admiration. I may safely add, that the malice wherewith they bely'd his most just and sincere proceedings, did render all their accusations suspected. And who knows not without more ado, that the usual course with them who would embroyl a State, is to fall foul upon the Ministers of Government.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is commonly seen, that good services are rewarded with calumny: Envie is one cause of this injustice, her eyes being offended with the splendour of any noble actions; just as the Sun dazleth and decayeth eyes already sore and weak. It is a passion which in some sort runs counter with Gods goodness, which draws good out of evil; whereas this takes occasion to injure and wound great persons, even from those very actions which makes them most conspicuous; the same relation which the shadow hath to the Body, such hath envie with vertue: And as the highest mountains cast the greatest shadows, so the greatest persons are most exposed unto envie and calumny: Private Interest is another cause, and to say the Truth, is the first and chief; for that it begets envie. All they who by their ambition pretend to have some part in the Government, do fancie unto themselves, that Fortune hath cast them so much the further from it, as it hath raised up them who now possess it: Now as for those who do not pretend unto so much, but do yet aspire unto some higher quality then that in which they are at present, they suppose they have reason enough to complain of the Governours of State, when that which they expect is not cast upon them; the discontent which hereupon they conceive, is not unlike those false Prospectives, which represent things and objects unto the view, which neither are, nor ever were; and thus indeed their judgment being overswayed by Passion, becomes so depraved, that they apprehend things in their conduct, far different from what they really are. I might add Ignorance amongst the causes which produce ill reports against Ministers; there is nothing but the out-side of their actions to be seen, their intents and designs are secret and unknown, at least of such as have any conduct; neither do they ever disclose their drift and main end, whereby they may not give the enemies of the State opportunity to prevent their being effected. Which being so, it cannot be denied but that the small knowledge of their actions giveth their enemy a great advantage to exclaim upon them. They seldom have any thing to object against them, but what seems to be defective, and they disguise things so artificially, that they make white pass for black, & lies for current truth, being very wary that it fal not into their consideration, how they have extraordinary intelligences, which ought not, nay which cannot be dived into by vulgar judgements. But above all the rest, they are assaulted by slanders, when-ever the Grandees of a State are bent upon mischief, they dare not openly to complain of their King, lest they should too much discover themselves, and lest their rayling might pull down some vengeance upon them,

which

which might prevent them from effecting their intentions, but they addresse themselves to throw dirt in the face of the chief Ministers, although in effect they strike at their Kings. Withall, they are commonly troubled at the ill-government of the State, they distaste the power and honour which the King confers upon them, and complain of the charge which is imposed on the people. These are the subjects of all the Manifests, which were ever made to provoke the people to rebellion. If we but look back on the Passages our own times, or those before us, we shall alwayes find that Factious persons have been alwaies discontented with the Ministers of State, and against them have they ever made use of reviling slanders, as a most certain torch to set the whole Kingdom in a Flame. Examples hereof are so frequent, that we need not stay to recite them. Besides, it may be found in all History, that when by the Prudent Conduct of any Ministers, they have been reduced to a disability of being further troublesome to the State by War and open Force, yet have they still persisted to disgorge the fury and rage which possessed them, upon their papers, fraught with poison and lies.

## *Aspersions charged on the King, refuted.*

IT was indeed somewhat strange that these Libellers should attempt to defame a man, whom the ablest wits have recommended to be of as great a Soul as any these many Ages: But it is incredible, that their malice should strike at the Kings own person, endeavouring to represent him as uncapable of Government. I could willingly complain of all French men, who seeing such indignities done unto their Soveraign, whom after so many years they had reason to know for the most Just, most Valiant, most Generous, most Prudent, and most Mercifull Prince that ever swayed the Scepter of *France*; did not take up their Arms, to punish those Libellers in other Countries, but that they may not undertake any War without his Majesties permission. What reason could be alledged, that he should passe for a King without Conduct, who had vanquished the English in so many encounters, taken *Rochel*, forced the *Alps*, twice relieved *Cazal*, suppressed his Rebellious Subjects, bounded in the ambition of the house of *Austria*, setled religion in divers Provinces of his Kingdom, secured the Pope from the Spanish oppression, gave peace and liberty unto *Italy*; by his Victories became the Arbitrator of Christendome, and whose Arms strangers did apprehend with fear and terrour? It cannot be said of him but that he was the most courageous in his undertakings, the most Pious in his Conscience, the most Just towards his Subjects, the most Daring in any dangers, the most Prudent in his Councels, and the most deservedly to be admired for all his Actions, that ever yet reigned over us. Have we not all seen, how his zeal and courage for Religion hath ingaged him to expose his person, the most flourishing years of his time, his Nobility, his Treasures, and in some kind to hazard his own State, and all to abate the Insolencies of the Church's enemies? It might indeed have been said, that some other besides him, had atchieved all those glorious Actions, which we dayly see before our eyes, provided any enterprise had been done without him: Had he not in his own person ordered Battels, had he not personally appeared in sundry dangers, and had he not been actually assisting at all his Counsels, to resolve what orders were most proper to be followed? But the one is as visibly apparent as the other; and he who would beleeve their aspersions must necessarily be born among the *Antipodes*. All *Europe* was so sufficiently convinc'd of his Majesties rare and divine endowments, as not to suffer themselves to be surprized by the calumnies and devices of such wicked imposters; and all such as have had the honour to know, though but a little of the Conduct of affairs, have had ground enough to admire those great lights of Nature, and particular blessings of Heaven, wherewith his Majesty was stored; by means of which, they who were of his Counsel, have seen him take such expedients, as could not but be so many marks of an extraordinary Prudence.

*Politique*

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is a misfortune for a King to be expoſed unto ſlanders. Let a Princes actions be never ſo glorious, yet Man is naturally ſo averſe from Government that he is hardly to be reſtrained from evil ſpeaking againſt him who rules over him, not excepting God himſelf, as may appear in the particular behaviour of the Iſraelites. But however it cannot be eſteemed for other then a monſtrous ingratitude, thus baſely to reward the great cares, which he undergoes for the publick good; neither can it be denied, but that ſuch reviling, whereby the reputation of his glory is endeavoured to be eclipſed, ought to be ſeverely puniſhed, and eſpecially when it tends to raiſe troubles in the State. It is much more juſt to honor the actions of a Soveraign with reſpect, then to aſperſe them with blame, which cannot but be raſh and inconſiderate, unleſſe accompanied with a moſt exact knowledge of all his deſigns; beſides, thoſe Calumnies which are laid to their charge are ſo much the more dangerous, in regard that admitting they do not drive men into a diſtruſt of him, yet do they undeniably diminiſh that confidence which his Subjects would repoſe in him. That Lye which is reported with aſſeveration, does commonly leave ſome impreſſion in the mind behind it, though it beget not an abſolute beleef. Reputation is a Treaſure, which Kings cannot ſufficiently eſteem; this is it, which makes them venerable, not that it adds to their vertues, but renders their vertues more conſpicuous; not that it gives perfection to their abilities, but ſets off their ſplendour, and this ſplendour is it which maketh men more obedient and ſubject to their Wills and Pleaſures. Opinion governs the whole World, and gives Princes themſelves Authority in their very Thrones. Experience hath told us, that we are not apt to credit a truth, if reported by a Lyer; ſo likewiſe no one will eaſily ſubject himſelf to a Prince, who is commonly reputed for uncapable of Government; being once in diſ-repute, he may ceaſe to hope either for obedience or reſpect; he loſeth with his honour, all the Love which was formerly payed unto him, and fear will not long ſtay after the loſſe of Love. Which being ſo, no one can doubt of the Juſtice, nay abſolute neceſſity of inflicting exemplary puniſhments on ſuch as have the boldneſſe to offend their Soveraigns by their Calumnies. He who doth not chaſtize them, doth expoſe himſelf to eminent dangers; for that men having once heard him ill reported of, take the lie for a truth, if the Authors remain unpuniſhed; and thus conſequently, he will fall into ſcorn, and run the hazard of loſing both perſon and eſtate: And as he who puts one injury, incourageth others to do him more and greater; ſo it may well follow, that the ſame party having firſt offended him by words, may take the boldneſſe, next time, to do it by deeds.

## *The King is carefull to juſtify the Cardinal by his Letters and Declarations.*

ALthough ſmall aſperſions raiſed againſt a Prince, ought not to be chaſtized with too much ſeverity, yet when they tend to the deſtruction of his Authority, and the troubling of his State, the greateſt rigour is but little enough. The Emperour *Theodoſius*, did one day upon the ſcore of a fiction raiſed againſt him, anſwered as became his Clemency, ſaying: If he who ſcandaleth his Prince doth it by way of Paſtime, he ſhould ſcorn it, if by ignorance or folly he ſhould pity him; if he did it out of Malice he ſhould forgive him. Which is only to be underſtood of ſmall injuries, ſuch as are not prejudicial to the State; and which indeed deſerve rather a Princes Scorn then his Anger, whereas thoſe others deſerve to be puniſhed with ſeverity. Whence it follows, that no one can doubt but that theſe Libellers ought to undergo the rigours of Juſtice, their abſence having ſecured them, and his Majeſty ſatisfying himſelf, only by ſetting forth the naked ſincerity of his inter-

Intentions, and the juſtice of his Proceedings, in his Letters and Declarations. His Actions indeed were a defence to themſelves, being accompanyed with ſo much honour and glory, that there was not any aſperſion but vaniſhed at their preſence. But it cannot be expreſſed with what care his Majeſty was affected in the Cardinal's behalf; how ſolicitous he was to vindicate him; for he had not only not the leaſt thoughts of abandoning him to the malice of his Calumniators, but he rather undertook to juſtifie him to the life upon all occaſions, in his Declarations and Letters which he ſent unto the Parliaments of Provinces, to the Queen-Mother, and *Monſieur*. He needed not any Mediator with his Majeſty, for that he knows better then any other perſon, the ſolidity of his Counſels, the Fidelity of his Zeal, the Juſtice of his Intentions, the Generouſneſs of his Courage, and the Moderation of his Conduct. The greater reaſon therefore had his Majeſty to juſtifie and vindicate him unto Strangers, in regard the major part of affairs which are tranſacted in his Government, are only known to himſelf and his Miniſters, every one elſe ſeeing nothing but things in their effects. And true it is, his Majeſty omitted not any occaſion of publiſhing his Fidelity and Services, but did it in expreſſions and demonſtrations of an extraordinary eſteem and affection.

*Politique Obſervation.*

KIngs are in ſome ſort oblig'd to defend their Miniſters from the aſſaults of ſlanders; They owe this protection unto them, in remembrance of their Fidelity, and that they may be the more affectionately engaged in their ſervices, for that they ſeldome attract the hatred of the Grandees upon themſelves, but only by their reſiſting of attempts made againſt their Maſter's Honour and Authority. It is impoſſible for a Miniſter to ſerve his Prince as he ought, and not to diſcontent the chief of the State; for he is often neceſſitated to curb their ambition of advancing their own power, in detriment to that of the Soveraign, and then all the envie falls on him, as if the whole Government were in his hands; and unto his Counſels are all the denyals which they receive attributed: Which being ſo, what Reaſon or Juſtice can a King have, to abandon unto the mercy of envie, a loyalty, which (if not cheriſhed) will ſoon languiſh? Nothing does ſo much diminiſh the zeal which a Miniſter hath for his Maſters ſervice, as the diſcountenancing of him. The Prince that forſaketh him who hath done him faithful ſervice, is blind in his neereſt Intereſts, and beſides the blot of Ingratitude wherewith he blemiſheth his reputation, he expoſeth himſelf unto manifeſt dangers, by permitting his ruine, who was the greateſt Supporter of his glory; which once admitted, he becomes like a City, whoſe Fortifications are razed, and laid level with the ground. For this reaſon it was that *Artaxerxes* ſeeing the Athenians baniſh *Themiſtocles*, who came and caſt himſelf into his Arms, ſaid, he wiſh'd his enemies no greater evil, then that they might continue to be carried away by their envie, to deprive themſelves of the Prudence and Valour of ſuch like men. Now if Prudence and Juſtice doth oblige Kings not to remove able Stateſ men from their ſervice, upon the ſcore of Report, ſo ought they likewiſe to be careful in defending their Reputations, ſeeing they are only malign'd upon their accompts, and for their fidelity unto their ſervices. Who knoweth not that an ancient Commonwealth would not admit of a good Law, if propos'd by a ſuſpitious perſon, unleſs it had been firſt of all moved by one of an approved integrity? They who were the Contrivers of this Deſigne, were not to know how greatly the credit of a miniſter doth advance his Maſters Intereſt, by cauſing him to be readily obeyed by his Subjects, And experience hath evinced it in a thouſand encounters, that all things run into diſorder, where a Miniſter once loſeth his Credit and Repute.

*Proſe-*

*Profecution of the Sub ect.*

THere hath been ſo much already ſaid in anſwer to thoſe aſperſions laid in the Cardinals way, that to ſay any more were needleſs in relation to his glory, but it is not ſo in relation to the end and drift of this Hiſtory, which is for the Inſtruction of ſucceeding Kings and Stateſ-men, how they ought to govern themſelves; for Soveraigns may here learn how to carry themſelves towards their Miniſters, by the King's behaviour towards the Cardinal, wherein there was an appearance of objection, though it was an effect of his Majeſties Prudence. Amongſt the many accuſations laid to his charge, one of the chiefeſt was, that he had obtained from his Majeſty the Government of divers ſtrong and important places of the Kingdom, and that otherſome he had procured for his friends. Now theſe ſo conſiderable places were reduced unto two Sea-Towns, *Havre*, and *Brouage*; and that theſe places were the more to be regarded, they being in his keeping at ſuch a time, when as there were endeavours uſed to bring ſome Forraigners into *France*, which could not be more commodiouſly effected then by Sea. The Contrivers of this charge were not well vers'd in the Hiſtory of late times, wherein they might have learn'd, how that the Government of *Havre* and *Diepe* had been united and incorporated into the Office of Admiral *de France*, by two ſeveral Declarations of *Henry* the third. Neither were they better acquainted with the paſſages of the preſent times, How that the Government of *Brouage* had been conferr'd on him in exchange of *Diepe*, it being impoſſible to intend the neceſſary affairs of Sea, without having ſome chief Sea-Port: Which being ſo, What reaſon can he alledge to quarrel at his Majeſties conferring thoſe Governments upon him?

As for thoſe which his Majeſty entruſted with his Relations, I ſhall only ſay, that they were not comparable with thoſe favours which divers other Miniſters have received from their Kings and Maſters, though they never did the Tythe of thoſe ſervices which he hath. *Annas de Montmorency* was Mareſchal and Conſtable of *France*, Grand Maiſtre, and Grand Chamberlain, and Governour of *Languedoc*, whoſe eldeſt ſon was Mareſchal of France, and Governour of *Languedoc*; his ſecond, Colonel of Horſe, Mareſchal of France, and Governour of *Languedoc*, by Survivorſhip; and his third ſon Colonel General of the Swiſſes. One of whoſe Nephews was a Cardinal, another Admiral of France, and a third Colonel of Foot, and whoſe four Daughters were match'd into four of the chief Houſes of France, *viz.* that of *Thurenne*, *de la Trimouille*, *de Candale*, and *de Vantadour*, and whoſe power was ſuch, that *Francis* the firſt commanded *Henry* the Dauphine, afterwards King, to obey him in the Armies which he governed. I could likewiſe add, that there is not any thing in the Cardinals Family that may hold compariſon with that of *Amboiſe*, who flouriſhed under *Louis* the eleventh, *Charles* the eighth, and *Louis* the twelveth. *Charles d' Amboiſe* was Governour of *Champagne*, and afterwards of *Burgogne*, under *Louis* the eleventh, and ſix other Brothers which he had, with many others of his Nephews, were all advanced by him. By his favour *Meri d' Amboiſe* was created Grand Maſter of *Rhodes*, *Jean* was made Biſhop of *Langres*, *Louis* was made Biſhop *d' Alby*, and Lievtenant for the King in *Languedoc* and *Guyenne Pierre* was installed Biſhop of *Poictiers*, *Jacques* was made Biſhop of *Clermont*, and Abbot of *Cluny*, *Jean* was preferred to be Seignieur *de Buſſi*, and Governour of *Normandy*; the three ſons of his eldeſt Brother, *Louis* Biſhop of *Alby*, Arch-biſhop of *Rouen*, and Cardinal, Grand Maiſtre, Admiral and Mareſchal of France, Governour of *Milan*, and Lievetenant of his Majeſties Armies in *Italy*; *Guy* Seignieur *de Revel*, Captain of two hundred *Gentils-hommes d'armes*, which was then a high preferment; *Francis de Clermont* his Nephew, ſon of his Siſter *Catharina d' Amboiſe*, Cardinal, and *René de Prie* ſon of his Aunt *Magdalena d' Amboiſe*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*. Is there any thing in the Cardinal's Family which may compare with this? But without making of compariſons, it ſhall only ſuffice to ſay, this complaint was ridiculous, ſeeing

the Cardinal had at that time only two places which were of any importance, and his Kindred as many; whereas ſome great Houſes of France had more. Beſides what cauſe of Jealouſie could there be, ſeeing he was every week twice or thrice at leaſt with his Majeſty, and ſtill brought with him a ſurrender of his Offices, it being in his Majeſties power not only to diſpoſe of his Charges, but of his Perſon likewiſe? He had indeed over and above the Government of *Bretagne*, But how? Was it not at the earneſt intreaties of thoſe of the Country, who conſidering themſelves to be invironed with Ports, concluded that he could moſt effectually eſtabliſh their Trade (by means of his Superintendency upon the Sea) which had been much decayed during the late Governours times, becauſe of the frequent differences between them and the Admirals of France, each of them pretending to command upon the Sea coaſt? That which made theſe factious exclaim more loud then all the reſt, was, becauſe his Majeſty had diſcharged ſome Governours from their places, and committed them to him. But what? Was not his Majeſties ſo doing a piece of great Diſcretion, when he foreſaw the ruine of the Kingdom by the little obedience of ſuch Governours, who having the poſſeſſion of Towns and Places in their Families a long time together, would hardly be perſwaded they were beholding unto his Majeſty for continuing them unto them, but would preſently fly out into Rebellion, upon the firſt noiſe of any inſurrection? Hereupon his Majeſty reſolved to puniſh them according to their deſerts, and deprived ſome of them of their Offices and Governments, with intent of beſtowing them on ſuch perſons, of whoſe fidelity he was well aſſured, as upon thoſe of the Cardinals Family, who were never ſeen to intermeddle in any Cabal againſt his Majeſties ſervice, and who knowing the honour of his Majeſties favour to be the only ſupport of their Fortunes, were careful of not being ingaged in ſuch Deſigns, as might make them unworthy of it. The advantage which this alteration brought with it, was ſoon after apparent; for how would it have been if one had continued Governour of *Breſt*, if another had kept his Government of *Brouage*, and if *Calais* had not been diſpoſſeſſed of its Commander? would they not have ſerved for ſo many Citadels and Magazins to countenance all Revolts which they deſigned? And what I pray is become of all thoſe places which were entruſted with the Cardinal or his Allies, Have they not continued in their Obedience to his Majeſty, and thoſe who engaged the Queen-Mother and *Monſieur* in their differences, could not diſpoſe of any of them according to their own deſires? And that indeed was the only and chief motive of their complaints.

*Politique Obſervation.*

NOthing gives greater tranquility to a State, then the diſpoſal of Governments into the hands of ſuch perſons whoſe affection and fidelity are well known unto their Prince. The experience which *France* hath ſo often had, hath been too ſad to be forgotten, ſeeing the moſt part of Civil wars, nay of Forraign too, had not been broached, but by the defect of Governours, more ſolicitous of their own Intereſts then of their Maſters glory and ſervice. Few are the Grandees who are not diſcontented, if they have not Governments conferr'd upon them, nay, if they have not ſome kind of aſſured ſettlement in their Commands, that their Authorities may be greater. A King therefore is obliged to be the more inquiſitive, whether with their Grandeur they have loyalty and zeal for his ſervice, otherwiſe it were only to give them the means of combining one with the other to raiſe Factions, and to diminiſh the Soveraign, by advancing their own private power. Admit they be diſcontented, 'tis without cauſe; for no one hath any right to preſcribe a Law to his Prince, how he ſhall chuſe ſuch perſons as he is pleaſed to employ in his ſervice. It is prudence not to regard ſuch diſcontents, they are inconſiderable, when the publike Peace is in queſtion. A King cannot diſtribute his Governments with more diſcretion, then by intruſting them with ſuch perſons whoſe loyalty is impregnable, and who he is aſſured will never intereſt themſelves

ſelves with any party but his own, if any Diviſion ſhould ariſe. Now of whom can he better be aſſured, then of ſuch a Miniſter, of whoſe fidelity he receives daily teſtimonies, and who, when he ſees him, brings with his Perſon all the Governments and Charges which have been conferred upon him? As for thoſe related to him, ſeeing they abſolutely depend upon him, and that their Power is as his own, dependant upon his Majeſties good favour, they are equally obliged to be faithful. For this reaſon it is, that the greateſt Princes have not only not been backward to beſtow the chief Governments upon them, but have looked upon it as a thing very neceſſary for their ſervice. Touching the diſtribution of Governments, I add, That a King is obliged, what he may, to diſplace thoſe perſons who have enjoyed their Offices any long time, unleſs he be very well aſſured of their fidelity; they are ſo uſed to hold them, when long continued, that the fear of loſing them, doth oftentimes engage them in ſome Faction, which gives them hopes of a longer continuance; Beſides, when not received by his Majeſty, but his Predeceſſors, they are the ſooner ingaged in a Faction, becauſe they think not themſelves beholden to him for them; Withal, in proceſſe of time they get ſo abſolute a Power, that ſomtimes it exceeds their Maſters; it being uſual, that long command is accompanyed with pride and inſolence. Hence it is, that in the moſt politique States their Governments were never but temporary. *Rome* loſt her Liberty by continuing her Magiſtrates too long in their Power; and *Cæſar* could never have maſtered his own Country, but by acquiring too great a Power over the ſouldiers by his long command.

### *The Cardinals Riches not to be envied.*

NExt of all theſe factious ſpirits would have the Cardinal's poſſeſſing of his Majeſties favours to paſs for a great crime, although his free humor acquits him to every one from the guilt of covetouſneſs, and concludes him to be ſo naturally generous, that he values not all the goods of the world, but only in order to the well diſpoſing of them. The place which he holds under his Majeſty in the State, neceſſitateth him to great expences; and without them, ſure it is, that both he, and all thoſe who are in the ſame employment, would fall into diſeſteem, and that inevitably, unleſs they be accompanied with ſome ſplendour, and extraordinary magnificence; elſe how ſhould they cauſe his Majeſty to be obeyed? Thoſe charges once defrayed, the reſt he doth employ in good uſes, to the poor, or ſome actions becoming his virtue and bounty. Ought his moderate eſtate to be envied, who hath done ſo great ſervices for France? We have in our times beheld a young Prince, whoſe name is fatal to this Crown, enjoy more profits then he at four years old; we have ſeen a Treaſurer of the Exchequer buy himſelf out of a diſaſter, by giving the King two millions of Livres, which was but a ſixth part neither of his eſtate: We have known two Jewellers enrich themſelves with between four and five hundred thouſand Crowns, during the Queen-Mothers Regency. Is it not then unjuſt to complain of thoſe favours which his Majeſty hath conferred upon him, and wherewith he hath alwaies aſſiſted his Majeſty in the wars, when the monies of the Exchequer could not be brought in time enough? Is he as rich as the Prince of *Kemberg*, the Emperour's Favourite at this day, who of a private Gentleman of *Styria*, hath gotten five hundred thouſand Crowns *per annum*, in two Provinces, which his Maſter gave him opportunity to effect, permitting him likewiſe to gather Contributions from the Imperial and *Hans*-Towns, and cauſing his expences to be defrayed by his own Officers, which could not but exceed an hundred thouſand Crowns *per annum*? The moſt part of the Cardinals Revenues are in Church-livings, which are no waies chargeable to the people, and ought the leſſe to be envied to him, in regard he hath deſerved them, and much more from the Church by his ſervices, and that he employs them for the relief of the poor, with honour, not prodigality in his own Family. We ſhall not find that his moveables would amount to ſo much as thoſe of the Cardinal *d' Amboiſe*

did at his death. To conclude, could his ſervices be rewarded with money, his actions have made it apparent he deſerves much more. His chief end was only to have the glory of ſerving his Maſter, neither did he regard ſuch low recompences. He hath often refuſed gifts which the King hath proffered him, and the greateſt care he took for money, was to ſee his Majeſties Treaſures well ordered, when as before they were ſquandred away in frivolous gifts, and ſuperfluous expences, little tending to his Majeſties glory: So that ſince his coming to the management of affairs, there was leſs expended then before, though there was a neceſſity of maintaining continual Armies both at home and abroad.

*Politique Obſervation.*

RIches are the leaſt rewards which Kings can beſtow upon their Miniſters, for that in themſelves they are the leaſt of all other goods. Can any one deny Kings to be much indebted to their Miniſters, ſeeing they are the moſt worthy Inſtruments of their glory, and that by their endeavours it is that they effect ſuch exploits, as render their memories immortal? For how much are ſuch riches beneath ſuch great ſervices? They are Fortunes may-games, and only uſeful to paſs away the neceſſities of life; moſt commonly they bring more care then pleaſure with them, and are equally common with the greateſt perſons, and thoſe who never obliged the State by their ſervices to reward them. The Geeſe of the Capitol were well fed at the expence of the Common-wealth, becauſe by their noiſe they diſcovered the ſurpriſal which the French intended. A Dog that ſet upon certain ſacrilegious men, was maintained at the Publike charge. An Horſe that carried his Maſter out of danger was for ever freed from labour: And ſhall not a grand Miniſter after the rendring moſt ſignal ſervices to his Maſter and Country be rewarded with more then common advantages? I may add, that it is neceſſary for a great King to confer great benefits upon a Miniſter whom he hath found faithful and couragious in thoſe things which relate to his ſervice, whereby he may give him more authority and power to go through with all ſorts of enterpriſes tending to his glory. The greateſt *genius* hath occaſion of them to make himſelf potent in affairs, and without them his vigour will be feeble. He is compelled to ſtifle a thouſand noble exploits in his thoughts, for want of means to bring them forth. It is well if he be indued with generous inclinations; but if impotency aſſault him, it diſ-incourageth him: Beſides the affairs of the world are ſo diſpoſed, and mans thoughts ſo fixed, that all yeild and give place to riches. They may all, and do all amongſt men, and we ſee them acquire as much credit and authority to their owners, whereas they who are deſtitute of them, are inconſiderable. To wave theſe acknowledgements due to Miniſters, who is ignorant that Royal Majeſty attracts no leſs glory from liberality then juſtice? One of thoſe perfections which render God moſt worſhipful to men, is his Bounty, that inexhauſtible fountain of all good things, which (like the Sun) diſperſeth his favours like ſo many rays upon the earth, and is as beneficial as active. The gifts which Kings beſtow, carry with them as much credit as profit to the receivers; they bind the affections of their ſervants, not by their worth, but as ſo many teſtimonies of good will, the greateſt Bond which ties them to their ſervice. Liberality in a King is properly termed magnificence, they being obliged to do great good, and nothing is more beſeeming their Majeſties, then beſtowing great gifts. The perfection of the work is an aſſured mark of perfection in the workman; whence certain it is, that God acquired more glory when he created men and angels, the chief workmanſhip of his hands, then when he made other creatures: Equally true it is, that that which makes the riches of Kings more admired, is the eſtabliſhing of ſome great Families; and our Anceſtors did not acquire greater glory of being rich and liberal, then by the greatneſſe of their Favourites Houſes, which remain as ſo many monuments of their magnificence.

*Proſe-*

*Profecution of the Subject.*

IT is an ancient judicious saying, that as Roses grow upon Thorns, so truth is ordinarily made to appear amongst the sharpest calumnies, for they that find themselves concern'd, are compelled to discover it for their own justification; so those factious spirits who indeavouring to offend the Cardinal, abused the goodnesse of the Queen-mother and *Monsieur*, makes me take notice of those truths which their malice constrains me to publish. But as they did not with only two accusations cease from their reproaches, we shall have occasion to discover the rest of their falsities. They would have the World believe, that this eminent Minister of State had so great a dominion over the Kings spirit, that his Majesty gave an absolute credit to all he did, and was wholly moved by his influences; and that all affairs depended on his Empire over him. But all *Europe* knew sufficiently that his Prudence and Generosity equalled his justice; and these seditious people, seemed like those that shoot against Heaven, and see their Arrows fall back again at their feet. Nay, I am confident, they themselves had not that opinion of his Majesty, they being in their attendances too near his person, to be ignorant how impossible it is to draw him to any resolution without strong and pertinent reason, and that Heaven hath so enlightned his spirit, that he can discern the depths of the most great and mysterious affairs: But they only publish these things for a pretext of their mutiny, by the example of some in the last age, at *Rouen* and *Valence*. O strange fury! to render that a weakness in the most puissant King of the World, which is a true effect of his wisedom, when he saw in the Government of his estate that no affair whatever presents it self, of which the Cardinal doth not fore-see the end, consequences, and causes; that there is no inconveniency which he doth not remedy; no danger which he doth not both prevent and secure; that there is no difficulty which he finds not the means to compasse, and that he never proposed any enterprise, which he did not happily bring to passe. Why then should not his Majesty follow his Counsels, seeing his spirit, is, as it were, forced by the solidity of his reasons to approve them.

*Politique Observation.*

AS a King cannot too much confide in a Minister, when he is throughly assured of his prudence and fidelity; and if himself be of excellent parts, he will not scruple it, it being an assured signe of judgment to conform a mans actions to the counsel of wise men: so he ought to trust him the more cheerfully in affairs of mean consequence, when the temper of his genius assures him that he will acquit himself with honour; And that is unbefeeming a great Monarch, to trouble himself with trivial matters. He who is not happy enough to have a Minister thus able, is compelled to take the conduct upon his shoulders, but surely he is much to be pityed; God having not put the Crown upon the Head of Sovereigns, to entertain their minds with trivial affairs. *Tiberius*, one of the greatest Monarchs that governed the Romane Empire, being retired for his greater quiet, into the Isle of *Cherres*, writ a Letter to the Senate; wherein, as *Tacitus* observeth, he complains that he was troubled with all sorts of affairs, and gave them to understand that neither *Ædile*, nor *Prætor*, nor *Consul*, should have any access unto him but in matters of great concernment. Thus *Themistocles*, one of the greatest Statesmen of of his time said, as *Plutarch* acquaints us, that as the Ship of *Salamere* (which may be likened to the *Bucentaure* of *Venice*) never Launched out into the Sea, but for the reception of Princes, or some extraordiniry occasion: So the Common-wealth of *Athens* should not make use of him but in high and difficult matters. Now as for matters of great consequence, it will be his advantage to be directed by his Counsel, he having often made appear that his prudence is furnished with most infallible means to bring them to an happy issue: The honour which herein he doth

doth him, is ſo far from taking off from his own authority, that on the contrary, it doth rather raiſe his greatneſs, and advanceth his affairs to that piteh which himſelf would moſt deſire for his glory. It is dangerous preſumption in any Prince to be wilfully bent upon his own judgement; ſuch an one is in a Road that leads directly into ruine. The neceſſity of counſel is not to be avoided; they ought to remember that God who is ſolicitous to keep the greateſt Monarks within the bounds of modeſty and humility, hath as well ſubjected them to the neceſſity of Counſel, as the reſt of men unto them. The moſt Prudent are alwaies the moſt ſtayed, and it is generally agreed, that to be wedded to ones own opinion contrary to the ſences of great men, is an aſſured mark of want of diſcretion, becauſe every one is blind in his own affairs. I may hereunto adde, that this ſtayedneſſe is a bond which themſelves impoſe upon their own abſolute power, whereby they are preſerved within the limits of their duty, not ſuffering themſelves to be tranſported by the impetuouſneſſe of their paſſions. Nature hath not formed Princes more then other men ſo perfect, that they ſhould alwaies ſwim in the right ſtream, and never erre, unleſſe they have ſome one who may ſerve them for a guide: The greateſt Princes are moſt ſubject to be ſingular in their own opinions, they having more authority; it being moſt certain that a great power doth eaſily tranſport the mind into licentiouſneſſe. It is my opinion, that no greater harm can betide them, then to want ſome perſon neer them, whom they reſpect, and who may have the liberty of adviſing them, as he ſhall find moſt expedient, whoſe advice they may follow with a reſpectfull condiſcention.

## *Proſecution of the Subject.*

THeſe Factious perſons were not backward to hit the Cardinal in the teeth with the impoſitions charged upon the people, nor that he was either the cauſe of them, or that they were exceſſive; but becauſe they knew that this complaint was a fit Trumpet to raiſe ſedition, and ſuch as all they who had ever raiſed any revolts in *France*, had made uſe of. True it is, they were charged with ſome impoſitions, but beſides that they were not exceſſive, they were abſolutely neceſſary. Never was there yet that time when the people did not apprehend their burthens to be extream. It is a burthen to them to demand part of that for the King, which they got not but with pain, nor do injoy in any great plenty. But it is without cauſe, for that the impoſitions were neceſſary, and there was not any miſ-government in the diſpoſal of the treaſures. Now that thoſe Impoſitions ſo much cried out upon, were unavoidable, cannot be doubted; becauſe thoſe Wars and Deſigns began after his comming to the Adminiſtration: In conſideration whereof, thoſe Charges impoſed, where abſolutely neceſſary. They were ingaged to allay the factious inſolency of the Hugonots, to ſuccour Allies, to ſuppreſſe the ambition of the houſe of *Auſtria*, who after the invaſion of our neighbours, would aſſuredly have made their attempts upon this State.

This being ſo, who can deny them to have been neceſſary? which admitted, the Impoſitions could be no leſſe; and I may ſafely add that thoſe very factious ſpirits themſelves were oftentimes the cauſes of raiſing the Taxes, by cauſing more by half to be expended in the Wars of *Piedmont*, by the delays they gave the Troops in detaining them ſo long; beſides they forced his Majeſty to keep an Army a long time on foot, purpoſely that he might watch and prevent their deſigns. Wars and Taxes do conſtantly march hand in hand, and the ſame pace; poverty ſerving only to bring an Army into diſorder; if it be a fault to make the people contribute to the charge, it is much more blame-worthy to ſee a State laid open to their enemies. The peoples miſery is an incommodity which is ſoon outworn in a good Country, where a good Harveſt puts them, *in ſtatu quo prius*; but it is not the ſame in the advantages, which the enemies of *France* are permitted to have, there is need of a ſufficient foundation to maintain the charge of the War. I aſſure my ſelf they queſtion not theſe truths, but beſides that thoſe expences were abſolutely neceſſary,

neceſſary, do they not know what great advantages they gave both to the King and Kingdom? The glory will remain for ever, but the incommodity is already forgotten. What reaſon is there to complain? I ſhall onely make this anſwer, the Miniſters had deprived the King of that great honour which he now enjoys, had they been deficient in drawing from the people thoſe things which were neceſſary for the ſubſiſtance of Armies during the Wars, and that it was a certain ſign of their good conduct, to have made ſuch carefull proviſions. If the Impoſitions were thus neceſſary, the money which did riſe from them, was no leſſe carefully expended during thoſe times of which they ſpeak; in which it may be ſaid, much was done with little money. Can any one deny, that this incomparable Miniſter did not buy that glory and thoſe victories for the King, to the ſhame of his enemies, at an eaſier rate then others have done, who have onely uſed allaying Medicines to differ thoſe evils which afflict us from exaſperating into extremities, but have ſtill left the enemies of *France* great advantages upon us? It muſt be confeſſed, that ſome particular people have beene charged over and above their proportion, but neither the King nor his Miniſters are therefore to be blamed; the Poſſeſſors, and Raters were faulty, and deſerved to be puniſhed, becauſe they oppreſſed the weak, and let the able eſcape upon the ſum of friendſhip.

*Politique Obſervation.*

JUſtice and Prudence do equally oblige a Prince, to force a contribution from his Subjects, towards the urgent neceſſities of the publike. No one can doubt whether any thing be more efficacious then a good Treaſure to preſerve a Kingdom in order, be it in Peace or War. That Prince is eaſily ſurprized, whoſe Exchequer is exhauſted; for he that wants money, wants wherewith to levy men, and he who is defective of men, is to be vanquiſhed without difficulty. Now as to matter of War, every one knows, that Monies are its principal Nerves, whereupon *Suetonius Paulinus* a Captain of great repute, ſaid in the Emperour *Otho's* Councel, where the means of carrying on a War, were diſcuſſed; that in publike diſſentions Money was more neceſſary then an Army. Hath not *Thucydides* recorded to us, how the chiefeſt arguments which *Pericles* uſed to induce the Athenians to make War, was by convincing to them, that they were in a capacity of ſo doing, becauſe an Army would eaſily be ſupplied with all neceſſary proviſions, from that abundant Treaſure, of which they were Maſters? War is undeniably a great Gulf which devoureth incredible ſums: What imprudence therefore were it for a Prince, who finding himſelf ingaged in Wars, and the Revenue of his Crown unable to furniſh him with neceſſary conveniences, not to compell his Subjects to contribute towards the publike Concernments? Would he not ſoon be reduced to the condition of *Cleomenes*; who according to *Plutarch* were forced to a War, without monies to ſupport his Souldiery, was compelled to flie into *Egypt*? If there be any thing of Prudence in it, there is as much of Juſtice too. The common *Axiom* is, that every one may make uſe of his own; now is it not, I pray, moſt certain that Kings may rightfully impoſe Contributions upon their Subjects towards the defraying of publike expences? It is a right ſo undubitable inherent to them, that the moſt able and ſincere Divines, aſſure us, that every one is in conſcience bound to ſubmit to it, they grounding themſelves upon that command which our Saviour gave of paying unto *Caſar*, and the example which himſelf ſhewed. Herein conſiſteth the Soveraign power which Kings have over their Subjects goods. I ſhall moreover adde, that a Crown doth not only impower to impoſe Taxes, but doth oblige Kings to require them, for the preſervation of its luſtre, and to demand them, as a debt due to the State, as alſo that no Subject can reaſonably complain of it, it being but juſt, that particular and private perſons ſhould ſuffer ſome incommodity for the preſervation of the publike good; and better it were a Nation were impoveriſhed, then a kingdom loſt.

*Proſecution*

*Proſecution of the Subject.*

THoſe crimes wherewith the Cardinals honour was taxed were ſo frivolous, that we need not any longer detain our ſelves upon them, eſpecially ſeeing all wiſe men knew them to be groundleſſe. Eaſie it is to ſpeak ill of the Governours of a State, as the Queen mother her ſelf once ſaid, to ſome who complained of her Agents during her Regency. Every one takes the liberty to diſcommend their Conduct, becauſe Man is naturally an enemy to Government, and propenſe to judge the worſt of his Governours, whoſe actions indeed may appear in their true Colours, but not the cauſes, inducements and circumſtances of them, they remain lock'd up in ſecret. Revilings are the rewards of their watchings, and let their actions be never ſo advantagious to the publike good, yet private particular perſons ſhall never be ſatisfied or pleaſed with them, unleſſe they advance their private and particular Fortunes, as well as that of the publike. Never was yet Miniſter otherwiſe rewarded; and for this very reaſon, whatever was ſaid againſt the Cardinal, was regarded by wiſe men; but as the effect of a furious faction, who could not meet their particular advancement in his Conduct, which he little eſteemed after he found their ends to be guided by their intereſts, without conſideration of the Kings Honour, ſo that it will be needleſſe longer to inſiſt on this particular diſcourſe.

Shortly after the Queen mothers and *Monſieur's* departure, the King unwilling to hinder their Officers from going after them, was well inform'd that divers abuſing that Liberty accorded unto them, did carry Letters under the notion of Officers, and packets of correſpondency, for the continuing many Intreagues ſtill on foot. Whereupon, his Majeſty to ſuppreſſe that diſorder, ordained that they ſhould have fifteen days time to retire themſelves either unto their perſons, or elſe to confine themſelves unto their own houſes, inhibiting any one either to go or come (the time once expired) without his particular licence, under penalty of being declared diſturbers of the publike peace, of being puniſhed with confiſcation of their Eſtates, and the loſſe of exemption from payment of Tributes, which they then enjoyed; it being unreaſonable that under the intent of favouring ſome who did not abuſe their liberty of going to diſcharge their Offices, others might without comptrol foment and carry on the diviſions in the Kingdom, which coſt ſo dear to extinguiſh.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is very dangerous to ſuffer in a Kingdom divided with factions, ſuch perſons who have any particular dependance upon them who are the Authors of thoſe diviſions, after themſelves are retired out of the Kingdom, ſo to do, were to leave fire in ſtraw. Although ſome may be mindfull of their obligations, in being more ſubmiſſe to their Soveraign then to any other, yet undoubtedly, many there wil be, more affectionate to their own intereſt, who will become ſpies to give intelligence and agents to draw others into their opinions. It ſeems rigorous indeed that the innocent ſhould ſuffer with the nocent; but how prejudicial would it be to the Common-wealth, if not ſo? better it were to preſerve the publike tranquility by ſeverity, then to indanger it by lenity. Never was there yet Law made for the publike good, which was not attended with ſome inconveniences to particular perſons; and he who would make Laws in which no particular man ſhould be intereſſed, will but deceive himſelf for want of penetrating into the conſequences. The beſt courſe which can be followed, is ever to prefer the univerſal before a particular good; remembring that wiſe ſaying of *Tacitus*, that all exemplary acts have ſomwhat of evil in them; but the injury they do particular men, will be abundantly recompenced by the publick advantage.

*Proſecution*

*Proſecution of the Hiſtory.*

THus you have the ſeveral Intreagues and the ſtrange attempts, which they who abuſed the favours of the Queen-mother and *Monſieur* uſed, during this year, contrary to their allegiance, the Kings Authority, and the tranquility of the Kingdom. You have likewiſe the courſes which were taken to impede their deſigns, which ended in the ruine of the Complotters. The Cardinal uſed ſuch care, addreſſe, and Prudence, that all their attempts were only like ſo many impreſſions made upon the clouds, which vaniſh with the firſt breath of Wind: they were like Bullets ſhot at random, like blows in the air, and like pictures in the water, which the waves do as ſoon deface as deſigned. The Pilot ſeems ſufficiently employed during the Tempeſt, if he preſerve his Veſſel from the violence of the Winds, and fury of the Waves, his preſence and command being neceſſary to guide all thoſe who have any charge to the performance of their Offices, and his prudence to incourage them to go through ſtitch with any thing which conduceth to his happy ſucceſſe; ſo it is hard to beleeve that a Miniſter of State hath not as much employment as humane wit can undergo, when he is obliged to defend himſelf and the State too, from the violence of a faction headed by the chief perſons of the royal family, ſeeing he muſt neceſſarily every day iſſue out a thouſand ſeveral Orders, and hardly will any one beleeve that he can be capable of any other thoughts, whiles he is agitated in ſuch furious Tempeſts: True it is, the higheſt pitch of glory that a Miniſter in ſuch encounters can attain to, is to avoid ſhipwrack. Experience hath made it evident that great Souls can paſſe further on, and that as the intelligences though taken up in their contemplation and love of the Divinity, yet ceaſe not to be ſolicitous of things here below, or neglect the protection of Princes, Kingdomes and particular perſons; ſo likewiſe Heaven doth ſometimes produce certain ſublime wits endued with courage, addreſſe, and prudence enough to undertake ſuch encounters, a thouſand other noble enterpriſes, beſides the conſervation of the State. Hath not all *Europe* found it ſo in the Cardinal, who without ſhewing any trouble at all the attempts this year made to embroil *France* and deſtroy it, under which any other but himſelf would have ſunk, not only rendred them ſucceſſeleſſe but reeſtabliſhed the Duke of *Mantua*, and defended the Princes of *Germany*, whom the House of *Auſtria* had almoſt ſwallowed up? a thing which I cannot ſufficiently admire, and of which I find my ſelf obliged to ſay ſomething, that it may ſerve for inſtruction in the Government of States.

## *Affairs of* Germany.

I Will begin with the aſſiſtance of the German Princes, concluded with the King of *Sweden* in *January*, at which time, theſe factious agents did their utmoſt to deſtroy this great Miniſter. We have demonſtrated in the precedent year with how much juſtice the King of *Swedes*, entred *Germany* to defend the liberty of ſome Princes oppreſſed by the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who were allied unto him, as alſo to this Crown, and who were not only driven out of their Principalities, but alſo reduced to ſuch extremity that they knew not how to live. We have likewiſe ſeen, that he was the more readily induced to defend them in regard himſelf had received ſome injuries from the Emperour; particularly, when the Emperour cauſed his Letters ſent unto the Prince of *Tranſilvania* to be opened and falſly interpreted, when he ſent the Duke of *Holſace* with a great Army under his own Colours, to make War upon him in *Pruſſe*, when he confiſcated the Ships and Merchandiſes of the *Swedes*, formerly landed in the Towns of *Germany*, when he not only refuſed audience to his Embaſſadours, and denied them anſwer, but commanded them upon pain of their lives preſently to depart the Empire; and when he refuſed by way of ſcorn, his proffer of Peace, in confidence of deſtroying him, not thinking him able to ſuſtain the force of his Arms. The Cardinal knew, that

a Prince received no leſſe glory from defending his Allies, then from curbing the Ambition of his Neighbours, and therefore thought himſelf obliged to perſwade his Majeſty not to forſake the King of *Sweden* and Princes of *Germany*, in ſo important an occaſion. He knew no War was more lawfull then that which tends to the keeping of confederate Princes in their Dominions, and to revenge any injuries offered unto them: Hence it was, that having taken order for the intereſts of the Catholick Religion in *Germany*, he perſwaded his Majeſty to conclude and ſign the Treaty of Alliance with the King of *Sweden*, the conditions whereof, had been concluded about three or four moneths before. His Majeſty engaged to aſſiſt him with Men and Money, as he then did, and the King of *Sweden* expreſly engaged not to attempt any thing in prejudice of the Church in the Catholick Towns, of which he might poſſibly become Maſter; our invincible Monarch not thinking it enough to follow the generous ſentiments of his juſtice, which led him to ſecure thoſe Princes from oppreſſion, unleſſe accompanied with thoſe of his Piety; ſo he could not reſolve to aſſiſt an Heretick King, without precaution for the intereſt of the Church, that thoſe violences, which are the uſual effects of Arms, might not be attributed but to the diſorders which do neceſſarily follow the Camp.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THat War is juſt, ſaith *St. Ambroſe*, which is undertaken in defence of the weak or the Allies of a State againſt thoſe who oppreſſe them: *St. Auguſtine* teacheth us, that thoſe Arms are juſtifiable which are taken up to revenge injuries. The defence of Confederates, is one of thoſe actions which doth moſt of all ſet off a Kings glory, and raiſe it to the higheſt pitch of greatneſſe. Nothing doth more aſſimilate them to the Divinity, then the ſtretching out of their hands to ſupport the weak, the protecting of whom is an act well-beſeeming their Majeſties. He who never ought to divide his Crown to any one, ought however let his Arms be common to other Soveraigns for their defence. They who do otherwiſe beſides the blemiſhing of their glory with the brand of ignorance, do withall render themſelves undeſerving to be aſſiſted in like neceſſities. There is not any Prince who is not aimed at in his turn, or able alwaies to ſubſiſt by his own force; many times they are neceſſitated to ſtoop under the armes of an invader, for want of the aſſiſtance of their confederates, who forſake them, as they were before forſaken by them. If a King may with Juſtice defend the weak, and his confederates, doubtleſſe he may as juſtly imploy his power to revenge an injury. God who hath intruſted the Scepter in the hand of Kings, hath alſo obliged them not to permit that the reſpect due to their Soveraign Majeſty be violated by any other Prince, as well as to maintain their Subjects within the bounds of their obedience. He hath given them a Sword to correct any indignities offered to their Crowns. There is not any one above them, who is Arbitrator of their quarrels; they are legal Judges of their own differences, and in this Independency God hath given them power to take up Arms to carve their own right. It is enough to juſtifie their War, if the Princes againſt whom they fight haue given them occaſion, and the misfortunes which inevitably follow the diſorder of Souldiers cannot be imputed but unto him who firſt gave the occaſion of taking the field. A Kingdome would be very defective (as *Ariſtotle* obſerveth) if the Soveraign had not Authority to chaſtiſe with his Arms him who hath injured him; in like manner (ſaith he) as the body of creatures is not perfect, if unable to repell thoſe objects which offend it: So an eſtate is not in that perfection which it ought to be; if deſtitute of power to repay any injuries done againſt it.

## *The Juſtice of the Kings Alliance with the King of* Swede.

THere is no doubt but the Alliance of the moſt chriſtian King with him of *Swede*, for the defence of their common confederates was very juſt, ſeeing the War it ſelf undertaken by the King of *Swede* was juſt, and that all Alliance contracted for the ſupport of a juſt War, is in it ſelf juſtifiable: Yet there was no device unaſſayed by the houſe of *Auſtria*, to induce the World to condemn it. The firſt reaſon by them alledged in diſcredit thereof, was, that it was undertaken in the defence of Heretick Princes; but what reaſon was there, ſo long to have invaded the States of other Princes under the pretence of Religion? After *Charles* the Fifth, had joyned the Imperial Crown to his Kingdomes of *Spain* and *Italy*, with the Provinces of the Low-Countries; he thought that having forces enough to reconquer all thoſe Countries, which formerly belonged to the Roman Emperour, he might with juſtice attempt it; as if Kingdomes were the diviſion of force, and as if birth and ſucceſſion of many ages were not bars enough to ſtop ambition. Now as *Germany* is the Bulwark which ſerves all he States of *Europe* to defend their liberty, as *Henry* the Second, King of *France*, writ unto the Princes of the Empire in the year, 1552. he reſolved to over-run it, concluding that having once maſtered it, he might with eaſe invade *France*, *England*, and the reſt of *Italy*. The Emperor who reigns at preſent knew as well how important it was, ſeeing in his letters ſent to *Zuniga* chief Counſellour to the King of *Spain*, he particularly nameth it the foundation of the Authority of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. *Germany* indeed doth ſo abound in men and riches, that it is alone able to entertain Armies, and thoſe, great ones, for ever; nay, to ſupply the very *Indies* in caſe of a defect: This is the true ground of the War, and that which obliged the King of *Swede* to aſſiſt it, although the Spaniards pretence was, the rooting out of Hereſie. It is long ſince, the great *St. Leon*, writ to the Emperour *Theodoſius*, that men palliate their Paſſions with Religion: but much more reaſonably may it ſo be ſaid of the Auſtrian Princes (as *Mariana* hath well obſerved in his Hiſtory, that being it which makes ſo great an impreſſion upon the people. The World ſees by experience, how advantagious it was to them, when *Ferdinand* uſurped *Navarre* from his own Neece; they themſelves have ſeen, that it wanted but little of putting our Scepter into their hands, during the League. It is the beſt title by which they hold part of both the *Indies*, where they have put to death not only lawfull Princes, but at leaſt fifty Millions of people, with ſuch cruelty, that they have died the earth with blood, and made Heaven to groan with horrour, and well will they now make uſe of it to deſpoil the German Princes of their eſtates. But who is ignorant of their injuſtice, ſeeing that as the true Religion gives no right to Empires, ſo force cannot deprive him of it, to whom it falls by ſucceſſion.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

HEreſie doth no more diſ-ingage Subjects from obedience to their Prince than infidelity; but this being a point of Doctrine, peradventure ſome mean capacity will make a ſcruple to believe it, if only proved by the verity of politick maximes. I ſhall therefore back it by the belief which the Apoſtles left in the Primitive Church, which the Fathers taught in their Precepts and Examples, and which the ancient Chriſtians did moſt religiouſly obſerve amidſt their greateſt perſecutions. Did not the Apoſtles, *St. Peter* and *Paul*, write to the chriſtians in their Epiſtles, at what time *Nero* made the earth tremble with his cruelty exerciſed upon them: Let every one be ſubject to the higher powers. For there is not any Dominion which is not eſtabliſhed by God, and thoſe which now are, are by his gift. Whoever rebelleth againſt them, oppoſeth his Commandment, and they who in-

deavour to shake off the yoke of their obedience, expose themselves to damnation. A Prince is God's servant, it is not to no purpose that he holds the sword; it is to make himself known for the Almighty's Officer: He ought to be obeyed, not only because he can punish, but for Conscience sake; neither are these the only exhortations left unto us upon this subject, their Epistles are fraught with divers others so frequent, that I need not recite them, lest I play the Divine, and forget the Historian. Who likewise knoweth not how all the ancient Fathers of the Church would have sealed this Doctrine with their blood, notwithstanding they lived under Atheistical and Pagan Princes, who were as so many firebrands to Religion, and sworn Enemies to our Faith? S. *Ignatius* writ very earnestly to the people of *Antioch*, to perswade them to serve *Justine* the Emperour, and gave all Pagan Princes to understand by a learned Apologie, that their hopes were in vain to force the faithful by the violence of their torments to worship Idols and false gods, who in all other things would render a full and intire subjection to their Emperours. *Tertullian* acknowledgeth none but God above Kings, and confesseth that their commands tie the soul with a strong knot. *Origen* writing upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, though born under a Pagan, saith, there ought to be no difference in obedience due to Princes, of what belief soever they be. God hath advanced them above man, for reasons unknown to us. I could easily add the testimony of others, but that I fear I should act the part of a Divine. I will only add the exemplary loyalty of the Primitive Christians, who without any sense of being hunted, beaten, persecuted, imprisoned and burnt, did yet continue so constant, that the horrible diversity and excess of torments, to which the fury of Tyrants did daylie expose them, could never make them do any thing repugnant to that obedience they ought their Prince, no more then against the Faith they had sworn to God. It were to be wish'd that the Spaniards would follow these glorious Tracts, whereby the world might remain in Peace, and Princes might be unmolested in the enjoyment of their estates; but their Designs being different, no wonder if their faith be dissonant.

## *An Answer to the Spaniards who blame the Alliance between* France *and* Sweden.

THe second reason which they alledge in condemnation of the Alliance of *France* with *Swede*, was, that it was contracted with an heretick King, an enemy of the Church, and one who exerciseth great cruelties against the German Catholiques: But this scruple of Conscience which they pretended, aimed at nothing else but to force our Arms out of our hands, that in effect they might the easilier despoil the ancient Allies of this Crown, who are only able to curb their Ambition. It is a very frivolous objection, and I do the more wonder at their condemning the Alliances of Hereticks, it being their practice time out of mind, not only to admit them, but Infidels likewise into their confederacies. Do we not know how in the time of the Florentine Counsel, and of the Emperour *Henry* the second, who designed to make *Spain* Tributary to him, that King *Ferdinand* contracted an alliance with the *Moors*, that he might by them be assisted against the Emperour, against the Counsel against the Popes *Leon* the ninth, and *Victor* the second, his enemies? Do we not know that they have attempted all possible means to contract alliance with the Turk, and that they have already effected it with the Persian, who is of the same Religion? Do we not know that they are allyed with the Indian King, who openly worshippeth the Divel? Do we not know how *Charls* the fift leagued himself with the *Lutherans*, that he might the better make war upon us, and that by the advice of the Theologians, as *Bannes* reporteth it, who about the second of his Commentaries saith, It is no more inconvenient to make use of Infidels, then of Elephants and Horses? Do we not likewise know how *Aurelius* King of Spain, who slew *Troila*, leagued himself with the Moors

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and Saracens, and paid them yearly a Tribute of an hundred Catholique children, as *Mariana* reporteth it? Do we not know how *Alphonſus* ſir-named the grand, leagued himſelf with the Moors, on condition that he ſhould deliver his Son *Ordonius* to be brought up amongſt them? They who have taken the pains to read their Hiſtories, may meet with divers ſuch examples. We are not ignorant of the ancient alliances which they have had in *Germany*, the King of *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Saxany*, *Brandenburgh*, and others, and which have been but lately renewed, though they are all Proteſtants.

Now what reaſon can there be to blame alliances with Heretiques? Were it not to plead againſt their cuſtoms? And why ſhould they alone aſſume this Liberty, ſeeing they only object it to authorize their own ambitious Deſigns, and for our parts we only deſigne by it the preſervation of our Allies in the lawful poſſeſſion of their eſtates? It is a right which our Kings will the hardlier relinquiſh, ſeeing the holy Chair is ſo much concerned in it, who ought the more be defended from the oppreſſion of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, becauſe they have too too much diſcovered their Deſigne, of ſetting on foot their ancient Titles to the Empire, for the recovering thoſe lands which the Popes have heretofore received from the bounty of our Kings. We are not ignorant how he contrives to invade *Italy*, which after the reducing of *Germany* would eaſily be brought to paſſe. Our Kings who have alwaies undertaken the Churches Protection, as having the honour to be her eldeſt Sons, cannot endure it; becauſe after the temporal is once ſubdued, they will ſoon be intermedling with the Spiritual, which would produce an immediate Schiſme. This one, was the weightieſt affair which hath a long time befallen the Church; and that alone conſideration were enough to vindicate the alliance with the *Swede*. If in proceſſe of time any diſorders have ſucceeded upon this Treaty, well may they be imputed unto the proſperities, which had made a Prince become inſolent, but not unto the effects of his Majeſties alliance with him, who had no other deſigne beſides the eſtabliſhing of the German Princes. Religion was not intereſſed in the leaſt in the Articles of agreement, it having been expreſly concluded between them, that no alteration ſhould be made in any of thoſe places, of which his Arms ſhould make him Maſter. Thoſe diſorders which he committed againſt the Church were accidental, like unto thoſe medicines which weaken Nature, yet cure the diſeaſe; in regard of which, no one ought to be deterr'd from aſſiſting his Allies: As the weakneſſe cauſed by Phyſick ought not to fright us from receiving it, becauſe ſtrength and health will the ſooner return after it.

The King hath already given ſatisfaction for ſome of thoſe injuries ſuffered by the German Church, and he will be glad to eſtabliſh the reſt, after the ambitious madneſſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſhall be ſomwhat more reaſonable. But admitting Wars could be unjuſt by reaſon of injuries done unto the Church, how would the Spaniards ſave themſelves? What could they ſay for themſelves in that expedition of theirs againſt Monſieur *de Mantua*, where the Lutherans by them introduced, omitted no kind of Sacriledge which could be perpetrated againſt the Church? This reaſon therefore cannot be right for their turn, it will only ſerve to lay their own injuſtice before them, which is but too notorious, from many other conſiderations. It cannot then be hence concluded, whether a War be juſt or not. There are moreover another ſort of people ignorant of affairs, who alledge the King might have made a Catholique League, which would have wrought the ſame effect. To which I anſwer, his Majeſty would have been very glad to have found it ſo; and the reaſon why it was not effected, was, becauſe it was never propos'd. Some Religious perſons indeed, more Devout then Prudent, did make ſome overtures, but they were the more ſuſpected, becauſe made by thoſe who were Subjects to the Houſe of Auſtria, and ſuch men who are unacquainted with the reaches of the Spaniſh Miniſters, and are as commonly deceived, as frequently diſowned by them. Theſe good Fathers were but ill ſpoken men, in matters of Propoſitions, being intruſted to ſay nothing ſatisfactory, and ſometimes what they ſay is contradicted; ſo that in fine, themſelves conclude themſelves to have been deceived; which is all the ſatisfaction to be had by them.

*Poli-*

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is an error to believe it unlawful for Princes to confederate themſelves with Hereticks or Infidels, either for their own defence, or the preſervation of their Allies, in the poſſeſſion of their juſt Rights; The contrary opinion is frivolous in the judgement of the ableſt Divines, though Spaniſh. The Law of Nature doth generally oblige all men to unite themſelves for the defence of one another, of what condition ſoever. Thoſe who doubt it, would I ſend to the School of creatures void of reaſon, who would make them aſhamed of queſtioning it. The Law of Grace doth not deſtroy that of Nature: Hence it is that this Obligation doth ſtill remain, and that thoſe Alliances made by Kings with Infidels or Heretiques, when profitable or neceſſary, may not juſtly be blamed. Do we not ſee in holy Writ, how the Patriarks, and the moſt Renowned Kings of Judah have authorized this Doctrine by their example? Did not *Abraham* ally himſelf with *Abimelech*, both for himſelf and his Succeſſors, as alſo with the *Canaanites*? Did not *Jacob* league himſelf with *Laban* the Idolater? Were not the *Iſraelites* ally'd with ſeveral Infidels, excepting only thoſe with whom God prohibited commerce? Was not *Lot* confederate with the King of Sodom, and did he not go to war with him? The *Macchabees* (though zealous in the obſervance of their Religion) did yet confederate themſelves with the *Lacedemonians*: God himſelf was pleaſed that *Solomon* ſhould joyn his Fleet with the King of *Tyre's*, and ſo bleſſed their alliance, that they obtained vaſt riches by it; nay, he was likewiſe well contented that the Temple ſhould be built by the Tyrian Infidels. To paſs by theſe examples of Antiquity, let us deſcend to later times, where ſeeking for proofs of this Truth, we find S. *Paul* recommending to the Primitive Chriſtians, to be at peace with all men, and not refuſing his proper defence from the violence which the Jews deſigned againſt him, by the aſſiſtance two hundred Archers, and ſeventy Horſemen, all Infidels.

What can be objected againſt this Reaſon? It is permitted every one to make alliance with all ſuch as are compriſed under the notion of Neighbours; and it may not be doubted, for the Son of God hath commanded us to love them as our ſelves: The Infidels are poſitively comprehended under that Title, eſpecially when they are of advantage unto us; as Jeſus Chriſt teſtifieth in the parable of the Samaritane; and by conſequence it only reſteth to be concluded, that alliances with Infidels, and ſo with Heretiques, are permitted to Princes, and that they only ought to be circumſpect in the uſe of that liberty, that they abuſe it not.

## *The Affairs of* Italy.

THis is all I ſhall ſay concerning the alliance with the Swede for the good of the German Princes: But who will not admire that at the very ſame time his Majeſty gave the Law to the affairs of Italy, for the ſetling them in peace? It is good to ſee the Sun after a long ſtorm, diſpel that cloud whence the Tempeſt aroſe, clear up the Ayr, command the Winds to be ſtill, to guild the mountains, and make his Rays ſhine in our Eyes; but how much more pleaſant is it to behold the King (whom the glory of a generous and invincible courage maketh to ſhine among other Princes) allay that War wherewith *Italy* had been embroyled, for the three years laſt paſt, compel the Forces to retire into their Countries, eſtabliſh the Liberty of commerce and re-eſtate *Italy*, *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and the *Griſons* in the enjoyment of an happy peace? *Europ* beheld all this about the end of this year, at which time thoſe embroyls which we ſhall ſhortly treat of, were agitated in *France*, and which we come now to conſider; for the more orderly deſcribing thoſe things which hapned. Before we come to the ground of the Treaty of Peace, I think it proper to ſpeak a little concerning the inclinations of Princes affections to a general accomodation. The King having learn'd about the end of the laſt year, by a diſpatch from the Sieur *de Leon*, in which his Majeſty was inform'd how the

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Emperour was certainly resolved to be at Peace, and to permit the investiture of the Duke of *Mantua*, in conformity to the Treaty of *Ratisbonne*, commanded him to return to *Vienna*; and assure him, that he would contribute his utmost to effect it, and that he would willingly surrender to the Duke of *Savoy*, whatever he had gotten in his Dominions, although in his just possession by the Laws of War; provided the investiture of *Mantua* and *Montferrat* were confirmed, and restitution made of what had been usurped from that Duke. His Majesty ingaged himself in this War, only to establish the Duke of *Mantua* in Peace; and consequently, would make no difficulty to withdraw his forces from *Italy*; provided, that the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and Duke of *Savoy* did the like, relinquishing their designs, which their ambitions had hatched upon that Princes estate. Whereupon, they having resolved to leave him in quiet (though the Spaniards did not speak very freely) the Cardinal bent his thoughts in finding out fit means for the executing the Treaty of *Ratisbonne*, not that he was ignorant that the laws did not oblige him to relinquish all those advantages which the justice of Arms should obtain, or to relinquish those places taken in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, but he easily condescended to suppress his own interest, that *Europe* might see the sincerity of his designs, and how he had not entred upon *Italy* with intention to invade any one, or to trouble the peace of Christendom, but only upon the score of preserving his Ally in the just possession of his undoubted right.

*Politique Observation.*

DIvers are the considerations which oblige a Prince to give an end to a forraign War. He ought to resolve to sit still, when he shall have obtained his pretences; for, as *Thucydides* saith, it is unjust to prosecute a War against him who is disposed to give satisfaction, and willingly submit to reason. No War is just, but that which is necessary, and Soveraigns are permitted to end that difference by force of Arms, which they perceive cannot otherwise be concluded. He who continues a War after satisfaction offered by his enemy, instead of glory acquireth hatred One of those reasons which got the Emperour *Augustus* so great an esteem of justice, was, That he never undertook a War, unless compelled by some important reason. *Xenophon* saith, that a wise Prince forbeareth what he can to make War, though sometimes pressed unto it, and that he is obliged to prefer Peace before War, where his honour the interest of his State or Allies, are not totally concerned Only furious beasts make War to satisfie the motions of their rage; but a wise Prince will easily be inclined to quit his Arms, when those three grand causes do cease, which are the usual occasions of War. The Philosophers say, the effect is no longer necessary when the cause ceaseth to act, which ought not only to be understood of the efficient, but also of the final cause, it being reasonable to abstain from such actions, when the end which first stirred us up doth no longer ingage us; besides he is compelled, as it were, to make peace abroad, when any intestine War calls him to look home. The discreet Physitian gives the same counsel by his example, when he is much more solicitous of those evils ingendred within the body, then those which only appear upon the skin. Civil Wars concern the preservation of a State forraign Wars are only usefull for glory or power. Now, as that which is necessary is still to be preferred before that which is profitable, he ought so much the sooner to recal such forces to remedy that disorder which threatens him within, it being almost impossible to give order at the same time both for one and the other; in fine, he ought to make peace, after the obtaining those advantages which he could expect either from fortune or his own conduct. The successe of War is not alwaies the same, and it is difficult to make good fortune to last alwaies. Victories do not alwaies depend upon Prudence, Fortune hath her share in them. It is not to be avoided, but that after a long Calm the Vessel should meet with a Storm, maugre the Prudence of the Pilot; so likewise, it is impossible, that after divers advantages obtained in War, some misfortune should not happen. *Hannibal*

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was alike couragious both in *Affrick* and *Italy*, yet after his return to *Carthage* he was no longer ſucceſſefull in his Arms. This is one of the reaſons which hath induced the Sages to adviſe great Captains to withdraw upon their advantage, leſt they loſe the glory which they had formerly obtained.

### *What it is that makes* Cazal *conſiderable to the Spaniards.*

THis advice were fit for the Spaniard to follow, that he might ſtop himſelf in the enjoyment of thoſe great ſucceſſes which fortune hath beſtowed upon them under *Ferdinand*: *Charles* the Fifth, and *Philip* the Second, but their Ambition will hardly give them leave ſo to do. They made it apparent in this particular, where they ſhewed themſelves totally averſe from Peace, unto which his Majeſty was ſo eaſily inclined, they teſtifying by their actions, that their chief deſign, was to hinder the Duke of *Mantua's* peaceable enjoyment of his States. They perſwaded themſelves that the Court being divided by thoſe Tares which they had ſowed, and which they manured with ſuch care in the minds of the Queen-mother and *Monſieur*, *France* neither would nor could long ſuſtain the War in *Italy*; and withall, as they could not imagine but the Queen-mother would, in fine, attain her wil in the Cardinals deſtruction, they concluded that that once effected, *Cazal* would eaſily be reduced to their obedience, which his diſcreet conduct kept ſafe from them. *Montferrat*, of which *Cazal* is the ſtrongeſt place, is a Country of ſmall extent, yet of great importance to the deſign, which they have a long time had upon *Italy*. Untill this preſent they have been forced to ſit ſtill in the out-bounds, *Naples* and *Millan*; and true it is, this is one of the principal objects which hinders the conqueſt of the reſt, could they but once joyn their German with their Italian power; they would ſoon be Maſters of the whole, therefore have they indeavoured it for ſo many years, but without *Cazal* all their attempts are vain, that place alone being a Bul-wark to block up the paſſage of any Troops which paſſe from *Germany* to *Millan*. This is indeed, that which makes *Cazal* ſo conſiderable, the not having whereof is the more important, in regard, their power is bounded in at the Fort of *Fuentes*; which being ſo, they reſolved to give their Embaſſador in *Savoy* full power to conclude any thing in his Maſter's behalf, an artifice full of injuſtice, but which ceaſed not to be very proper for their deſign; for that he not being party to the Treaty, it will ſtill be free for him to break it, by refuſing to ſubſcribe thoſe Propoſitions which concerned his intereſt However, as Princes never want pretences for the moſt unjuſt deſigns, they would not own this Artifice, and the Cloak with which they covered it, was, that fighting under the Emperours Colours, there was no need of any one to treat in their behalfs, but after all their indeavours to prevent the execution of the Treaty then concluded; they made it apparent that this reaſon of theirs was only a pretence, and that their true deſign was to hinder the peace, that they might make new attempts upon *Cazal*.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THat Ambition which is ſometimes favoured with good ſucceſſe, hath much much ado to relinquiſh its enterpriſes, though unjuſt. It is an errour to think Fortune is blind, becauſe ſhe diſtributeth her favours inconſiderately and without forecaſt; for that God himſelf whoſe eyes are clearer then the Sun, is the Author of whatever befalls man-kind. Well may ſhe be painted without eyes, when as ſhe doth uſually blind thoſe whom ſhe doth at any time oblige with the leaſt extraordinary ſucceſſe. A Prince accuſtomed to conquer, propoſeth no law in proſecution of his Will, though that right be inherent in God alone: Little doth he conſider the condition which his birth hath given him, and the paſſion of growing great at his neighbours expence, doth ſo tranſport him, that he thinks he hath right enough, if he have but power to conquer them; he flatters himſelf in the beleef,

belief, that thoſe Monarchies which are this day held with moſt juſtice, are grounded upon no other Titles then the ſwords of thoſe that firſt founded them. The deſire of Dominion which tranſporteth him, rendreth him careleſs of dying the earth with blood, if he may but ſubjugate more people to himſelf, and of making the world groan under the violence of his arms, if he may but get a new addition to his authority. It makes him forget that he is a man, and conſequently that he is ſubject to the Laws of Death, and equally liable with the meaneſt Cottager, to render an account of his actions; that the uſurpation of anothers right, ſhutteth the gates of heaven againſt him, and that ambition it ſelf is a puniſhment to thoſe whom it poſſeſſeth, augmenteth their inquietudes with the encreaſe of their powers. Who knoweth not that it is not the greatneſs of Kingdoms which maketh Kings greatly happy; that the deſire of conqueſt is accompanyed with more pain and hazard then pleaſure; that thoſe Princes who will ſubjugate all men, are hated by all men, and are oftentimes reduced to a non-plus, juſt when they think to extend the bounds of their Empire to the utmoſt; That it is no more juſt to uſurp the power of a Soveraign Prince, then to commit murder; That God who is the Judge of Kings, taketh pleaſure to abaſe their inſolence, and to caſt them down when they think themſelves higheſt? To be ſhort, the moſt ſure and agreeable Dominion, is that which hath juſtice for its Baſis.

### *That the Duke of* Mantua's *Right doth not prejudice the Emperour.*

THe Emperour had been diſabuſed by the Sieur *de Leon*, of thoſe ill impreſſions which the Spaniſh Miniſters had inſtilled into him, concerning thoſe Forces which the King had ſent into *Italy*. He was informed with the true reaſons which engaged him to undertake the Duke of *Mantua*'s protection, which was ſuch as did not at all prejudice the Rights of the Empire, ſeeing he had never any thoughts of hindring that Prince from rendring to his Imperial Majeſty all thoſe devoirs which could be expected by him: He was informed with the Duke of *Mantua*'s pretenſions, who had no other crime then that of being a Frenchman, and therefore odious to the Spaniards; to deprive whom of his lawful Succeſſion, were to commit an inſupportable outrage, and to force the moſt Chriſtian King to protect him. At length his eyes were opened to diſcover the diſguiſments wherewith the Spaniards had ſurprized him, to the end they might employ the power of the Empire to carry on their ambitious deſigns in Italy; whereupon from a Scholar, being made Maſter of the Affair, he reſolved to put an end to it; and accordingly ſent unto the Baron *de Galas* a full power to conclude with the Ambaſſadors of *France*, upon ſome means to execute the Treaty of *Ratisbonne*, and to eſtabliſh an happy peace in *Italy*, promiſing to inveſt the Duke of *Mantua* in that which belonged unto him, his Majeſty being readily diſpoſed to make a ſurrender to the Duke of *Savoy*. Theſe are the true reaſons which induced the Emperour to this reſolution, yet it cannot be denied but that neceſſity compelled him to it, for the King of *Swede* had already made a great progreſs in *Germany*, and done great exploits; ſo that had not the Emperour preſently recalled his Forces from *Italy*, he would ſoon have over-run the whole: He likewiſe knew how the Chriſtian King had made a Treaty of alliance with him, for the defence of his Confederates, and that he muſt undoubtedly fall in that war, if he did not unite his ſcattered forces to ſuſtain the charge of two ſo great Powers.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

NOthing is more powerful to reduce Princes to reaſon than neceſſity, whoſe Laws are more abſolute then thoſe of their Power; they know nothing but the Divinity and that above them; ſomtimes it is a trouble to them to admit it, eſpecially when it thwarts their ambition, yet it cannot but be thought happy, when it forceth their arms out of their hands, and leads them to a fair accomodation.

The moſt diſcreet do the more willingly ſubmit to its Laws, in regard no one can be blamed for following that condition which neceſſity impoſeth, a good excuſe in the greateſt faults; ſomtimes it is ſo favourable as to lead them to victory, by obliging them to attempt it when they leaſt expected it; at other times it is content to ſettle them in peace, by a reducing them to a diſability of proſecuting war. In fine, they muſt ſubſcribe to its pleaſure, for neceſſity it is which impoſeth the Law upon them, but receiveth none from them, they being in this reſpect in the ſame condition with meaner perſons. Hence it was that *Thales* being demanded what was the ſtrangeſt thing in nature, anſwered, *Neceſſity*, becauſe it ſurpaſſeth all things. Are not Caſtles (in themſelves impregnable) forced by neceſſity to ſurrender? What ſaith *Quintus Curtius*, Neceſſity hath a more abſolute Empire in Arms, then reaſon it ſelf. Is there any Rhetorick which can perſwade the mind more efficaciouſly? There is no power which is not obliged to render it obedience.

### *Proſecution of the Subject.*

WE now come to ſpeak of the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*. Who can doubt of their inclinations to Peace, when it was the only means to reeſtabliſh them in their States? It is a trouble to behold the earth languiſhing under the rigours of a tedious Winter, covered with Ice and Snow, and over-ſpread with torrents of waters; But it is much more troubleſome to a Prince to ſee his States in the poſſeſſion of others, his people oppreſſed by the burthens of War, his Towns and Villages forſaken, his Fields unmanured, and the Earth dyed with the blood of the dead. Theſe were indeed the reaſons which obliged Monſieur the Duke of *Mantua* to entertain the Sieur *Priandy* ſtill neer him, that he might propoſe ſuch overtures of peace to him as preſented themſelves to his thoughts, and which induced the Duke of *Savoy* to ſend about the beginning of the year, the Comte *de Dronin* to aſſure the King of his Reſpects and Affection, to contribute his utmoſt to his Majeſties ſervice. He well found that the Spaniards chief deſign was to advance their affairs at his expences; and that on the contrary, his Majeſty who hath evermore fought rather for glory in the defence of his Allies, then to uſurp their eſtates, had not over-run *Savoy* and *Piedmont* until he was neceſſitated to it by his denying aſſiſtance; whence it was that he no longer doubted that it would more advance the recovery of his eſtates, to keep a fair correſpondence with France, then to follow the intereſts of Spain.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THere is not any condition more to be pityed, then that of a Prince deſpoiled of his Eſtates. The impotency to which he is reduced is ſo much the more inſupportable, by how much the memory of his former Authority doth conſtantly preſent it ſelf unto him; and his Poverty is the greater, in regard of his former plenty. Such great falls do carry ſome ſhame with them, eſpecially to ſuch who have been the Authors (in ſome ſort) of their own miſeries. We do not hold them to be ſo much Philoſophers, as to be content with what Fortune hath left, or that they would live in any other condition then their former; they are likewiſe the more impatient of being reſtored to their eſtates, for that they know Authority if once degraded, falls to ruine, if not quickly re-inſtated. The Pilot who finds his Veſſel beaten by the Tempeſt, his Maſts broken, his Sails rent, his Cordage torn, and his Ship leaky, bends all his thoughts how to get into Port; and a Prince conſidering his places to be in the hands of his enemies, his Revenue ſequeſtred, his Country forraged, his Subjects fugitives, and his Forces reduced to an impoſſibility of ſecuring themſelves from a total ruine, is in perpetual trouble, until he finds himſelf reſtored by a Treaty of Peace.

*The Deputies of the Christian Princes for the Treaty of Peace.*

THese are the inclinations about the beginning of this year, of the several Princes who had taken part in the War of Italy, or the Interest of Monsieur *de Mantua*. The Pope, who is the common Father, did not a little contribute to bring things to this pass, both by the endeavours of his ordinary *Nuncios*, who resided near them, and by the prudence of the *Nuncio Panzirolo*, who had alwaies continued in *Piedmont*, or thereabouts, endeavouring to extinguish the flame when it was first of all breaking out. His Holiness was no less interessed in the Peace then the rest, because in War the Church is neither heard nor obeyed, nor indeed regarded, but as a Magistrate in a City troubled with dissentions, and who in consideration of his Temporal estate could not be exempted from those troubles which attend Armies, and upon whom the House of *Austria* had designed, as well as upon the rest of *Italy*, as having been heretofore the most noble part of the Roman Empire, and which their ambition tells them they have right to recover, through the whole extent of it. Upon these just considerations the Pope sent *Mazarini* to the King about the beginning of the year, as to the best qualified, and most just Arbitrator of Christendom, whose victorious Arms had acquired him a full power to settle *Italy* in peace at his own pleasure. His Majesty did very well resent the entreaties made to him for the contributing his endeavours to peace; whereupon the Mareschal *de Thoyras*, and the Sieur *de Servient* were shortly after chosen for this employment, worthy of their abilities, to meet at *Suze*, a Town near *Quyrasque*, where the Plague had forced the Duke of *Savoy* to retire, and where all parties had concluded to send their Deputies, to confer of some convenient means for executing the Treaty of *Ratisbonne*. The Nuncio *Panzirolo* came in the first place to testifie by his diligence the ardour of zeal and charity which the Church hath for the setling of Peace between Christian Princes. The Baron *de Galas* Captain and Colonel General to the Emperour, came shortly after, with full power from his Master, whom the progress of the King of *Swede* made impatient till he could see his Imperial Forces at liberty, to return into *Germany*, whereby to give a check to his proceedings; not considering that this earnestness of his gave others advantages upon him: This obliged the Sieur *de Servient* to go directly thither, without the Mareschal *de Thoyras*, who was not as yet come, though he arrived shortly after, to shew that his Master had no less inclination to peace, then courage in War, when the enemies of his Allies provoked him to it. The President *de Baines* was appointed by the Duke of *Savoy* to assist at the conference, and *Guichardus* Chancelour of *Montferrat* by the Duke of *Mantua*, though he had given an absolute power to his Majesties Ambassadors, to dispose of his affairs as they should think fit. *Cavaccia* was sent thither by the Common-wealth of *Venice*, but it was only to reside near his Majesties Ambassadors, whom they looked upon as the chief Arbytrator of this affair, and who took the same care of their Interest as themselves would have done, for they assisted not at the Conference, no more then the *Comte de la Rocque*, extraordinary Ambassadour of *Spain*; for he had no power, as we have already declared, and came thither only to hinder the accomodation. These were the chief Deputies which had the charge of this important Treaty; amongst which (I may safely say) that those of his most Christian Majesty evinced unto the Comte *de la Rocque*, and *Galas*, that the French Nation are no less prudent in counsel, then couragious in arms; that if they have more of fire then the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, yet they have no less Flegm to debate such Propositions as were made to them; the vivacity of their soul penetrated into the depth of affairs, but their prudence prevented them from saying any thing but what was necessary; their solidity sustained the assaults of others, their prudence deluded those artifices wherewith it was endeavoured to surprize them, and their patience surmounted the slowness of *Galas*, and the Comte *de la Rocque*, whom they made despair of obtaining any thing but by reason. They came last to *Que-*

*raſque*, and at all meetings ſtayed till the laſt, to let the world ſee they were not in haſte, and that they deſired not an end of the Treaty, but by the way of Honour, and for their Maſter's advantage; They well knew that the Emperor's, the Duke of *Savoy* and *Mantua*'s Deputies would preſs the Treaty home enough, by reaſon of the ill condition of their Maſters affairs, and from thence indeed they knew how to draw divers advantages.

## *Qualities neceſſary for an Embaſſadour.*

PRinces though they are great, yet can they not negotiate their moſt important affairs, in their own perſons. Neceſſity compels them to imploy ſome of their Officers, and when they may negotiate in perſon any treaties with ſtrangers; Prudence forbids them ſo to do; they ſhould not only be unworthy of that Majeſty wherewith they are accompanied, by employing themſelves in the reſolution of a thouſand difficulties which they will meet with; but alſo, committing their authority to the conteſts which happen at all conferences; and what is moſt conſiderable, is, that they have more liberty treating by their Embaſſadours to reject any Propoſitions diſ-agreeable unto them, without being obliged to declare their reaſons: Withall, they have more time to weigh their reſolutions, either ratifying or rejecting them with their counſel, then when they are in publick Aſſemblies; they may likewiſe judge with more judgement, becauſe before the final concluſion they are informed of all the intentions of the contrary party, which their Embaſſadours preſent at the Treaty, cannot but ſucceſſively diſcover, although they are obliged to reſolve on the Articles upon mature deliberation. Treaties of Peace are the more important, ſeeing in them is debated the reſtoring of the bond of human ſociety to States, the life of the Laws, Order, and Policy, and the plenty of all Proſperity, ſo that able perſons ought to be employed in them. The neceſſary qualities which he who is imployed on ſuch occaſions, ought to have, cannot be laid down in few words. I ſhall content my ſelf, to name ſome few which are the chiefeſt, and to ſay, that above all things he ought to have a perfect knowledge of the affair which he negotiates, as alſo of his Maſters intereſts, of theirs with whom he treats, and of their Allies, for otherwiſe he cannot avoid a ſurpriſal. Next to this chief quality, prudence ought to be as his eye, to inform him what to reſolve, and what to evade, to fore-ſee the conſequences of thoſe propoſitions which are made, to countermine them who indeavour to blow him up to know how to chuſe means proper to obtain that end which his Maſter propoſeth, and to wave thoſe reaſons which are preſt upon him. This Prudence ought to be accompanied with a certain ſtayedneſſe which may prevent him from running into a raſh reſolution; he ought to be more phlegmatick then cholerick to check his haſty deſign, of giving too quick a diſpatch to his affairs. He ought to let others wrangle, without being moved from what he hath ſolidly reſolved, and to content himſelf with anſwering moderately ſuch objections as are made againſt him, without receding from thoſe fundamental propoſitions, upon which the main chance is to be decided. Irreſolution is a thing extreamly dangerous in him, not only becauſe it gives great advantages to the oppoſite party, but becauſe it allays that vigour of ſpirit, with which his advice ought to be accompanied, and that earneſtneſſe which he ought to have for his Maſters ſervice; not that I would have his Prudence joined with ſo ſublime a ſubtilty, unleſſe he were indued with all thoſe extraordinary qualities which make a man eminent; for experience hath evinced unto us, that they who are only crafty, do commonly loſe themſelves in their own thoughts, and follow ſuch expedients which ſavour more of Chimera's and Apparencies, then Truth or Solidity. Such ruine affairs, by their Ambition to extract the quinteſſence of them, like thoſe who have a long time blowed to find the quinteſſence of Mettals, and in the end have nothing but wind for their pains. Secreſie is a quality the more needfull in him, becauſe a deſign once diſcovered is of no more advantage then a Mine contramined, and that nakedneſſe doth as ill become his Soul as his Body; beſides,

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as no one can keep a secret without dissimulation, he ought to have a Soul strong enough, and wel adjusted to disguise his designs, & to make shew to have other ends then those which he doth pretend, though he ought not to make use of it unlesse in matters of great importance, for the most part, behaving himself with great freedom to beget the reputation of being sincere, which will make his disguisements passe for the more currant truths, by reason he useth them so seldom. In fine, it were to be wished that he were powerfull in discourse, both for the well deducing of his reasons, as also to animate them with that vigour which is necessary to get approbation, and which might render them as effectual, as faintnesse renders them uselesse, when they are therewith accompanied.

## *A Treaty of Peace at* Querasque.

THe Deputies were no sooner arrived, but the conference began, yet not untill after the order of their sitting had been concluded. It was resolved that *Panzirolo* should sit at the end of the Table, which in *Italy* is esteemed the most honourable place, the Baron of *Galas* on his left hand, the Marshal *de Thoyras* on his right hand, the *Sieur de Servient* beneath *Galas*, the President *de Banies* over against him, and the Chancellour *Guichardy*; at the lower end over against the *Nuncio*. At first indeed, and before the beginning of the Assembly, there was some difference upon this score, because the Baron *de Galas*, and the *Comte de la Rocque*, comming together to visit the *Sieur de Servient*; the *Comte de la Rocque* took place of *Galas*; for afterwards the Marshal *de Thoyras*, and the *Sieur de Servient*, did likewise pretend to take place of *Galas*, they being too much concern'd in their Masters glory, to indure that his Majesty should suffer any diminution, which must have been, if representing his person they should have given place to him, of whom the Spanish Embassadour took place. The *Comte de la Rocque* would take this advantage of *Galas*, because he was only qualified as a Comissary, pretending that Kings Embassadours took place of the Emperours Comissaries, though not of his Embassadours. In fine, it was adjudged, that for this once, the Spanish Embassadours should give place to the Emperours Commissary, unlesse *Galas* would likewise give place to the Most Christian Kings Embassadours. To conclude, they went publickly through the Town, the *Comte de la Rocque* being in a Coach beneath *Galas*, and the *Sieurs de Thoyras* and *Servient* took place next after him; their priorities being thus regulated they began to confer upon the means for executing the Treaty of Peace, concluded the precedent year at *Ratisbone*, in order to that which concern'd *Italy*; for as to the rest, the Most Christian King would never ratifie it, his Embassadours having gone beyond their Commissions. There were two chief causes of difficulty, the first, in regard of the eighteen thousand Crowns rent, accorded to the Duke of *Savoy* in *Montferrat*, for which the Town of *Trin* was left him, and divers other Lands and ancient Demesnes, which did amount to that sum: The second was, about the manner of restoring the places both of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, as also *Savoy* and *Piedmont*; the contests of either party were hot, and nothing concluded untill the 6 day of *April*, when it was resolved that the Duke of *Savoy* should content himself with fifteen thousand crowns rent in *Montferrat*, valuing the Crown at eight Florins, in consideration of the quality of those Towns and Lands which were left unto him, which was concluded by the Assembly; as concerning the restitution of places, it was concluded that the Forts newly built should be demolished, that each party should withdraw his forces; and lastly, that the places should be restored at the same time, and that for assurance of the restitution, hostages should interchangeably be given, and all to be conformable as much as could be unto the Treaty at *Ratisbonne*; nevertheless, it being apprehended that those of the House of *Austria* would more readily sacrifice three Hostages then relinquish the Grisons, seeing the possession of them, would joyn their estates in *Germany* with those of *Millan*; it was concluded by a secret Article, that the Towns of *Suze* and *Avigliane*, should be delivered into the

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hands of the Swiſſes raiſed in the Cantons, allied with *France* and *Savoy*, to be by them kept in his Highneſſe of *Savoy's* name, untill ſuch time as the Forts and Paſſages held by the *Comte de Merodes* in the Griſons were left free with obligation of reſtoring them to the Marſhal *de Thoyras* in caſe the ſaid Forts and Paſſages were not quitted: This general Treaty being concluded, there were particular indeavours uſed to decide the differences between the King and Duke of *Savoy*, for the eſtabliſhment of an aſſured Peace between their Subjects. It was not long unconcluded, becauſe there was nothing of difficulty in it, only the ſame conditions which had been agreed on the foregoing year. Theſe two Treaties being thus finiſhed, were ſigned to a general ſatisfaction of all, except *Monſieur de Mantua*, who was ſomething troubled to pay the charge, and the *Comte de la Rocque*, who would have continued on the War upon any conditions whatever; all the reſt, thinking that Peace was now reſtored unto *Italy*, which for three years laſt paſt, had been the Theatre of Sorrow.

*Politique Obſervation.*

HAppy is the Prince, who after he hath ſeen his Country deſolate by horrid and cruel Wars, can at laſt ſettle it in Peace. He will find this great Miſtris of Arts, to give being to all thoſe exerciſes which had been interrupted and neglected during the troubles. He will ſee Religion, upon which (as an Emperour once ſaid) dependeth all the good or bad fortune of States, to re-aſſume its former luſtre, which frequent diſorders had deſtroyed. He will ſoon ſee his Towns deſerted by the violence of the Souldiers, re-peopled and revived out of their own aſhes. He will ſee his Subjects diſcharge their Offices with pleaſure and live in abundance of tranquility, traffique free, commerce open, voyages ſecure, the earth loaded with rich harveſt, all things reſtored to their firſt ſplendour and order, the Laws and Statutes which before were dead put in execution; juſtice eſtabliſhed in her Throne, re-aſſuming her authority, and terrifying ſuch as before ſcorned her; in fine, his eſtate putting off its mourning apparel, and cloathing it ſelf with magnificence, mirth, contentment, and joy.

*The ſecond Treaty of Peace.*

THe Articles of the general Treaty, had been concluded with ſo much Prudence and Equity, that all thoſe whoſe intentions were juſt, could not but reſt abundantly ſatisfied, though the Spaniards who only ſought an opportunity to embroil affairs, made the Emperour beleeve, that under that ſecret Article divers deſigns were compriſed; inſomuch that he writ to the Duke of *Savoy* ſomewhat diſcontentedly, that *Suze* and *Avigliane* ſhould be put into the Swiſſe's power, and withall, refuſed to ratifie the Treaty of Peace, though it had been expreſly concluded in that of *Ratisbonne*, that any other way might be taken beſides that of Hoſtages, if the Deputies who negotiated the Affairs of *Italy* ſhould ſo think fit. This difficulty was enough to have undone all, if the Moſt Chriſtian Kings Miniſters had been tainted with the like deſign as the Spaniards were; but their thoughts being altogether bent upon finding out ſome aſſured means for the reſtitution of places on either party, they made no difficulty to renew the conference in order thereunto. The Conference laſted untill the 19 of *June*, on which day the ſecond Treaty was ſigned, by which all the Articles of the former Treaty were confirmed, excepting only that of the ſecret Article. The Baron *de Galas* obliged himſelf to inveſt *Mantua* and *Montferrat* in *Monſieur de Mantua* within 25 days; or at leaſt to deliver the inveſtiture unto the *Sieur de Leon*, or the Biſhop of *Mantua*, both reſident with the Emperour: So that it ſhould be expedited and conſigned into their hands. He likewiſe promiſed that the Emperours Forces ſhould quit *Italy*; as for the reſt, it was concluded as in the firſt Treaty, that for the aſſurance of the reſtitution of places, Hoſtages ſhould be conſigned on both parts, to wit, on the Emperours

perours part, the *Signieurs Picolomini*, *Chisi*, and *Fileben*; and on the Kings part, the *Sieurs de Tharanes*, *de Nerestan*, and *Aiguebonne* who should be deposed into the Popes hands, upon the 20. of *August*. under promise from his Holinesse, not to deliver them untill the execution of the Treaty, and not to assume any Authority but as Depository: In prosecution whereof, the *Sieurs de Thoyras* and *de Servient*, obliged themselves to restore unto the Duke of *Savoy*, *Brigueras*, the same day that the Baron of *Galas* who delivered himself for hostage, should quit the Forts, and the Passages of the *Grisons*, withal, that *Suse*, and *Avigliane*, with the adjacent Forts should be restored to the Duke of *Savoy*, as *Porto*, and *Canetto* to the Duke of Mantua; and that lastly, *Pignerol* should be fortwith surrendred into the hands of the Duke of *Savoy*, the same day that *Galas* should restore *Mantua* to its lawful Lord, that each party might be Master of his own at one and the same time. This Treaty was signed both by one and the other, the Emperour and the Most Christian King ratified it; The Investiture of *Mantua* and *Monsferrat* was expedited the second day of *July*; the news of which being once arrived, the rest of the Articles were put in execution; the Hostages were delivered to Cardinal *Pallotta*, appointed for that purpose by the Pope, who received them; excepting what concerns the Forts, and Country of the *Valtoline*, *Grisons*. and Comte *de Chiauenne*, with which his Holiness would not intermeddle, the Inhabitants being Heretiques, and not acknowledging him; but in exchange, the Baron *de Galas* delivered himself as Hostage unto Monsieur *de Mantua*, for performance of his promise. *Brigueras*, with the other small places of *Savoy*, were delivered to the Marquis *Ville*, in behalf of the Duke, and the same day the passages o. the *Grisons* to their lawful Lords; the places of *Mantua*, except *Mantua* it self, *Porto* and *Canello* to the Marquis *de Pomare* for the Duke of *Mantua*, the fifteenth of September *Suze* and *Avigliane* were restored to the Duke of *Savoy*, *Porto* and *Canello* to the Duke of *Mantua*, and on the twentieth of the same moneth the French quitted *Pignerol*. and the German *Mantua*. Thus were all things remitted into the hands of their proper Princes, and each one established in the possession of their own. Cardinal *Pallotta* who had received the Hostages in the Popes behalf, having received notice thereof dismissed them; and this great storm which had troubled all Europe, gave place to an happy peace; leaving his Majesty the glory of having supported his Allies, in despite of the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and Monsieur *de Savoy*; and the Cardinal the honour of having equally vanquished them both by Arms and Prudence.

### *Politique Observation.*

IT is alwaies necessary for the better assurance of the execution of Treaties between Princes, that some security be given, especially where there is any diffidence between them. Some have received places in deposite, as *Charls* the eight going to *Naples* did of sundry Italian Princes; others have contracted Marriages, as the Historians of most Wars have recorded, and it is a custom as ancient as common to give and take Hostages. It is very hard for those who have been exasperated during the Wars, to believe interchangeable promises only, especially when they are to be executed at divers times, and in divers places; besides it will be easie for a Prince to deceive, if he will break his Word, To alledge some particular examples of Hostages; St *Lewis* having made a Treaty of Peace with the Sultan of *Babylon*, offered for assurance of their agreement, the *Comtes de Poictiers* and *Anjou*. Thus *Charls* King of *Navarre*, son in Law to King *John*, having caused *Charls d' Espaigne* to be killed, who was Constable of *France*, and extreamly beloved of the King, would never return to the Court, till his Majesty had delivered to him *Lewis* Compte *d' Anjou* his second son, for hostage, whom he forthwith sent to his City *d' Evreux*, under his Brothers custody: Thus the same K. *John* having been four years Prisoner in *England*, was not set at liberty until he had paid his ransome in part, and given hostage for the assurance of the rest, who were

*Lewis*

*Lewis d' Anjou*, and *Jean Duc de Berry* his children; *Lewis* Duke *de Burgoigne*, *Peter Comte d' Alanſon*, *John* brother to the *Comte d' Eſtampes*, all Princes of the Blood; *Guy* brother to the *Comte de Blois*, the Seignieurs *de Montmorency*, *de Hangeſt*, *de St Venant*, *d' Andreſel*, *de la Roche-Guyon*, and the *Comtes de St Pol*, *de Couſſi*, *de Brenni*, *de Harcourt*, and *de grand Pre*. This is ſo uſual, that it will be needleſs to add any more.

## *The Spaniards intention to break the Peace of* Queraſque, *followed by that of* Mire-Fleur.

Although all theſe places were reſtored, yet the Spaniards (whoſe Counſels are engraven in braſs for the perpetuating of them) could not reſolve to withdraw their Forces from *Italy*, or to ſend the Emperours into *Germany*; they ſtayed them whiles they could in *Milan*, and thereabouts, pretending they ſhould want part of them in their Garriſons, and that they expected leave from the Legate of *Ferare*, to tranſport the reſt into *Naples*. Thoſe whom the Duke *de Feria* had promiſed to disband in *July*, were on foot in *September*, and this very delay cauſed the reſtitution of places to be retarded; Beſides, the King was certainly informed, that the very morning after the expediting the Inveſtiture, they had found means to wreſt an act from the Emperour, which they cauſed to be publiſhed in the Imperial Chancery, by which it was nullified, in caſe the Treaty of *Ratisbon* were not punctually executed; although concluded in expreſs terms, that it ſhould be given without any limitation. Was not this teſtimony enough of their intentions to break the Treaty, if they could but find any favourable opportunity, ſeeing particularly that this Declaration was a firebrand, for that it gave them the liberty of finding fault with ſome of the Duke of *Mantua*'s actions, which themſelves would interpret and judge to be contrary to the Treaty. Neither was this the only Index of their minds, the Comte *de Merode* who acted not but by order from *Feria*, committed all ſorts of violence in the *Griſons*, as if he would force the King by a juſt reſentment to make a breach; moreover, the Comte *de la Roch* letters having been taken by ſome thieves from his Courrier, who were more careful of his money then papers, left no cauſe of doubt to them who ſaw them, of their intentions to foment the diſcontents of the Queen-mother and *Monſieur*, to ſuch an height as ſhould be irreconcilable, that they might be revenged on France for thoſe advantages obtained againſt them. They likewiſe raiſed new Troops in *Milan*, as if they would not have any ignorant of their deſigns; and laſtly, they were extreamly urgent to force the Duke of *Mantua* to disband an inconſiderable number of French from *Caſal* and *Mantua*, whom he had deſired to be left there for the guard of thoſe places, and which were hardly able to ſecure them from a ſurprize, whereby he might be ſo diſabled, that they might with eaſe over-run his Country; which being ſo, and that no one can doubt of their Deſigne of re commencing the War the following year, what reaſon had his Majeſty to leave *Italy* without full aſſurance of Peace and Liberty, by other means then that of a Treaty? Should he not have ſo done, he had thrown away his charges in vain, and the lives of ſo many French to no purpoſe.

This was it which obliged the King to require new aſſurances in the behalf of his Allies, and to inform the Duke of *Savoy*, that he himſelf was in no greater aſſurance then others, conſidering how diſtruſtful the Spaniards were of him, and how much diſcontented with his late proceedings. On the other ſide, the Cardinal repreſented to his Majeſty, that Prudence obliged him not to abandon *Italy* in this danger, and that it was needful for him to uſe his power with the Duke of *Savoy*, to obtain ſome one of his places, which might afford a free paſſage for his Armies into *Italy*, if occaſion ſhould draw them thither a third time. His Majeſty whoſe judgement is equally prudent as juſt, apprehended the importance of this advice, ſo that ſoon after he ſent Orders to the Sieur *de Servient*, who was yet with the Duke

Duke of *Savoy*, to desire him to put *Pignerol*, *Suze*, *Avigliane*, or *Savillan* into his Majesties hands for some time, that he might keep the Spaniards in aw, and prevent them from making new attempts. This Proposition indeed was somewhat strange, but did not exasperate him as it happened; for the Prudence which the *Sieur de Servient* used in that affair obtained his demands to his Majesties glory and the liberty of the Italian Princes; he evinced unto the Duke of *Savoy* by so many demonstrations, the designs which the Spaniards had to recommence the war, & the just reason he in particular had to fear their growing powerful in *Italy*; which if once effected, all he could hope for was the favour of *Cyclops*, when he found himself obliged for the surety and defence of his estates. The *Sieur de Servient* perceived that distrust which is natural to Princes, made him loath to part with a place of importance, and to intrust it in the hands of a stranger, but when he recollected to his memory that frankness wherewith his Majesty had so lately restored unto him the greatest part of his Dominions, and the open profession which he made of establishing his glory, by the defence of his Allies, he at last brought him to resolve upon the delivery of *Pignerol* untill such time as the Spaniard should make apparent that they intended to leave *Italy* in peace. This Treaty was concluded and signed at *Miresleur* upon the 19 of *October*, and presently put in execution. It cannot be apprehended how unpleasant this news was to the Governour of *Millan*, and with what resentment he complained in his Letters to the Duke of *Savoy*, and his Highness was not wanting to return him an answer full of courage, how he had not done any thing but what was lawfull for any Prince, and that he was obliged to entrust this place in the hands of his Christian Majesty sooner then any other, since his bounty had restored him to those States, of which the War raised by others had despoiled him.

*Politique Observation.*

THat Prince cannot be thought imprudent, who in making Peace foresees those dangers of War which threaten him, and who for the preservation of his State in an happy tranquility, deposits some Town in the hands of a Monarch, whose power can secure him from all misfortunes. He who assures himself of the protection of a potent King, secures in it his Crown, and peace to his Subjects, strikes a terrour into his enemies, and makes them afraid of falling on him. These advantages are far greater then those which he can possibly receive from any place by him deposited; whence it is great prudence to prevent the storm, and imitate the wise Pilot, who fearing a total shipwrack, throws part of his goods into the Sea; he cannot but be commended who accommodateth his counsels to the necessity of times, and he ought to think himself happy, if by the losse of one Town he can secure the rest. It is advantage enough for a Prince (saith *Augustus* in *Suetonius*) to put himself into such a condition that no one can offend him. One City indeed may increase his Revenue, but cannot so well peradventure secure him from those violences whereunto he is exposed, as the power of a great King with whom he intrusteth it. *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, did wisely, when he found himself without money, destitute of necessary Fortes to recover his estate (of which we French had despoiled him) in resolving to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the Venetians, who made a scruple to admit him, unlesse he would deliver them the Cities of *Otrante*, *Bronduze*, and *Trave* with Monopoly, and *Suligna* with condition that they should be restored upon payment of 200000 Ducats, for their expences in his occasion. Prudence alone is capable to make known unto us without producing other examples, that it is more discretion to quit a part to secure the rest, then by preserving it, to endanger the losse of the whole.

*When* Pignerol *was promised to the King by the Duke of* Savoy.

PRinces actions are liable to divers interpretations, because they are more maturely considered then ordinary mens, and their drifts are more secret. This Treaty of the Duke of *Savoy*, did set many heads on work, and divers apprehended it in terms quite different from the truth. He granted the City and Castle of *Pignerol* to the King for six moneths only, and that for performance of his promise, to give him free passage through his State, and to assist him with Ammunition and Provision of all sorts, as much and as often as need should require, for defence of his Allies in *Italy*. However divers believed that he had absolutely given this place to the King, and besides, that it had been so concluded before ever the Marshal *de Thoyras*, and the *Sieur de Servient* departed from *Paris* toward *Queralque*. It was said, that the *Comte de Drouin* had passed his word in *January*, and then assured his Majesty that the place should be delivered to him. But that being never declared they did rather guesse then know it, for knowledge is grounded upon reasons certain. All that can be said, is that the Duke of *Savoy* did consent to remit *Pignerol* absolutely into his Majesties hands, for the conservation of the rest of his estate; in so doing, he did very prudently, as we shall hereafter declare, had the King procured this advantage to his Crown, it had been but just to recover an ancient Demeasne, which had been lost by the condescention of his Predecessors, he had raised a Trophy to his glory, obtained by his Arms in *Italy*; he had conserved part of that which did justly belong unto him by the Laws of War; in fine, he had secured all his Allies on the other side the Mountains, and curbed the Spanish Ambition. These reasons were so full of Justice, that the greatest part of the world was perswaded that the Duke of *Savoy* had absolutely given *Pignerol* to the King; for what likelihoood could there be that his Majesty should not retain some part of his Victories? That he should expend at least fifty millions in a War without reserving somewhat for recompence? That his Prudence should not take some care for the preservation of his Allies, after the experiment he had made of those difficulties in the Passages? And that he should leave the Spaniards in full power to prosecute their Usurpations? There could not be any reason for it, and he must have renounced his just and lawfull pretensions so to have done: On the other side, that which did most of all call in question the truth of the Treaty, if indeed there were any thing, was, that it was alwaies denied and dissembled in the conferences, and kept as a secret till this present; nevertheless this secret cannot be denied but to have been the effect of the Cardinal's Prudence, who well knoweth that the greatest designs ought to be executed with the greatest secrecy, and that counterfeit pretences cannot but be commendable, provided they be advantagious and free from injustice.

*Politique Observation.*

ALthough Dissimulation is commonly esteemed a vice amongst private persons yet it is so much the more needfull amongst great Princes, in regard their designs ought to be kept more especially secret. The discreetest Princes never look that way they design, and though they alwaies effect their thoughts, yet they seldome speak what they think; they who apply themselves to reading are more fit to entertain good company than for high enterprizes, seeing the Government of a State is a Stage upon which the Actors oftentimes ought to change their Masks and habits: They who can best of all cloak their designs are the most ingenious, and do oftnest attain their ends; hence it is, that he who hath any thing to do with a crafty companion, hath work enough to look about him. Who knoweth not, that if all truth were necessarily to be told, nothing would remain unknown, which if so, the highest enterprizes would be successeless, it being most certain, that the discovery of an affair, is like an Alarum to summon together the strongest oppositions?

tions? It is allowable to keep that a ſecret which may be advantagious to our ſelves, or our friends, and cannot injure any one. It is great Prudence not to diſcourſe it with thoſe whom a man ſuſpects, and abſolutely to diſown it to all others. Thus *Lewis* the Moor, Duke of *Millan*, having made a Treaty with *Charles* the Eighth, to give him paſſage into *Italy*, and to favour his deſigns did conſtantly deny it to the King of *Naples*, the Pope, and *Peter de Medicis*, although the report of it was common, and ſome ſigns of it almoſt indubitable: Whereupon, he denying it ſo confidently, they remained a good while in ſuſpence, without knowing what to conclude. The denying of a deſign with aſſeveration, doth inſenſibly leave ſome doubt in the moſt determinate minds to believe it; and although the proteſtations made to the contrary do not gain an abſolute belief, yet do they commonly delay obſtructions which might be raiſed, and put off thoſe enterpriſes which would be ſet on foot to hinder them.

## *The Interdiction of the Court of* Ayds *of* Paris.

WHileſt the Cardinal's incomparable Prudence was thus buſied in theſe weighty forreign affairs, there paſſed ſome others in the Kingdom which I cannot omit, eſpecially ſeeing his *Genius* which giveth orders for all things, teacheth by his conduct divers maximes, very neceſſary for all Miniſters. The great expences made the laſt four or five years in the Wars, having exhauſted the Treaſure, and the factions of the Queen-mother and *Monſieur* breaking out, there was a neceſſity of raiſing great ſums to ſupport divers Armies at the ſame time. This was that which forced the King to lay new Impoſitions upon his Subjects, which he did with the greater regret in regard he had formerly by the Cardinal's counſel, uſed ſome expedients to eaſe them; but neceſſity, whoſe Empire is more abſolute then that of Princes, forced his Majeſty to defer them, untill ſuch time as his affairs were ſetled in a ſure Peace; neither did the Chamber of Accompts make any ſcruple to confirm thoſe Edicts which did contribute thereunto when brought unto them, but it was not ſo with the *Meſſieurs* of the Court of *Aydes* of *Paris*. *Monſieur le Comte* having informed them that he was going to their Chamber from the King to do as much, they fell into ſuch diſorder that they all departed, thinking by this to diſengage themſelves from their duty of confirming them; ſo that *Monſieur le Compte* comming thither found no body there. This their inconſiderateneſſe could not be without miſ-priſion of the royal Authority, and was looked upon as an example the more dangerous, in regard Magiſtrates are like the *Primum mobile*, which draw all the inferior Orbs after it; ſo their motion might be capable of making the people mutiny and refuſe thoſe ſuccours which they owed the King, and which his Majeſty might lawfully demand from them to help diſcharge the neceſſities of the State, as we have formerly ſaid. Juſtice and Prudence did both require that they ſhould be made exemplary; they were ſuſpended from the exerciſe of their Offices, and a Commiſſion iſſued out to ſome of the *Meſſieurs*, Maſters of Requeſts, and Counſellours of the grand Councel to do juſtice in their rooms, and to determine thoſe affairs which were depending before them. This continued for ſome moneths to teach them againſt another time how they run into ſuch miſ-priſions of his Majeſties will, which made them unworthy to ſit upon the *Flower de Luces*, ſeeing they had been ſo little affectionate in contributing to the means neceſſary to preſerve them in their beauty.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

THere is no offence which Kings are more obliged to puniſh, then thoſe which are accompanied with diſ-reſpect; for as he who is much reſpected doth eaſily retain his Subjects in their obedience, ſo being once fallen into diſeſteem his commands are little regarded. The wiſeſt Politicians have alwaies thought reſpect to be the greateſt ſupport of Authority. The luſtre of the Sun is that which cauſeth

people to regard it with the more reverence: and the authority of a Soveraign is that which doth most of all oblige his subjects to pay him respect and obedience, which if violated by disrespect, remaineth inconsiderable; His Ordinances are laughed at, his Will not regarded, and attempts are often made against him. I think for my part, that scorn is more dangerous then hatred; for peradventure a King who is hated, may yet be feared, and fear is of it self sufficient to keep subjects in obedience; but he who is once fallen into dis-esteem, is neither hated nor feared; so that his affairs will soon fall into extream disorder. Hatred is a frequent cause of Insurrections, but dis-respect is more effectually so, because it not only causeth the fear of offending to cease, but adds confidence to it. Now of all disrespects, none is more dangerous then when Magistrates are guilty of it, by withdrawing themselves from their Princes Will and Command. No one will easily attempt against him whom he sees honoured by his Magistrate; and on the contrary, men will readily provoke him who is not regarded by them. Magistrates are the more obliged to continue their respects unto Authority, because their example is sufficient to hold the people in submission: They ought rather to comply obediently with their Soveraigns, then by denying him to show an example of Rebellion to his Subjects; their resistance tends only to raise an irreparable disorder in affairs; and obligeth the use of constraint for the ratifying of such Edicts which presently make the people believe them to be unjust. In fine, they are no less bound to render respect and obedience unto him, then justice to his Subjects. They flatter themselves with a dangerous vanity, if they believe themselves to have been instituted to bound in his power, seeing it was only to supply his presence, and perform his will. All their power vanisheth at his presence, as that of the Stars when the Sun appeareth; neither ought they to take notice of his Commands, further then he gives them liberty. Now that liberty which he gives them, is by their humble Remonstrances to represent their grievances, not absolutely to deny, and that with disrespect, the execution of his commands; especially seeing the custome of confirming of Edicts was not introduced by necessity, or for any dependance which Kings have upon Soveraign Courts, but that they might be executed with more submission, and to discharge them from those commands which the importunity of Courtiers might wrest from their Majesties, without regard of Justice, or the good of the State.

## *The Treaty of Alliance between the King and Duke of* Bavaria.

IT behoved the King so much the more to secure himself against the Emperors Forces, in regard he did at this time seem to be discontented concerning the Succours given to the German Princes, and the designe of retaking *Moyenvic*, with other lands alienated from the Bishoprick of *Metz*. This induced the Cardinal (whose eyes are alwaies open to the interests of State to represent unto the King, that it were necessary to make sure of those who might any ways assist him in his enterprises against France, and that there being no other persons from whom he could receive a greater support in his desire, then the Duke of *Bavier*, and the Elector of *Treves*, who have the principal Passes by which he must come unto us, it would be very advantagious to contract an Alliance with them, that they might hinder his Forces, or at least, that they might not joyn theirs with his. The King apprehended this Counsel as an effect of his innate Prudence, and this great Ministers foresight having already laid the ground-work of these Alliances, his Majesty issued out Orders for the prosecution of them. There was concluded by the Treaty that there should be a sincere, good, and constant Friendship between them and a firm and strict league offensive and defensive for eight yeers, in consideration whereof the King bound himself to furnish him with nine thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, Cannons and Ammunitions of War fit and necessary for the defence of him and his Dominions, leaving it to the Electors choice to demand of his Majesty instead of the nine thousand Foot, and the rest, such monies

monies as might defray the charges. The Elector of *Bavier* did likewise engage himself to furnish his Majesty with three thousand Foot, and other thousand Horse, and Ammunitions of War necessary, for the defence of his Dominions, in case of an Invasion, with liberty for his Majesty to demand instead of the Souldiers, so much money sufficient to pay them. Besides they interchangeably promised not to bear Arms one against the other, directly or indirectly. Thus was France assured on that quarter, and the taking of *Moyenvic* might be attempted without fear or hazard, the Emperour not being able to hinder it, by reason of the King of *Sweden's* diversion, without the Duke of *Bavier's* assistance.

*Politique Observation.*

DEfensive Alliances cannot but be very useful to all Princes, how great soever. Few can subsist by themselves, and if any alone be able to defend themselves from their enemies, it cannot be without danger, and sometimes loss to their Countries; whereas if they unite themselves with others that are powerful, no one will think of invading them. Though the Head be the noblest Member of the Body, yet it standeth in need of those others; and God who hath crowned the greatest Monarchs, hath so established them, that they have all occasion to make use of one another. This may be said in general of the advantage of Defensive Alliances, but it is more particularly advantagious to have recourse unto them, when a Neighbour Prince is so successful in Arms, that he begins to be terrible. On such occasions it is great prudence to contract alliances with those which may joyn their Forces, as is usual amongst such Princes whose Powers are indifferent, to follow the Fortune of the Conquerors, because contracting an Alliance with such, they not only augment their own Power, but weaken that of their enemy, and make him incapable of further mischief. It is great prudence in him who hath one enemy, to take a care that he hath not two, for their power being united, will be more terrible. Thus the Comte *de Charolois*, son to *Philip* Duke *de Burgogne*, was very sollicitous to contract an Alliance with *Charls* Duke of *Normandy*, only brother to *Lewis* 11. knowing that by this means the King will be weakned one third, and the less able to hurt him.

*His Majesty sendeth Ambassadors to the King of* Morocco.

THe Cardinal was not satisfied with the bare contributing to render his Majesty the most renowned Prince in Europe by land, but endeavoured to make him likewise the most powerful by Sea, by causing divers Ships to be rig'd out, and taking care to furnish them with able Seamen. In order hereunto, the Sieurs *de Wolenes*, *de Razilly*, and *de Chaalar*, were sent to the King of *Morocco*, that an Alliance might be contracted with him, and a safe Commerce obtained upon the Coasts of *Barbary*. He had before by under-hand Treaties so disposed of affairs, that they were well received.

The Commander *de Razilly* was Admiral of the Squadron, and the Sieur *de Chaalar* Vice-Admiral; At their landing they were receiv'd by two Alcaides, and two Companies of Souldiers: The King gave them present audience, and with as much honour as they could wish; so venerable was his Majesties Name amongst Strangers.

Their first demand was in the behalf of an hundred and fourscore French slaves who were in his Dominions, whose liberty was presently granted, the King of *Morocco* not taking any thing for their ransom, to testifie how much he esteemed his Majesty: It is true indeed, he accepted a Present of Stuffs, worth an hundred thousand Livres which the King sent to him; yet his Proveydor would not receive them but on condition that his Majesty would accept of such Horses as the King his Master would send unto him, to testifie the desire he had to hold a good Correspondency with him. The next thing under consideration, was, the articles of alliance

for

for ſecuring the French upon their Coaſts and ſafe paſſage into his Countries, which was preſently accorded; the ſubſtance of it was thus, that all French which ſhould enter into his Ports with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties Paſs, ſhould not in future be made ſlaves, nor be compelled to pay above the Tavaly or tenth of their goods, according to their uſual cuſtome; that for the better continuing their correſpondence, Ambaſſadors ſhould be interchangeably ſent, and that all Religious perſons might live in the King of *Morocco*'s States, but on condition not to exerciſe their Functions, unleſs only to the French. The Treaty was ſigned; and the Sieur *de Razilly* preſently eſtabliſhed three Conſuls, at *Morocco*, *Male*, and *Saphy*. In fine, The French had full Liberty to Trade in any Commodities of that Country.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IF Commerce in general brings riches to a Kingdom, without doubt that of the Sea is more conſiderable, the gains being greater and more juſt: That of the Land, how advantagious ſoever, ſeldom yeilds above 15 or 20. *per Cent.* and many times is forced to ſuch things as ſavour of Uſury; whereas the Sea doth oftentimes yeild *Cent per Cent*, and ſomtimes more, and that without giving the leaſt cauſe of complaint. Commerce at Sea is that which hath made ſmall States very conſiderable, and great States vaſtly rich, and abounding with all ſorts of commodities: There is another reaſon which rendreth it the more important, and that is, Princes being bound to make themſelves powerful, as well by Sea as by Land, which double Power is the higheſt pitch of their greatneſs, for it renders them the more redoubted. It is in vain to drive a commerce by Sea, unleſs a proviſion of Ships be made to ſecure them, otherwiſe their riches will be expoſed as a prey to Pirats; and a Prince who maketh himſelf powerful on this Element, is the more feared by his Neighbours, in regard he may make his attempts upon them both by Sea and Land, in caſe they ſhould preſume to offend him. *Coſmo de Medicis* firſt Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the ableſt Politician of his time, ſaid, That a Soveraign can never gain an high repute, unleſs he joyn both thoſe Powers together, which are to a State, as the Arms to the Body. This Sea Power is that which makes *England* conſiderable; were they but deprived of it, they would ſoon grow weak and poor; but maintaining that Power as they do, in a good equipage, by a long tract of time, they want nothing, but are capable of undertaking great expeditions. Hath not this enabled the *Hollanders*, though their Common-wealth may be reduced to a ſmall number of men, to ſuſtain the whole power of *Spain*? What makes *Genoa* ſo rich, but this power by Sea? And what but this makes the great Duke of *Tuſcany* one of the richeſt Princes in *Italy*? Thus we ſee all our Neighbours have been ſollicitous to eſtabliſh commerce by Sea in their Territories; and we know that our late King *Henry le grand*, whoſe Prudence was no leſs advantagious to this Kingdom, then his Courage, was extreamly deſirous to ſettle it in *France*, after he allayed thoſe ſtorms of Civil War; to which end he gave order unto the Preſident *Janin*, when he was treating with the *Hollanders*, to learn of them what was neceſſary in that particular.

## *The Eſtabliſhment of a Chamber of Juſtice in* Paris.

AFter thoſe great difficulties which the Parliament of *Paris* had raiſed, againſt the proclaiming of his Majeſties Declaration againſt ſuch as had carried *Monſieur* out of the Kingdom; his Majeſty finding it neceſſary to proceed in the Inſtruction of their Proceſſe, and to chaſtiſe thoſe who were found guilty, was not willing to let it fall into their cognizance: He well knew that Kings ought not to expoſe their authority to be diſ-reſpected, as his would have been, if the Parliament inſtead of puniſhing offenders, ſhould neglect to proſecute them, as was much to be feared they would. Thoſe reaſons which gave the cauſe of that ſuſpicion, were, their apparent diſcontent becauſe *Pollette* was not reſtored with ſuch conditions as they

they desired, and because their authority came short of being parallel with his Majesty's; and besides, the correspondencies which several of *Monsieur's*, and the Queen-Mothers Officers had amongst them. It was likewise considered, that divers affairs of concernment came to be divulged from their manner of proceedings, it being impossible to keep a secret among so great a multitude; Whereupon his Majesty resolved to establish a Chamber of Justice, composed of persons equally considerable for their ability and integrity, who should have full power to judge, seeing it was likewise requisite to commissionate some Judges extraordinary, for the chastizing of divers Clippers and Counterfeiters of money, of which there were store in the Nation, the toleration of which did much endamage Trade; so that both Commissions were given to the same Judges. The King to carry on the businesse with the more sweetnesse, was pleased out of his Prudence and usual Goodnesse, to elect most part of the Judges out of the Parliament, and to appoint their meeting in the Palace, the common Seat of Justice: But the Parliament little considering this grace, raised new difficulties against the confirmation of the Letters of Establishment; which obliged his Majesty to remove the Chamber unto the Arsenal, and to compose it of two Counsellors of State, six Masters of Requests, and six Counsellors of the grand Counsel, all chosen for their extraordinary merit, who began to sit the tenth day of *August*.

*Politique Observation.*

THe King is the Head of Justice, and may commit the administration of it to whom he will. The Sea distributeth her waters as she pleaseth, by subterranean passages unto all Fountains, neither hath any thing right to controul her distribution; the Sun, that inexhaustible source of all worldly light, communicateth splendor unto the Stars, as God hath ordained; neither can any of them complain of receiving lesse then others. So a King, whom God hath endued with Soveraign Authority to distribute Justice to his people, may commit the charge of it to such as he thinks fit, and that with such power and extent as he judgeth proper for the good of his State; usually he intrusts this power with Parliaments, but they ought to remember, that he who hath given them this Authority, may likewise take it from them, may bound it, or give it to others as he pleaseth. The Authority of a Senate which is in Common-wealths or Free Cities, cannot be altered by any Princes, because it partakes of Authority with them, and is established to confine their Prudence; But it is not so with Parliaments in Monarchies, where the Magistrates have no other glory but that of being Ministers, to execute Justice in their Master's behalf; they are like Clouds raised by the Sun from the Earth, which are by him refined, to represent his Image; not that he deprives himself of the power of raising others, to whom he may impart the same favours: Thus is their power a Twig sprung from the Royal Authority, without depriving its Root of the power to produce others of the same quality.

*Judgement given against several Persons.*

THis Chamber of Justice being thus established, they began to act with as much zeal as integrity, to the punishment of the Coyners, and those who had brought the State into trouble. Divers of either sort were exemplarily punished; and amongst the factious, *Senelles* and *du Val* were for ever condemned to the Gallies, the Duke *Rohannez*, the Marquis *de la Vieuville*, and the Marquis *de Fargis*, were beheaded in Effigie, the rest were remitted till the next year. Now as he who condemneth the Body, confiscateth the Goods, so those of the condemned did undoubtedly belong to the King; whereupon that it might be accordingly adjudged, his Majesty being at *Troyes*, established a Chamber of *Domain*, composed of Counsellors of State, and Masters of Request to attend the Court; who declared the goods of the *Comte* and *Comtess de Moret*, the Dukes *d'Elbeuf*, *de Bellegarde*,

and

and *de Rouannez*, the Marquis *de Boissy*, *de la Vieville*, and *de Sourdeac*, and of the President *le Coigneux*, to be confiscate and forfeited to the Crown: In fine, they who had any Governments or Offices, were deprived of them; the Government of *Picardy* was taken away from Monsieur *d' Elbœuf*, and bestowed on the Duke *de Chevreuse*; that of *Burgogne* was taken from the Duke *de Bellegarde*, and Monsieur *le Prince* appointed in his place; the King's Lievtenance which the Marquis *de la Vieville* had in *Champagne*, was granted to the Sieur *de Senneterre*, as the charge of President was taken from *Coigneux*, and conferred on the Sieur *de Lamoignon*, and so of divers others. Now that which did more particularly oblige his Majesty to drive things to this height, of finishing the Proces of these factious persons, and of confiscating their Goods and Offices, was, a discovery of their designs to attempt the surprizal of divers places in the Kingdom; They had gained the Marquis *de Valençay*, who promised them *Calais*. *La Louviere* was employed to work upon the Marquis *Moncavrel*, and to perswade him to do the like with *Ardres*: The Captain *du Val* was hanged, for having attempted to surprize the Citadel of *Verdune*; Threescore thousand Crowns were given in *Monsieur's* name to the Duke of *Bouillon*, that he would raise a party in *Sedan*, one of the Ports of the Kingdom, and that he would let in Forreigners that way, when thereunto desired; There were likewise divers Gentlemen seized upon, raising of Forces in several parts of the Kingdom, and it was not unknown how they had induced the Queen-Mother and *Monsieur* to send persons of Quality into *Spain*, *England*, and *Holland*, and to all Neighbour Princes, to procure what Souldiers they could for him. What reason was there longer to let these attempts against the State go unpunished? Such a patience had been unjust. That difficulty which the Parliament of *Paris* made to confirm his Majesty's Ordinance, which commanded to execute after six moneths the confiscation of such as were guilty of high Treason, who had been condemned by Out-lawry, in regard of an ancient Ordinance, might have seemed just enough in regard of those who are guilty of mean crimes, but surely not in the behalf of Traytors, such as these were, who had made Divisions in his Majesties Family, who had attempted against his Authority, who had endeavoured to surprize divers places, who had raised Souldiers in divers parts of the Kingdom, who had published a thousand aspersions to eclipse his Majesty's glory. What reason (I say) could there be, that such men as these should longer continue unpunished, by confiscating their Offices and Goods, seeing their absence would not admit the punishment of their persons? And hereupon it was that his Majesty commanded his Ordinance to be proclaimed, and the Parliament accordingly obeyed it.

### *Politique Observation.*

AMongst the divers Powers of Soveraigns, that of making Laws is one of the greatest marks of their Authority. God entrusting them to dispence Justice, hath not only appointed them to chastise the people, but likewise to make Laws and Statutes, which may serve for a Rule of their Government. Hence the Lawyers say, That Princes Will is Law. Democracy ascribeth this power to the People; but Monarchy restraineth it to Kings only, and acknowledgeth no Laws but what are signed by their Majesties. Now as the power of making Laws is in them, so is that of changing and adding, according as they shall think fit; if they had not this power, we should have no other Laws then those of Nature, imprinted in the heart of man by the meer instinct of reason, or such as were made by the first Father of Mankind. All the Volumns of *Theodosius* and *Justinian* might be burnt, and those of our Kings too, as so many attempts against the liberty of the people, because they have been but of late Creation, there being none so ancient but what did once savour of Novelty. Were not this to put the people into an extream licentiousnesse, and to shut our eyes against reason, which teacheth us, that the Kings of this age have no lesse power then those of old, who in their Laws have included

included what-ever they thought neceſſary, and which could not tye up their Succeſſors hands from following their examples left unto them. It is a vulgar error, to imagine that to alter Laws muſt needs be dangerous: Without juſt conſideration indeed it ought not to be done, but when there happens any ſuch to be, the alteration of them cannot but be advantagious; it being impoſſible that the firſt Lawmakers ſhould foreſee all inconveniences; which being ſo, their Succeſſors have power to change or abrogate them, as occaſion ſhall require. Abſolutely to reject Laws becauſe they are new, is but a Cynical humour, ſeeing the antiquity of them cannot be a juſt denyal to the uſe of ſeveral others which have ſince been ordained; neither can novelty be a ſufficient reaſon to impower thoſe which are at preſent in uſe. *Ulpian* ſaith, Kings may change any Laws into better: and *Cicero* pleading againſt *Verres*, very boldly ſaith, That the ancient ought to be left, and the new received, when there is a probability of advantage by it. All *France* hath commended *Hugh Capet* for changing that law which called all the male children to the ſucceſſion of the Crown, and ſtill will approve of thoſe changes which tend to preſerve the Royal Authority in its luſter.

## *The Cardinal is created* Duke *and* Peer *of* France.

THe King having eſtabliſhed all things ſo firmly in *France*, that none of the factious *Caballiſts* could trouble the Peace, and reſtored the Princes and People of *Italy* to their Liberties by the Treaty of *Quera'que*, it was but juſt that the Cardinals ſervices ſhould be rewarded with ſome new Titles of Honour, in regard thoſe important affairs had been managed by his diſcreet counſels. No one can doubt but that the Quality of Duke and Peer was his juſt due, ſeeing he had ſo glorioufly acted the part of a Duke and Peer; which as the French Hiſtory relates, is either to govern the Affairs of State, or ſome particular Province by his Majeſty's Order, or elſe to command his Armies. Was it not in theſe two employments that his prudence and courage ſo eminently appeared, that all Strangers were no leſſe terrified, then the true Frenchmen rejoyced? His Majeſty (who admires more then any one the eminence of his Genius) having made the greateſt experiments of him, was not defective to confer this honour upon him. His Majeſty diſpatched his letters unto him, which carried in them an extraordinary recommendation, it being ſeldome conferred on perſons of his worth, and after ſo many glorious actions. They were confirmed by the Court not only without any difficulty, but with high eulogiums, and a particular acknowledgement of the good offices he had done in *France*. In fine, he went to take his Oath at the Palace, on *Sept* 15. accompanied with Monſieur *le Prince*, the Dukes of *Montmorancy*, *Chevreuſe*, *Retz*, *Crequi*, *Vantadour*, and *Montbazon*, the Mareſchal *d'Eſtree*. *Vitry*, and *d'Effiat*, and many other Lords who deſired to follow him, to teſtifie by their preſence how great an eſteem they had of his ſervices, which rendred him worthy of ſo eminent a quality. The Chambres were all aſſembled, and coming into the great one, he took his Oath to ſerve his King well and faithfully, in his higheſt, greateſt, and moſt important affairs; to do Juſtice impartially both to poor and rich, and to behave himſelf in all things like a moſt vertuous, moſt generous, and moſt magnanimous Duke and Peer of France; and then he took his place beneath all the reſt of the Dukes. Amongſt theſe great honours, I cannot omit one remarkable paſſage, that as the greateſt Genius are the moſt modeſt, and ſcorn inferiour men, who eſteem of nothing but an extraordinary honour, ſo he would not paſs by the great Gate of the Palace, where many thouſands attended him, but by a private door, where he might not be ſeen, becauſe he deſired not to be publikely commended, as the cuſtome alwaies was on ſuch occaſions; and indeed, the moſt eloquent of the *Barreau* would have found themſelves gravelled to have done it, his Actions and Qualities being above expreſſion.

*Politique Observation.*

A King ought never to forget the rewarding of extraordinary services, with marks of honour; for glory is the Nurse of Vertue, and reward ought to follow all Actions accompanyed with Courage and Valour; so that it is unjust not to reward those advantages which a grand Minister procureth to the Crown. It is likewise true, that honourable Qualities cannot more justly be conferred on any, then those that do honourable actions; seeing the most significant names are given to Subjects, only in consideration of their ordinary Actions. Now the name of Duke most properly belongeth to him who leads an Army in War, and manageth affairs of State in peace under the King's Authority. In this sence the primitive Gauls took it, and it is most conformable to the Etymologie of the word: Those are the Offices which *Justinian* ascribeth in his *Institutes* to a person of this Quality. Ancient Authors do not observe that this was taken for any constant Honour, until *Diocletian* and *Constantine*, in whose time the Governours of Provinces and Frontiers, and Generals of Armies, were called Dukes, and Masters of War; as may be seen in *Amienus Marcellinus*. *Tacitus* indeed who lived under *Trajane*, called Generals of Armies Dukes, but it was only a temporary Quality, which lasted no longer then their Commands. It was under the later Emperours, and our first Kings, that this qualification was annexed to any particular person, and made permanent, as may be seen in *Gregory de Tours*, the most ancient of our Historians; where it is observed, how King *Gontram* gave the Dukeship and Government of the whole Kingdom for five years unto *Endistus*. At that time indeed this quality was not so fixed, but that it might sometimes be recalled from those on whom it had been bestowed, seeing it was conferred on him but for a certain time; and the same Historian mentioneth some Lords of those times who were deprived of the Ducal Dignity; yet commonly it was given for life. As for the Dignity of Peer, that is not so ancient, but very eminent; for that the Peers take place before all other Honours of the Kingdom, as may be seen in the example of *Philip* the first Duke of *Burgogne*, who went before *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou* his elder Brother, at the Creation of *Charls* the sixth their Nephew, by reason he was a Peer, which his brother was not. The most common opinion attributeth the first Institution to *Charlemagne*, but without other proof then this, that History maketh no mention of it before his time, and it is believed that they were created to be Judges of State Affairs, which were decided by the Parliament in the King's presence: That great Prince establishing this Order in the Kingdom, to secure it from those misfortunes whereunto the late *Merovingiens* had exposed it, by refusing to take any other care then that of their pleasures. There are some ancient Titles found, which make appear, That the *Comtes de Champagne* had seven Lords in their *Comte*, who were Peers, and did assist them in great Ceremonies, and the Decision of chief Affairs. In *Germany* there are some who are chief Ministers of their Princes Justice; but although they partake of the Name, yet are they but Images, and those very imperfect, in regard of the greatness of those of France, who are thought to have been instituted to assist the King, to serve him, and receive his Oath at his Consecration, and by their Office are impowered to advise him in the Government of the State.

## *A Synod of the pretended Reformed Religion at* Charenton.

THose of the pretended reformed Religion had obtained permission by the Kings Breviate about the beginning of this year, to make a National Assembly of their Ministers of France, for the maintaining of their Order and Belief. The Cardinal was of opinion that his Majesty should require them to meet at *Charenton*, because being within his view, they would have the lesse Freedom to renew such Cabal as they

they had formerly made in their Aſſemblies of *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*. This Order was followed, and the Sieur *de Galland*, Councellor to his Majeſty, was ſent to be Preſident in the King's behalf; his Loyalty was not to be ſuſpected, and they were obliged to accept of him, in regard of divers authentique teſtimonies which made appear, that this Order was conformable to that of Councels aſſembled in the Primitive times, which they profeſſed to honour. The King eſpecially commanded him to be careful that no Propoſition were made which did not concern their Faith or Diſcipline; to ſilence them in his Majeſty's name, in caſe they ſhould diſcourſe of any other affairs, and to eſtabliſh ſuch rules as the Cardinal had propoſed neceſſary to keep that Sect in ſubmiſſion; To this end he uſed his utmoſt Prudence and Loyalty, he perſwaded them to enact, that there ſhould not any more National Aſſemblies be made, but in the preſence of a Commiſſary from the King, who might (by teſtifying their obedience) be a means of continuing them in quiet; beſides he induced them to reſolve upon the abſolute excluding of all ſtranger Miniſters, this being intended of all that were not natural French, and to inhibit their Miniſters from leaving the Kingdom without his Majeſty's licence, by this means to prevent all intelligences, aſſociations, and correſpondencies with the enemies of the State, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and his Majeſty's particular prohibitions, in fine, he uſed ſo much prudence, that they required their Miniſters not to intermeddle in any affairs Politique or Military; and condemned a Book of *Berrau* Miniſter of *Montauban* as erroneous, becauſe he maintained that Miniſters had a particular Call from God to bear Arms. I ſhall not relate thoſe other Ordinances there made for the ſubſiſtence of their Sect, it not being the Deſigne of my Hiſtory: It ſufficeth me to have obſerved thoſe fore-going, which were neceſſary for the peace of the Kingdom, and were ſo many effects of the Cardinal's prudence, who by this means diſabled them from making Cabals prejudicial to the King's ſervice, broke their correſpondency with ſtrangers, and left them no arms but the Kings goodneſs for their defence.

*Politique Obſervation.*

REligion is the ſtricteſt band to aſſemble people in any deſigne, to conſpire unanimouſly to the Publike good; neither is there any thing which doth more diſunite them, then the diverſity of Belief; it is a flaming torch which ſets the fire of Diviſion among States, and *aqua fortis*, which ſeparateth the moſt moderate minds; hence it was that the Kings of *Ægypt* did heretofore entertain diviſions among their ſubjects, that they might render their own Powers over them more abſolute, by preventing them from uniting themſelves in the ſame deſigns of revolt; and this they did by engaging them in ſeveral different Worſhips: Some of them adored a *Crocodile*, others an *Eagle*, this a *Dog*, that ſome other thing, as himſelf fancied; thus they were never able to agree together how to ſhake off the yoke of their Tyrannie; But beſides that this maxime is impious, and directly repugnant to the Laws of Jeſus Chriſt, it is thought to be very dangerous for the moſt part in the judgement of the wiſeſt Politicians, becauſe the diverſity of Belief being reduced to two or three parties, is moſt able to carry a people into a revolt againſt their Prince: *France* for theſe laſt ſixty years hath had but too much trial of it; and if our Kings had not been neceſſitated to permit this diverſity, as the wiſe Pilots, who in a Storm let their Sails go, they well knowing their reſiſtance might endanger their Shipwrack; they might have had ſecured the Eſtate from many misfortunes, could they have prevented it in the beginning. Now what better advice can be taken, then to deprive Heretiques of the means to Revolt; which are their holding Intelligences with Strangers, their being headed by Leaders who are Turbulent and Factious, their being able to make Aſſemblies at their pleaſures, and there to deliberate what they think fit, without informing their Prince of any thing? He who depriveth them of theſe Liberties, ſtriketh a great ſtroak in ſetling the Publike Peace, and after deſpoiling

them of their Arms, which never ought to be allowed them, he cutteth off their power of being ever able to recover it. Beſides, it is neceſſary to repreſs their inſolency, the inſeparable companion of Hereſie: They have a certain inſatiable fierceneſſe, which makes them alwaies diſcontented; and the only way to tame them, is abſolutely to refuſe them all things which are not abſolutely neceſſary for the exerciſe of their Religion; That reſiſtance which they meet in the ſoul of a generous and vigorous Prince hindreth them, whereas if they find him weak, and eaſie to be wrought upon in condeſcending to their commands, they are never at quiet, but do alwaies take the liberty of making new requeſts, in hopes of a like ſucceſs: This doth likewiſe much contribute to maintain them in obedience, to ſupport their quiet, without which they will eaſily revolt; it is the true beginning of the peoples happineſs, and cutteth up the root of their rebellions.

## *Affairs of Lorrain.*

ABout the end of this year the King could no longer endure that the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould abuſe his clemency in continuing to be the ſupporter of thoſe who troubled the Kingdom. They had choſen him for their *Brave*, and an Army of twelve or fifteen thouſand men, which he had raiſed about Spring, were the chief of their hopes, when *Monnſieur* went out of the Kingdom; they were ſo inconſiderate, as to believe that theſe Forces entring into *France*, would be like Rivers falling from great mountains, increaſe as they go; as if the King (aſſiſted by the ſage counſels of the Cardinal) were not able to ruine all their Souldiers upon their firſt taking the Field; It was however a great ſatisfaction to his Majeſty that he was not put to that trouble; the cauſe was either Fortune, or peradventure the Cardinals prudence, which ſo wrought, that the Emperour finding himſelf oppreſſed by the King of *Swede*, commanded the Duke of *Lorrain* with his Army to aſſiſt him in his occaſions; ſo that leaving *Monſieur's* affairs for ſome moneths, he addreſſed himſelf to attend the Emperour, and exerciſe the charge of Generalliſſimo of his Armies, but like the Grey-hound who running after two Hares, takes neither, he forſook *Monſieur's* aſſiſtance as he had promiſed; and inſtead of comming to the Randezvouz aſſigned by the Emperour 7000 of his men disbanded, and were ſcattered, whether by a Panick fear, or by ſome accident which ſo diſordered them, that it was impoſſible to rally them again. It was a ſenſible diſpleaſure to him to fall into this diſorder, after which he was forced to return to *Nancy* to take care of his promiſes made unto *Monſieur*, and to make a recruit, which the Emperour preſſed him to do. The Cardinal did not loſe ſo favourable an opportunity, to teach him that he did but wrong himſelf in provoking the King, as he had done for three or four years laſt paſt by fomenting of Cabals againſt his Majeſty. It was well known that he entertained *Monſieur* with turbulent hopes, not only of raiſing a potent Army in his Country; but withall, of bringing forces from *Germany* and the Low Countries, ſufficient to force the King himſelf to grant him his deſires. It was well known that he had exaſperated thoſe diviſions in the Kings Family, by particular intelligences which he maintained with ſeveral embroilers; that he had received Madam *du Forgis* with great honour, after her diſgrace as his chief correſpondent; that there was not any forraign Prince whom he did not indeavour to make an enemy to *France*, and if he did apprehend that any one of them were diſcontented, that he would with him hold a particular friendſhip, and all this without conſidering, that building without a foundation, his ſuperſtructure would ſoon fall to the ground, and that his Majeſty would effect as many generous enterprizes in his chaſtiſement as himſelf had conceived imaginary ſigns, which were ever ſucceſſeleſſe.

It was reſolved that the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould be made ſenſible of the injury he had done himſelf by provoking his Majeſty by his Intreagues and devices. His Majeſty would not however demand ſatisfaction from him, which was not conformable to juſtice, the rule of all his actions, and in this he took the ſweeteſt courſe,

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he might with juſtice have ſeized on *Barr*, becauſe he had neglected to pay his fealty and homage, and have invaded his Countries, in revenge of the injuries he had received. But he contented himſelf with attempting to recover ſuch places only as the ſaid Duke and his Predeceſſors had againſt all reaſon uſurped from the Biſhopprick of *Mets*; in particular, whiles the Kings Arms were in *Italy*, he only ſeeking occaſions to incenſe *France*, that he might render himſelf the more conſiderable to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, induced the Emperour to make himſelf Maſter of *Moyenvic*, and to give it him in keeping, the chiefeſt place of the Biſhopprick of *Mets*; and the Emperour animated by the Spaniards, was glad to have it, and fortifie it, though againſt reaſon, by a meer attempt againſt the rights of the Crown, and his Majeſties reputation, who was Protector thereof. The Cardinal whoſe courage could not put up ſuch wrongs, ſeeing the Peace of *Italy* concluded, and the Emperour ſufficiently diverted in *Germany*, perſwaded the King to retake it, with as much juſtice as it had with little reaſon been uſurped from *France*. The King who needs no additional heat to his courage when the maintaining of his glory is in queſtion, did eaſily reſolve upon it, and his Forces being come to the Frontiers of *Lorrain* under the Marſhal *de la Force*, defeated a Regiment of *Liege* commanded by Collonel *Mars*, who had the confidence to advance into the Kingdom, he ſent him Order to lead them before *Vic* and *Moyenvic*. *Vic* preſently yeelded, but *Moyenvic* did not. For the Governour was in hopes of relief which made him reſolve to hold out; he adviſed Collonel *Offa* the Emperours Commiſſary with the condition of the place, and the little hopes of long holding it, if not relieved; but he was anſwered, that it was to him a great aſtoniſhment that the Duke of *Lorrain* who had promiſed the Emperour to relieve this place, ſhould be ſo careleſſe of it, that himſelf was now upon return, and that to him he ought to redreſſe himſelf for relief. In concluſion, the Duke of *Lorrain* was charged by the Emperour to defend it, after it had been fortifi'd at his charges, and that with ſuch paſſion, that it was obſerved he cauſed the money for payment of the workmen to be carried in his own Coach. He addreſſed himſelf to the Duke; but he fearing leſt the ſtorm he raiſed ſhould fall upon himſelf, durſt not openly aſſiſt them, but gave order to the Governour of *Marſal* to aſſiſt him with Men, Ammunitions, and Victuals, yet theſe ſuccours were too weak, as likewiſe the place, to reſiſt the Kings power; whereupon a parley followed, and conditions were agreed on for the ſurrendring of the place, if within ſix days an Army able to relieve it did not appear. No Army appeared, the Duke of *Lorrain* wanting forces but not ill will. The garriſon marched out, making it appear that unjuſt uſurpations are not of long continuance and ſerve only to expoſe people to the misfortunes of War, when they are committed againſt a Prince able to carve his own ſatisfaction.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

NO Prince whatever may uſurp without injuſtice, but for a mean Prince to attempt it, reliſheth of meer imprudence. It was pardonable in *Brennus* who boldly anſwered the Romans, that it was neither outrage nor injuſtice to ſeize the goods of another, if he can make himſelf Maſter of them, but that ſo doing he followeth the moſt ancient Law of the world, which gives leave to the ſtrong to take whatever they lay hold of. This indeed is not tolerable by the Law of Chriſtianity, which hath ordained juſtice to bound in the covetous Ambition of Princes, although birth and ſucceſſion in States at this preſent, are bars enough to defend them. Uſurpation was pardonable in *Cæſar* who lived in Paganiſm, but he who profeſſeth himſelf a Chriſtian, ought to regulate his deſigns by the Law of Jeſus Chriſt. It is true indeed, Ambition of all the paſſions of the Soul is moſt incurable, becauſe never to be totally eradicated, and a Prince is the more obliged to ſuppreſſe ſuch motions which perſwade him to make himſelf Maſter of that which belongeth nothing to him, in regard the vivacity of his ſpirit may raiſe a War in his own Country, and the heat of his covetouſneſſe may without reaſon ſhed the blood, and deſtroy the

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lives of his people. It were to be wiſhed, that Princes were as ſolicitous to preſerve the bloud of their ſubiects as *Pericles* the prime man of *Greece* in his time, who being to die thought himſelf very happy that no Athenian had ever wore mourning through his occaſion: they would then be lovers of peace and the preſervation of their ſubjects would be powerfull enough to extinguiſh the heat of their Ambition, it being moſt certain, that the uſurper of anothers right, pulleth his Arms againſt his own State, and indangereth his Subjects to undergo a thouſand mis-fortunes.

## *ANNO* 1632.

EVery one eſteems the work of thoſe poor men as unprofitable, who, that they may inlarge their habitations, do build and make incroachments upon the Banks of large Rivers, whoſe Waters upon the firſt great rain, break out of their Channels, and by a thouſand re-inforced Waves, carry away whatever oppoſeth their violence, it being certain they will not ſpare the weak indeavours of their hands. Who will not in like manner conclude, the attempts of a petty Prince to be equally vain, who that he may gain ſome repute, and make himſelf conſiderable, offereth violence to the glory of a great Monarch, whoſe victorious Arms are ſoon able to reduce the forgetfull to their duties, and to over-run whatever reſiſteth his power? Juſt thus ought we to conſider the D. of *Lorrain's* raſhneſs in taking of *Vic*, in the Emperors name, and fortifying it againſt *France*, when as his Majeſties Forces, if bent againſt him, could not but chaſtize his proceedings, break his deſigns, and render all his endeavours uſeleſſe. His Majeſties recovery of it, quickly ſhewed the whole world, how vain his attempts were. Neither did his Majeſties Forces reſt there, for the Marſhals *de la Force*, and *de Schomberg*, forthwith beſieged *Moyenvic*, which rendred upon compoſition, and alſo inveſted *Marſal*, a place of importance belonging to the Duke, and one of thoſe which his Predeceſſors had uſurped from the Biſhoprick of *Mets*. Now the Duke, though mattered by ambition, and filled with hatred againſt *France*, was not however ſo ſenceleſſe, but that finding with what celerity *Vic* was reduced in deſpite of his Fortifications, wherewith he had encompaſſed it, he began to ſuſpect leſt all the reſt of his Country might ſhortly run the ſame chance, in caſe he had not the ſooner recourſe unto the Kings mercy, rather then his own forces or power. Hereupon, he reſolved to ſend unto his Majeſty propoſitions of peace; but in effect, he was unwilling totally to relinquiſh his unjuſt deſigns, which he would be ſure to re-inforce, whenever any favourable opportunity, or an extraordinary ſuccour from the Emperour or Spaniard, ſhould afford him the means, ſuch deep root had the hatred, which is almoſt natural to that Family againſt this Kingdom, taken in him. It is alſo true, that finding himſelf ſtraitned in point of time, and knowing that the leaſt delay would give the Kings Forces opportunity to take other places, he at laſt reſolved to go in perſon and meet the King at *Metz*, that he might appeaſe his Majeſty by his feigned ſubmiſſions, and hinder the progreſſe of his Armies, by a pretended Treaty of peace. Had this reſolution been frank and ſincere, the viſit had been commendable; but ſuch was his malice againſt his Majeſty, that thoſe things were the leaſt of his thoughts. Not but that he was particularly, and I may ſay, ſtrictly obliged unto the King, who was very carefull of his education during his youth, which he ſpent in this Court; who had patiently expected for eight years together the homage of *Barr*, whereas he might juſtly have ſeized upon it within one year after the late Duke's death, for *non*-performance thereof; who had paſſed by the ſeveral troubles and intreagues

intreagues raised by him, and his, against this State and Kingdom. But all these things wrought not upon him, and he continued insensible of them. He sent word unto his Majesty that he was comming to wait on him, and to give him all satisfaction; accordingly, he came to *Metz* upon the 26 of *December*, with his face composed of sorrow and sadnesse, for his late misbehaviour. The King being informed of his approach neer *Metz*, sent the Prince *de Joinville* with his own and the Queens Coaches, who met him half a league from the City, and conducted him to his lodging, where his Majesty had given order to his Officers to defray his and his Retinues expences. The Duke after a short repose, went to see his Majesty and shewed himself very submissive, protesting that he would flie unto no other refuge, but his Majesties goodnesse; in order to which alone, it was that he had been so desirous of the honour to see him. The King received him with all the demonstrations of kindnesse, which an offended Majesty may be permitted to use; and shortly after being entred into discourse, freely told him, that he would lay before him an infallible sign of his ill-behaviour; the Duke indeavoured to justifie himself, but he could not alledge any other reason, then only his being discontented with the *Sieur de Bret*, *Conseiller d'Estat*, for having used too much rigour in the Borders of his Country, in his Inquest concerning the Rights of the Crown of *France*; and his having been assured from the Marshal *de Marillac*, that his Majesty had resolved to invade and ruine him. Unto this the King replied, every one might justly enquire after his own Rights, so that what rigours the *Sieur de Bret* had used were only the effects of Justice; and as for matter of invading him with hostility, there needed no other proof to assure him of the contrary, then that he would not at that time imploy his power any more against him, in case he returned to his devoir, whereas he then might easily ruine him, it being impossible for those persons who had ingaged him in those imbroils, to afford him any succour or relief; whereas his Majesty would assuredly protect him, from the victorious Arms of the Swedish King, who was upon the point of entring into his Territories, and so take revenge for some injuries, which he pretended to have received from him This proceeding of his Majesty was accompanied with so much clemency, that the Duke could not but acknowledge at that very instant, that his Majesty had just reason to be discontented with him, and that his Majesties readinesse to forgive him, then when it was in his power to carve his own satisfaction, would be a strong obligation upon him; and lastly, provided that if he wanted power to defend himself from his Majesties forces, hereafter he should not desire it. Upon these respects his Majesty condiscended to pardon him, and treat with him. His Majesty could not but be jealous of his fair promises, for that chastisements, though just, do usually exasperate those on whom they are inflicted; whereupon, he demanded *Marsal* to be delivered up unto him, for an assurance of his word. The Duke agreed thereunto, and in fine, the Treaty of Peace was concluded and signed in the moneth of *January* at *Vic*, by which, the Duke did then ingage to relinquish all Intelligences, Leagues, Associations and practices whatever, which he had, or might have with any Prince, in prejudice of his Majesty, his States and Country under his obedience or protection; or in prejudice of the Treaty of Alliance and confederacy contracted between his Majesty, the King of *Swede*, and Duke of *Baviers*, for the preservation of the liberty of *Germany*, the Catholick League, the defence and protection of the Princes in friendship and alliance with the Crown of *France*: Moreover, he ingaged himself not to make alliance with any Prince whatsoever, contrary to his Majesties knowledge and approbation, to expel the Kings Enemies out of his States, as also all his Majesties Subjects who were then there contrary to his Majesties allowance, and in fine, not to give them any passage or protection, nor to permit any Levies of Men against his Majesties service. The King on the other side, to testifie his true and sincere affection, promised to protect his person and defend his States with, and against all men; and after the execution of this Treaty faithfully to surrender *Marsal* into his hands. *Marsal* was put into the King's power upon the thirteenth of *January*; *Monsieur* the Kings Brother, being then at *Nancy*, departed;

ted; and thus every one verily beleeved the Duke would ſit down in Peace, and that this Treaty would compel him to keep himſelf within bounds, either in regard his Majeſties clemency was ſuch, that it alone was ſufficient to captivate the moſt ſtubborn Rebels, or in regard the fear of loſing *Marſal* would oblige him to be as good as his word. But there are not any chains ſtrong enough to bind up a ſpirit, over-maſtered by ambition and hatred, the only inſinuaters of diſloyalty into the minds of men, and the ſequel of his Actions made it apparent to the whole World, that he only ingaged in this Treaty to divert that ſtorm which threatned him in caſe of *non*-compliance, as alſo that to obſerve the performance of thoſe Articles, was the leaſt part of his reſolution, as we ſhall hereafter declare.

*Politique Obſervation.*

ALthough it do much concern little Princes, not to pull upon themſelves the forces of their neighbours, who exceed them in power; yet they are hardly to be perſwaded thereunto, unleſſe compelled by meer force. Though they want power yet they have a good mind, and want no ambition to inſtigate them; on the contrary, as Paſſion increaſeth by oppoſition, ſo it ſhould ſeem their deſires of extending their Authorities, addeth new provocations from thoſe wants of abilities which their ſence repreſents unto them The moſt inconſiderate do exceed thoſe limits, which their debility hath preſcribed, and commit themſelves to the hazard of Fortune, which feedeth and blindeth them with vain hopes; whereas, they who are truly wiſe, make [illegible]reat vertue of this neceſſity, knowing that the moſt eminent Philoſophers have placed their greateſt felicity in being contented with their conditions, and in cutting their cloaks by their cloth. Admit their minds to be of what temper ſoever, yet after they have once raſhly run into any deſigns againſt a Prince more potent then themſelves, who forceth them to ſtoop under his Arms, and to be at Peace, it cannot be doubted but they are obliged to act with all reality and ſincerity; to alledge his power with whom they treat, as a pretext to cover their diſſimulation, is frivolous; indeed the power of an unjuſt Uſurper, may give a Prince leave to diſſemble; yet the caſe is far otherwiſe, in conſideration of the power of a victorious Prince, who after being compelled by injuries and provoked by indignities to take up his Arms, may lawfully, according to the cuſtom of War, give the Law to the vanquiſhed, and compel them to Treaties very diſadvantagious to them. A private perſon indeed, who is forced to promiſe any thing by contract, is not obliged to the performance thereof; but otherwiſe it is, when there is a neceſſity of obeying a lawful Prince, or of complyance for fear of juſt Laws. Thus a petty Prince oppreſs'd by a Tyrannical force, to promiſe any thing, is not obliged to act with integrity, or to perform any part of his agreement; but if he find himſelf go by the worſt in a juſt war,, and in concluſion is forced to a Treaty, contrary to his Inclinations and deſires, it is far otherwiſe; for there he is obliged to proceed with reality, and is fully bound to perform his agreement: If it were not thus, all Faith would be baniſhed from Treaties of War, for that uſually one party finding himſelf the weaker, is compelled by fear or neceſſity to ſubmit unto ſuch conditions which elſe he would refuſe. A Prince is a lively Image of the Divinity, and his chiefeſt happineſs conſiſteth in imitation thereof; Whereupon God being Truth it ſelf, he is the more obliged to ſtudy Truth in his Treaties, Antiquity having eſteemed them ſacred, and not to be violated. He ought not to run into any promiſes, which are not firſt diſcuſſed with mature deliberation; but having once paſſed them, he is bound to perform them with Truth and Sincerity: Admit it be to his diſadvantage, he ought to complain of himſelf only, ſeeing he firſt gave the occaſion of War; and it is unreaſonable to term that violence, which is a meer and juſt chaſtiſement of injuries. The *Saguntines* are blamed by *Plutarch* for having falſified their Treaties with *Hannibal*, unto whom they gave their Faith to be obedient, and to pay him three hundred Talents of Silver, which they undertook to do, that he might be induced to raiſe the Siege from before their City; but reſolved

reſolved upon his withdrawing from their Country, to make uſe of the firſt advantage againſt him; whereas he (provoked by their Trechery) return'd to beſiege them a ſecond time, and forc'd them to ſurrender, upon condition that the men were to march out with a ſingle Coat, and no Arms, the women with their wearing habits, and in this equipage to go live where they beſt liked.

*The Emperour and Infanta promiſe to protect the Duke of* Lorrain.

THe enemies of *France* were much afflicted at the news of the Treaty between the King and Duke of *Lorrain*. The Emperour ſent *Montecuculli* unto the Duke, to animate and aſſure him of a potent Army when-ever he was in a condition to defend himſelf from the King of *Swede*. The Baron *de Leide* came to him from the Infanta, to give him the like aſſurance, and to beſeech him to believe, that the King of *Spain*'s Forces and Treaſure ſhould ever be at his diſpoſal, when the Emperour ſhould think it proper to attempt the recovery of his Towns; Nay the Queen-Mother too, though tyed by all ſorts of Reaſon to embrace the King's Intereſts, reſolved by perſwaſion of *Chanteloupe*, to ſend a Letter unto the Parliament of *Paris*, to engage them (if poſſible) in a Revolt, which undoubtedly would have been ſeconded by that of *Paris* it ſelf, with divers other Cities of the Kingdom, and all to force the King to withdraw his Army from *Lorrain*, that he might extinguiſh the fire nearer home. That Enemy of the publike Peace, took occaſion from the Parliaments diſcontents, for that the King had ſent ſome of the chief Officers of *Mets*, to give them a check for their diſorderly behaviour in the confirmation of thoſe letters whereof we diſcourſed the fore-going year. There need no other indicium to prove the letter to be his, then the bare reading of it: Not a perſon who had the honour to be near her Majeſty, could ever be perſwaded that it proceeded from her inclination, though ſigned with her hand, but that it was by the wicked inſinuations and devices of that ſeditious conſpirator, who in peace being inconſiderable, would needs make himſelf famous and remarkable by raiſing war and troubles. He well knew how to work upon this great Princeſſes weakneſs, who being extreamly exaſperated againſt the Cardinal, would eaſily be perſwaded unto any thing which might diſadvantage him. Hereupon he made her believe, that this propitious Genius of *France*, was upon the point of breaking the Peace with *Spain*; That he had carried on the King to fall upon the Low Countries, and that in fine, the Spaniards and Emperours Forces would joyntly ſtrike into *France*, ſeize upon the Cities over-run the whole Champaigne country, pillage the Towns, rob the people, pull down the Churches; That Religion would be laid aſide, the Nobility ruined, The Royal Houſes errazed, and the French Nation expoſed unto death, or ſuch miſeries as were a terror to her very thoughts. This was the purport of the letter, and theſe were the conſiderations which obliged her to ſigne it. Strange it is to look upon the many diſguiſements tending to engage that honourable company in a revolt, which hath ever been the main ſupport of this State, It was only deſired that they would oppoſe the Cardinal's deſignes, although all the enterpriſes wherein he ingaged the King, were indeed ſo many addicions to his and the Kingdoms glory, as was apparent in the relief of *Caſal*, and Treaty of *Pignerol*. They were ſollicited to ruine this great Miniſter of State, whoſe prudent conduct was the chiefeſt ſword which his Majeſty employed in defence of his Kingdom, and whoſe every action did like a Thunderbolt, annihilate the ambitious deſigns of the Houſe of *Auſtria*: But eſpecially were they wooed to induce his Majeſty to make a peace with *Germany*, though it was ſufficiently apparent, how that that concluded in the year 1622. had been the cauſe of all thoſe misfortunes whereunto our Allies have been expoſed; that relaxation having afforded opportunity unto the Emperour, to take thoſe advantages which he obtained in the Palatinate, and upon divers other Princes.

I cannot omit one ſtrange piece of Indiſcretion which *Chanteloupe* committed in this letter, *viz.* his overſight in letting the Queen-Mother publikely profeſs her

giving credit to the predictions of those Astrologers who assured her that the Cardinal should not hold out above three or four moneths, and in not considering how that one included another much more sad for *France*, and which could not but beget her the hatred of all those who had any sense of a good Frenchman, or loyal Subject. But the blame of this defect, as likewise of the whole Letter, was laid upon him as the true Author thereof, who had been so sollicitous in procuring her to signe it, whose goodness (like that of the Sun) cannot do any hurt, unless when in conjunction with some other Star of a malignant quality; Neither had the Parliament any regard thereunto, but reputed it as an aspersion animated by the Spaniards, who then finding themselves reduced to an exigency, were apprehensive of those Forces which his Majesty was dispatching into *Germany*, and began to look about them, when they saw the King imploying the courage of his Subjects in assisting his Allies, and also a likelyhood of Breach between the two Crowns, whereunto indeed his Majesty was invited by divers, although he would never be induced so to do, having alwaies thought it more glorious to preserve Treaties of peace with integrity, then to conquer the Countries of his Neighbours.

*Politique Observation.*

ONe of those many and chief causes which perswaded the wise Politicians to seclude women from the Government of States, is, their being easily circumvented, either by their own passions, or the ill advices of others: If the person enterprising any thing, be but in discredit with them, that is cause enough to mislike the whole affair, or if it be not managed by a man whom they fancy: Their passions are extream, and lead them to discommend whatever is undertaken by those who are in their displeasure; and on the contrary, they are apt to approve of defects and faults in them whom they affect. They are born with such inclinations, that there is no mediocrity in their distinctions; their Love and Hatred are ever in the highest and hottest degree; and on the contrary, when they pass from one passion to another, they evidence to the whole world how little they can esteem him who was once their best beloved; whereupon the wisest of Kings, and one whose Pen was guided by the holy Ghost, said, There is no malice like that of a Woman; Now if to their hatred any enterprise be attempted, which clasheth with their inclinations, as all War doth work upon their Fears, which are natural unto them, there cannot then be any War, how just or necessary soever, but shall assuredly be condemned by them. In vain it is to endeavour to perswade them that it is needful to make war, or to carry that war into a Forraign Country, which is designed to be brought into our own; it were bootless to represent unto them, how the wisest Kings have ever kept the War at a distance from their own Countries, and endeavoured to extinguish the fire in their Neighbours houses, as knowing their own to be the next in danger. It were but time and labour lost, to offer unto their thoughts, that it is better to prevent a mortal sickness when it threatneth a State, then to apply remedies just when the height of the disease threatneth a total ruine. To conclude, it is to no purpose to perswade them that the peoples charge in maintaining an Army out of the Kingdom, is less then the inconveniences of an Intestine War. The fruitfulness of a Country will afford the Inhabitants a sufficient livelyhood, neither can want fall very heavie upon them, notwithstanding any Taxes, though great, imposed upon them, in case they have freedom of commerce, and work. But it is not so when an enemy is once entred among them, for even then they are not exempted from contributing to the means of their preservation, though they daylie find the enemy at their gates, their Cities lost and plundered, their Farms burnt, their Grounds untilled, and they who are never so little worth, taken and forced to a ransom, besides a thousand other cruelties and oppressions. There need no other allegation to prove this Truth besides the People themselves, who think it well enough if they may be free from Alarums, and the noise of Guns and Trumpets; whereas they despair if they once

once see the enemy at their Gates, who encompasseth them with confusion, maketh them fly from their own houses, and who on all hands maketh them undergo a hard necessity, and even depriveth them of the use of their very High-ways. These reasons are so apparent, that one must either be prepossessed with Passion, or surprized by some sinister advice, to imagine the contrary; and they are so much the more considerable for *France*, in regard the Emperour *Charls* the fifth discoursing with *Francis* the first concerning the Natures of their Subjects, said, That both French and Spaniard were naturally so inclin'd to murmur, that they would easily be led on to rebel against their Prince, if not diverted by some Forraign imployments. To be brief, one of the chief causes which preserveth *Spain* in peace, is, their continual employing of all able to bear Arms in Forraign attempts; whereas *France* hath ever been engaged in Civil combustions and wars, because this Crown hath no Dominions lying aloof from it, unto which it might send abroad its people. Which being so, the best course that can be taken, is to vent them in the service of our Allies, so to do, is to follow the example of *Scipio*, who finding the youth of *Athens* could not be kept quiet in Idleness, rigg'd out two Gallies, and lead them (to shew proofs of their courage) against the Persians; and of the Romans too, who to divert *Hannibal* from coming any more into *Italy*, resolved to invade him in *Affrick*.

## *The Duke of* Lorrain *consenteth to* Monsieur's *marriage with the Princess* Marguerite.

THe Duke of *Lorrain* had no other intention in the Treaty of Peace made with the King, but to avoid the punishment due to his boldness; neither did he long keep himself dis-ingaged from new Intreagues: and although his Majesty thinking the best of his submissions and protestations, had sent unto the King of *Swede* (then falling upon his State) to divert that storm, yet could he not forbear running into fresh contrivances against the good of *France*. In conclusion, it is found, that at what time he pass'd his word unto the King at *Vic*, he, at the same time, brake it by his conventions at *Nancy* with *Montecuculi*, who was then come thither to wait upon him; and that he might not omit any manner of disloyalty, he shortly after executed the pretended marriage between the Princess *Marguerite* his Sister, and *Monsieur le Duc d' Orleans*, whom he had drawn thereunto by a thousand tricks and devices. He knew that most of the children of *France* have occasioned such bloody wars, as have terribly afflicted the State; the Courage wherewith they are born, not permitting them to expect the time of their commanding; neither was he ignorant of *Monsieur*'s discontent, conceived against the management of the present affairs, although admir'd with astonishment by all strangers, who found *France* daylie increasing in glory, but at their cost and charges; Hereupon he used his utmost skill to conclude that marriage. The Princess *de Falsbourg* his eldest Sister was the chief Agent in it; who as she had deserts enough to render her self amiable, so wanted she not any art whereby to captivate the Sieur *de Puy-Laurens* by her attractions, whom she perswaded she would marry, in case he could effect the match between *Monsieur* and her Sister the Princess *Marguerite*, whereby besides the honour of marrying with her, he should likewise become Brother in Law to his Master. He was earnestly desirous of this Alliance, in regard it was very honourable; and the King being childless, it was taken for granted that her Sister would one day be Queen of *France*, which could not but be a great protection to their Family, who have a long while been conversant in the Customs of *France*. The Spaniards were not behind-hand to advance this Treaty, as well knowing the power of *France* was not to be over-mastered, but by arming one party against t'other, which this match would infallibly bring to pass; by reason *Monsieur* would then be irreconcileable to the King, and consequently the easilier disposed to enter into *France* in the head of an Army, which would undoubtedly

divide the Nobility, and so divert his Majesty within the Kingdom, that he might not possibly think of assisting the German Princes. The Cardinal who suffereth not the King to be ignorant of any thing, having discovered this practise, forthwith acquainted his Majesty therewith, who was not backward in complaining unto the Duke of *Lorrain*. But the Duke well prepared how to make his excuses, endeavoured to vindicate himself from that aspersion by solemn protestation, confirm'd with deep Oaths, how that he never would attempt any such thing; upon which his assurances there was not any thing more provided in the Articles of the Treaty, as to that affair; but his Majesty verily believed him to have relinquished all those Designs. Notwithstanding all this, no sooner was the King departed from *Metz*, but he concluded the match not so much as asking his Majesty's consent, and quite contrary to the positive inhibition thereof. This prohibition indeed did not a little trouble him, and raise suspicions in his head, for that he knew no stranger had ever yet attempted to marry his relations with any Prince of the Blood of *France*, without feeling the Force of our Kings Powers: So that he proceeded herein with the more circumspection, and left the whole management thereof unto Monsieur *de Vaudemont* his Father, and the Princess *de Falsbourg* his Sister, who had not either of them much to lose.

### *The Princes of the Blood may not by the Laws of* France, *marry without the Kings approbation.*

THe Fundamental Laws of *France* do not permit Princes of the Blood to marry without the King's consent. If it be demanded where that Law is to be found; I must remit the Inquisitive Reader to a certain Book amongst the Publike Registers, where in one of the chapters of Royal Rights, it is expresly so recorded. But this Register being but of four hundred yeats standing at most, whereas this Custom is as ancient as the Kingdom it self, I would fain ask them, where the *Salique* Law is to be found, which hath been inviolably observed in the Kingdom, above twelve Ages together? Thus it was established by the Custom, to which oftentimes there must be recourse had, and which must be admitted for a Law, carrying in its forehead the Image of Justice much more evidently then any written thing, and being also more prevalent to induce the people to a due observation thereof. Who can then forbear to have this particular custom in great esteem or not embrace it for a Fundamental Law, when it hath been observed from the beginning of this Monarchy, and then established for the Kingdoms good?

### *Troubles hapned in consequence of Marriage.*

THe greatest troubles have been the consequences of Marriages, and they who have contumaciously violated this custom, have been constantly punished by their Kings. The example of *Meronie*, son to *Chilperic*, ninth King of *France*, will evidently prove the establishment of this Custom in the beginning of this Monarchy, who assuming the boldness of marrying with *Brunehaut*, without his Fathers consent, became the object of his Justice, and was punished according to his desert, and *Pretextatus* Bishop of *Rouen* who had a hand in the marriage, was impeached in a Council held at *Paris*, of that very thing, as a great Crime; he indeed was the first who exceeded the limits of his duty in this particular, and accordingly was he chastised for it. Saint *Bernard* willing to excuse unto the King the Comte *Thibaut de Champagne*, accused for designing to marry his children without his Majesties consent, alledged, it was improbable a man of his integrity would ever run into so great a premunire. Thus *Philip Comte de Namur*, brother to *Baudouin Comte de Flandres*, being overseer of *Jean* and *Marguerite* his Neeces, daughters to the said *Baudouin*, engaged unto *Philip Augustus* in a Treaty, that they should not be married without his Majesty's consent, which one of our Historians saith

saith to be in reference to the Soveraign right, which our Kings have over such persons, whose marriages may occasion troubles to the Kingdom. Is there not yet extant in the Kings Charters, an Oath made by the Grandees of the Nation unto *Charles* the Fifth, which absolutely implies they were not to marry with Rebels, disobedient or enemies of the State? One of the Crimes charged in the Duke of *Alençon's* Indictment, was his treating a Match between his Son and the Dutchesse of *York*, an English Prince's daughter, without approbation from *Charles* the Seventh. The same *Charles* the Seventh would not look upon his Son, *Lewis* the Eleventh, though of Age, for having treated a Match with *Charlotte de Savoy*, without his knowledge, though it remained unconsummated until his permission, first had and obtained. Doth not an English Historian, though an enemy to *France* say, that the Match between *Anne de Bretagne* and *Maximilian* of *Austriche*, unto whom she was betrothed from her Infancy was broken, in regard the King had not consented thereunto? Now if any one imagine that this permission cannot avoid a marriage once consummated, I shall indeavour to convince them of the contrary, by laying before them the example of *Lovis de Begne*, who having married *Ausgarde*, without her fathers consent, was in conclusion, forced to quit her, though he had children by her, and though he was his eldest Son, and to marry *Adelaide*, and his son by her was acknowledged for right heir to the Crown, by name *Charles* the Simple. I shall add this one more, of *Judith* daughter to *Charles* the Bauld, who having (though a Widdow to the King of *England*) married *Comte Baudouin*, against her fathers Will, saw her marriage disanulled, by Pope *Nicholas* the first, together with the Bishops of *France*, and was compelled after obtainment of her Fathers approbation to be re-married, as she was, at *Auxerre*.

## Monsieur's *Marriage with the Princesse*, Marguerite *of* Lorrain.

ALthough the *Sieur de Puy-Laurens* was very passionate for the concluding of *Monsieur's* Marriage, yet (Princes Families being often divided into factions) the President *Coigneux* was not so inclin'd; but on the contrary, took occasion in the t'others abience, whilest he was at *Bruxels* negotiating with the Spaniards for aid, to represent divers reasons unto *Monsieur*, to divert him from those thoughts. He was not to learn, that in case *Monsieur* married the Princesse *Marguerite*, and the *Sieur de Puy-Laurens* the Princesse of *Falsbourg*, himself should totally lose that little credit and authority which he then had; he was apprehensive of the ascendency which a Woman hath over the soul of a Prince, when she is once passionately beloved by him: Besides, he was the more concern'd in that particular of the Princesse *Marguerite*, because he conceived she would be guided by the instinct and directions of the Princesse *de Falsbourg*, who would, in fine, rule all; lastly, he doubted there was no way left to break off this match, which would be imputed as his fault, by reason of the place he held with *Monsieur*: so that there would be no hopes for him to be restored to the Kings favour, or the injoyment of his Goods and Offices. These were the true motives and grounds which induced *Coigneux* to declare himself against the marriage, and to dissuade *Monsieur* from any further progresse therein, although his advices were seconded with no other reasons then the service of his Highnesse, and the good of his affairs. He one day took the boldnesse to tell him, that he ought not to steer such a course as would undoubtedly render the King irreconcilable unto him, seeing his greatest glory and power was tied unto his Majesties grace and favour, which this marriage would assuredly hazard, nay utterly destroy; he layed before him, how that though Princes are sometimes excusable, for doing such acts in their heat and passion, which are displeasing unto their Soveraign, yet they never ought to flie into such extravagances as may totally ruine them in their Kings Favour. It may sometimes

perad-

peradventure turn to their own advantage, to run out into discontents, as the increasing of their stipends, or the obtaining of some other gratifications; but so it cannot be if they imbarque in such designs as may cause an absolute breach. All the lustre which Princes have, and which rendreth them venerable, is the effect of their Soveraigns favour, just as the light of the Stars, is derived from the Sun their Fountain. But these Councels of *Coigneux* being known, drew the whole house of *Lorrain* to have an eye upon him. And I verily believe they might have wrought some good effect upon *Monsieur* (seeing he was ever inclined to be obedient unto the King) had not the return of the *Sieur de Puy-Laurens* prevented it, who at first hath spoiled all the t'others indeavours. This new Favourite had gotten so great an influence over *Monsieurs* affections that he easily countermined and blew up al the others reasons: neither could *Monsieur* possibly guard himself from the subtilty of his insinuations: He perswaded him to believe that the King would doubtless at length agree unto the Marriage, especially seeing his first Lady was altogether of his Majesties choice, and a person totally adhering unto the Interest of *Lorrain*, and in regard there was not any inequality between the former and this, divers Kings of *France* having matched with the Princesses of *Lorrain*, and the Princesse *Marguerite* her self, being daughter to a daughter of *France*. He represented unto him, that he could not chuse but follow the same steps which *Henry* the Great had trodden out unto him, who did not stick to marry his late sister unto the family of *Lorrain* which only consideration were sufficient to induce his Majesties confirmation of this marriage; and lastly, that in case it should please God to set the Crown upon his head the whole Family of *Lorrain*, a thing of no mean consideration, would be inseparably tied unto the interests of *France*. These reasons at first glance seem specious enough, yet could they not have made any deep impression upon him, had he represented unto him, as indeed he ought, how the late King was forced to marry his sister unto the House of *Lorrain*, that he might thereby reclaim them from thwarting his designs; how that the late Madam, had in that small time of her being married unto *Monsieur* raised such a fire in the Court, as was not easily extinguished; and how that the Alliance of *Henry* the third with the House of *Lorrain*, had only served to incourage their boldnesse, and give them opportunity to prosecute their design of pulling the Scepter from him. But these things entred not into his thoughts the passion which he had for the Princesse of *Falsbourg* having blinded him, and left him no eye-sight, but only how he might incompasse the consummation of his Masters marriage. That Princesse her self whose Soul is very active, omitted no invention to facilitate her designs, and being not to learn how powerfull young Beauties are to captivate the greatest courages, there needing no other device to render them beloved then the bare letting them be seen, she used her utmost indeavours to draw *Monsieur* unto such places where the Princesse *Marguerite* was, that in fine, the flames of her Beauty, adding new forces to the *Sieur de Puy-Laurens* his reasons, might compel *Monsieur* to submit unto the Laws of Love. Accordingly it succeeded, and the marriage was performed in presence of a *Religieux* of the Cistercian Order, who had not any authority from his superiour, but only from the Cardinal *de Lorrain*, Bishop of *Thul*, though he had not any jurisdiction over him to impower him to administer Sacraments, for that he was exempt from the Diocesse of *Lorrain*, as all the rest of his Order. The Abbesse of *Remiremont*, with whom the Princesse *Marguerite* was brought up, was assistant at the Ceremony, as also *Monsieur de Elbeuf*, and *Monsieur de Puy-Laurens* who were witnesses; besides these, there were not any other present, excepting only two *Bernardines*, to assist him who married them, and all this secresie was used to prevent his Majesties knowledge thereof, and escape the punishment which they could not but expect would fall upon them, as a reward for such attempts, and not only so, but likewise because they much doubted the validity of the marriage, which was thought such, that *Monsieur de Vendemont* could not forbear saying, that in case his daughter were not fit one day to wear the Crown of *France*, yet she would alwaies be good enough to make an

Abbesse

Abbesse of *Remiremont*, suspecting belike the weight of his Majesties prohibition.

*Politique Observations.*

AMongst the divers Prerogatives of Princes, that of hindring marriages, is not of the least importance. The right whereof may be proved from the Authority of some Canonists, whose reputations stand clear in the Schools of all Divines, and who affirm it in expresse terms. But not to quote their testimonies, we thinke we need no other proof to evince this truth, then common custom. For were not the Emperours the first who determined the conditions and qualities of those who might marry? Were not they the original institutors of who might, and who might not marry? Hath not the Church extracted her decrees from their Laws? Besides those decrees of the Church, have not our Kings established new Orders, as is to be seen in the Ordinance of *Blois*, where *Henry* the Third declared all Marriages void, wherein the Banes were not published, which however are not so adjudged by the Church? And what hath given credit to the Decree of the Council of *Trent*, but our Kings Declarations? Now if the validity depend upon their Seal, how can it be denied, but they likewise have authority to inforce this new prohibition? And have they not likewise Ordained, notwithstanding the Decree, that Heretiques should not be obliged to contract their Marriages in presence of the Curate of the Parish where they live, which cease not to be valid and in force? Besides, is there not likewise another Ordinance, which is impowered by our Kings only, and the custom of *Bretayn*, which maketh the marriages of Guardians with their Pupils to be void, when not effected by the permission of the Justice, whereas the Church is of another opinion? These are reasons which do evidently maintain and prove, that our Kings have a disposing power in the marriages of their Subjects. And indeed, what reason were there that they should be denied this priviledge, seeing the whole power is principally conferred upon them, for the preservation of the publique Peace and private Families, which depend exceedingly much, as is not unknown unto any one, upon marriages; which besides, that it is so granted by the chief of Divines, is likewise deduceable from common experience. Let not any one therefore make a question of it. But if any one demand, in what manner they may hinder and obstruct marriages, I shall make use of a distinction in my answer, and say, that for the making of a general prohibition, it is requisite to Ordain a publique and universal Law, to signifie their Will unto their Subjects, as was done in the Ordinance of *Lewis* the Eleventh, which inforced the publication of Banes. And in case of a particular marriage there need only a particular inhibition, to be signified unto the particular persons, intending to contract themselves, so that they be duly informed of the prohibition issued out against their further proceedings therein.

*The Catholique Electors of the Empire, propose to become Neuters.*

DUring our Kings abode at *Metz*, the Catholique Electors were in such disorders, that they were forced to make addresses unto his Majesty, for his protection. The King of *Sweden* prosecuted his Conquests in the lower Palatinate, with such extraordinary successe, that they look'd on themselves as all undone, if his Majesty did not assist them, the Emperours Forces being reduced to such an ebb, that they were not able to secure themselves. They well knew, our Kings have ever been the Churches Refuge, the Scourge of Heretiques, the Protectors of the Holy See, and that all Ecclesiastiques have ever secured themselves from those storms which threatned their ruine, by retiring themselves under their Powr; neither were they ignorant, that he who now weilded the French Scepter, had destroyed Heresie in this Kingdom, and made his Actions illustrious, as well by Piety as Justice. Hereupon they sent their Deputies unto him to implore his assistance.

ance. The Bishop of *Wittsbourg* was chief of the Embassie, on whom that imployment was more especially imposed, in regard he was most concerned to animate their complaints, by the report of the great losses himself had sustained; the Baron *de Teuiff* accompanied him from the Elector of *Cologne*, and the *Sieur Reuter* from the Duke of *Baviers*, neither of them was backward in laying before his Majesty a large description of their miseries, of the increase of Heresie, of the calamities whereunto the Catholiques were exposed, of the Swedish Kings Ambition, of the Churches Interests, of *France's* concernments; and all this they frequently did at large in their Audiences, that by this means they might infuse some jealousie into the King's mind, which might draw him off from the *Swede*, and instill some Ambition into his Soul, which inducing him to pretend unto the Empire, might ingage him in their protection. But his Majesty, informed by his Embassadours of the Swedish proceedings, and that their Victories were not extraordinary from others, but conformable to the Treaty of Alliance, presently apprehended, that the losses they had suffered, together with the fear of totally losing the remainder, if they continued to countenance the ambitious designs of the House of *Austria*, had perswaded them to make such pitifull complaints. He could not be perswaded to change a War of State, into a War of Religion, or to believe the King of *Sweden* intended the ruine of the Church, being fully assured his intents were only to abase the Emperours pride, and to curb his Ambitious designs. Yet the Compassion he had at the sense of their miseries, would not permit him to dispatch them without some satisfaction, and the using his intercession with the Swedish King for their safeties, and the securities of their States. Having kissed his Majesties hands, they visited the Cardinal, whose zeal for the Churches interests gave them a most kind reception, and ample assurances, that his advices should second their requests unto his Majesty. In future comming to discourse the means, how to secure them, he ingeniously told them, that the King of *Swede* striking directly at the Imperial Party, it would be impossible to mediate any Treaty in their behalfs, unlesse they withdrew themselves from that association; that this was it they were necessarily to resolve upon, unlesse they would totally disable his Majesty from making any interposition with the Swedish King, who no doubt, would never be perswaded to spare them, whilest they indeavoured to give a subsistence unto the Imperial Army, both by assistances of men, money, and provisions of all sorts. This discourse, although equally tempered with Prudence and sincerity, seemed very harsh unto them, in regard of their affection to the House of *Austria*. But as no interests are neerer then particular, so they shewed a great deal of readinesse to submit unto the Kings Will and Judgement, to do as he should think most proper, whereby they might the more strongly ingage him in their protection and defence. Whereupon it was thought fit that his Majesty should deal with the Swedish King to permit them to continue Neuters, they hoping to pick out some way or other of accommodation hereby, at least to gain some time which might produce an overture to avoid the storm which threatned their present ruine.

*Politique Observation.*

PRinces are not in any thing more industrious, than in making their demands seem plausible; now no pretences make a deeper impression on mens minds, than those of Religion; whence it is, that if they can with it cloak their designs, they think they have done sufficiently; under this veil have they often palliated their most vicious and ambitious devices, and they who treat with them, if truly wise, do not easily believe; whatever is proposed under the notion of Religion: The Faith which they professe, maketh them zealous for the Churches good, but this very Faith teacheth them, that sometimes Wolves cloath themselves in Sheep-skins; and that as the Tree is known by his fruit, so there is no safer way to judge of

of Princes Propoſals, then by reflecting on the government of their actions, the true fruits of their deſigns.

King *Achaz*, that he might deceive *Iſaiah*, played the Hypocrite, and did at firſt refuſe the propoſition made unto him of craving a Miracle from God for aſſurance of his promiſe, pretending himſelf to be ſo reſpectfull and fearful of offending God, that he made a difficulty of tempting him by an extraordinary belief. Many there are who uſe ſuch like ſlights, when they find it may conduce to their advantage; in a word it is great Prudence, not alwaies to believe thoſe who cover their deſigns with the Church, but maturely to examine their Propoſals, and to obſerve them by their former conduct and proceedings.

## *The King ſendeth the Marquis* de Breze, *towards* Guſtavus Adolphus, *King of* Sweden.

THe Cardinal informed his Majeſty of the Propoſitions of Neutrality, to which the Embaſſadours of the Catholique League ſeemed to incline, and his Majeſty having caſt his eyes upon the Marquis *de Breze*, as a perſon capable, by reaſon of his Prudence and Ability to give a happy ſucceſſe thereunto diſpatch'd him unto the King of *Sweden* to obtain his aſſent in that behalf. He departed from *Metz* not long after, and arrived at *Mayence*, accompanied with above fifty Gentlemen Volunteirs, ambitious of ſeeing that King, whoſe victories were ſo publiquely famous over the World. The Marqueſſe of *Breze* comming neer unto *Mayence*, was met upon the way by two Cornets of Horſe, and the King of *Swedes* own Coach to receive him; he was conducted unto his Audience, where after he had made his reſpects unto that victorious Prince, he told him, the King his Maſter being ſo near had commanded him to wait upon him, and to aſſure him of his joy for his victories. The King of *Sweden* returned thoſe Civilities and Honours due unto the Ambaſſadours of *France*, which paſſed over, they began to diſcourſe of affairs: He repreſented unto him, how his Maſter being eldeſt Son and protector of the Church, looked on himſelf as obliged to make a requeſt unto him in behalf of the Catholiques of *Germany*, and to beſeech him to permit them to become neuters, they being readily diſpoſed to fall off from the intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and not to uphold his forces by any way or means whatever; how that his Maſter was the more willing to ſecond their deſires, in regard he thought it very advantagious for the deſign which invited him into *Germany*, for it was no ſmall blow unto the Emperour to draw away from him, the Electors of *Cologne* and *Treves*, the Duke of *Baviers* and divers other Catholick Princes; that in ſome ſenſe it were to cut off one of his Arms, and aſſuredly to deſtroy a third part of his ſtrength; that in concluſion, he believed his Majeſty of *Swede* was obliged in point of diſcretion to permit them to ſit ſtill, provided they did totally decline the Emperour's aſſiſtance with whom alone he was ingaged; that hereby convincing the World he intended not the ſubverſion of Religion, a thing much taking with the people, it would evidently follow, that his enemies would oppoſe him with the leſſe reſolution. The King of *Sweden* received his Majeſties requeſt made by the Marquis *de Breze*, with a great deal of honour; but being a Prince of great underſtanding, he forthwith ſounded the depth of the Catholique Princes promiſes, and made apparent unto him, that their Propoſals were not real; that they had poſſeſſed his Chriſtian Majeſty with falſe impreſſions, that they had drawn upon themſelves the evils which they indured by their own unreaſonable wilfulneſſe contrary to the many fair invitations ſent unto them, of forſaking his enemies, and injoying their eſtates in quiet, under an indifferent contribution which he expected from them. He likewiſe declared unto him, the reſolutions of the League, concluded in the Aſſemblies of *Lantſhut* and *Ingolſtat*, which were directly repugnant to theſe propoſals, as alſo the Duke of *Baviers* Letters, who in the middeſt of his proteſtations of forbearing hoſtility, did not however ceaſe to raiſe forces, forti-

fie Towns, and send Letters of Exchange for the advancing of new Levies; by all which it was evident enough, that his designs tended only to linger out the time, whereby he might take better aim in future. The Marquesse *de Breze*, replied unto him, that in truth, the evil designs of those Catholique Princes could not be executed in regard of the time past'd, especially after sight of their Letters, yet it was to be hoped they would hereafter manage their affairs more advisedly, if there were a Treaty concluded with them: That the King his Master was far from countenancing their unjust pretences, but that in case they should be reduced to reason, as his Majesty well hoped and themselves had fairly promised, he should then affectionately desire they might be permitted to sit still; in order whereunto, he requested there might be a cessation of Arms for fifteen days, in which time, some reasonable end might be concluded. The King of *Sweden* promised to be willing for the Treaty in the behalf of *France*, without which he should hardly have been perswaded to passe over the Duke of *Bavier*, and the other Catholick Princes, after those affronts received from them. In fine, it was no more then he might have desired, he being too prudent not to observe, how by granting them to become Neuters, he did much weaken his enemies, and how that satisfying the World, he intended not an invasion of the Church, the Emperours Forces would not be so zealous in his service, by which means, he might the easilier perfect their destruction.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is great Prudence in a Prince who undertaketh a War, not to declare himself against Religion, a thing which mightily incourageth them who defend it, for that most think it glorious to spend their lives in the preservation thereof. They are still put in mind of those Eternal heavenly rewards of which they shall becom partakers; so that if a Crown of Laurel, proposed as a reward in the Olimpique Games, could produce such great passion in those who entred the Lists; how much more then will the assurance of a rich Crown proposed in the Heavens, animate the courages of the Souldiers. They are informed how the death with which they meet, is not so much a death, as a happy passage from death, which leadeth them from the grave to immortality, from unavoidable miseries, to infinite goods, from tears, to unspeakable joy, and from a fight, to triumph: Thus it being natural unto man kind to be concern'd at the apprehension of great rewards; it cannot be imagined how much they add unto the courage. The most fearfull, are stout and bold in defence of their Religion, of which, the primitive times of the Church have afforded us frequent examples, seeing women and children have for the conservation of their Religion, tryumphed over the greatest courages of Emperours. He who never thought to go out of his own house, willingly taketh up Arms, when the Churches Liberty is in question. The Jews (saith *Tacitus*) were not much concerned to die in their wars, because they believed another life: And *Cæsar* saith, The *Druides* of *France* were unconquerable in the Field, because they believed the Transmigration of Souls, and took it for a shame to be fearful of losing that life which should be restored unto them again. What resolution then would the Catholique have, amidst their belief of another everlasting and most glorious life? The Valour of man doth not so much consist in his bodily strength, as the resolution of his soul, and in that resolution which banisheth all sence of Fear from the heart, which infuseth an universal heat, and leadeth men on to surmount all kind of difficulties; Now who knoweth not that one of Faiths chiefest effects is, to repleniſh the soul with an heavenly fire, and to infuse it with power, for the destruction of what ever resisteth the glory of God? No passion doth so encourage, as the zeal of Religion, it rendereth men sensless in all sufferings, converteth stripes into pleasures, causeth labour to be delightful, and maketh the most cowardly and weak to become couragious.

## *A Treaty of the Catholique Princes of* Germany *with the King of* Swede.

THe King of *Swede* having thought fit to ſuffer the Catholique Princes to become Neuters, and conſented to a ceſſation for fifteen days; there were Articles drawn up, and thoſe the moſt reaſonable that could be wiſhed, they implyed

1. That the League ſhould forſake the Emperors Alliance and Intereſts, and relinquiſh all Intelligence with him.
2. That they ſhould recall their Forces from the Imperial Army.
3. That the Palatinate ſhould be reſtored.
4. That the Duke of *Baviers*, and the other Catholick Princes, ſhould return unto the Proteſtant States whatever had been taken from them, ſince the year ſixteen hundred and eighteen.
5. That they ſhould not permit the Emperour to make any Levies in their States.
6. That they ſhould depoſit ſome places in the King of *Swede's* hands, for their performance of the Treaty.
7. That in conſideration of theſe agreements, the King of *Sweden* ſhould ingage not to uſe any acts of Hoſtility againſt them, or exact any contributions from them.

There could not poſſibly be propoſed any Articles more juſt then theſe, whereby to ſettle the Princes in neutrality; for in caſe they ceaſed to aſſiſt the Emperour, the King of *Swede* would likewiſe forbear drawing any advantages from them, and relinquiſh thoſe which his Armies had lately acquired: There was not any one but this victorious Prince who had cauſe to except againſt them, yet the honour he owed the King obliged him to ſign them. About the ſame time, the *Sieur de Varennes*, then near *Sarbruck*, carried them in all diligence unto his Majeſty, and they were diſpatched unto the perſons intereſſed by ſundry Courriers. The King having received them, ſent the *Sieur de Charnace*, unto the Duke of *Baviers*, the Electors of *Cologne* and *Treves*, the heads of the League, to induce them to confirm the Treaty. He found them in ſuch ſenſible apprehenſions of the Swediſh forces then ready to aſſault their Gates, and hopeleſſe of repelling them; and yet notwithſtanding ſo paſſionately bent towards the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria* that it was eaſie to perceive how all the Propoſals of accommodation made unto the King by the Biſhop of *Wirtsbourg*, tended to no other end but to protract the proceedings of the *Swede*, and in the *interim* to ſtrengthen themſelves, and then to make uſe of their advantages. This inclination of theirs did not much ſurpriſe him for that the Cardinal who is not ignorant of any thing, and whoſe Soul pierceth into the very depth of affairs, had told him that he could expect no other overtures from them; yet his zeal for the Churches good ſo animated him, that he was very preſſing upon them, to imbrace the means neceſſary for a good accommodation: Indeed they ought to have duly conſidered thereof, ſeeing the League which united them, was called Catholique, and two of them were Eccleſiaſtiques. But the firſt Article was the ſtumbling block of all, for they could not find in their hearts to withdraw themſelves from the Emperours Intereſts. The *Sieur de Charnace*, repreſented unto the Duke of *Baviers*, how that he profeſſing to imbrace the Churches intereſts, ought to prefer the preſervation thereof, both in his own and his Neighbour States, before all other conſiderations whatever, and that being now the thing in queſtion, he ought much ſooner to forſake the houſe of *Auſtria* then indanger the other. Notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, he could not find the leaſt inclination in him, ſo to do; but rather on the contrary, the Duke publiquely declared, he could not conclude upon it, in regard of the great reaſon the Emperor would thereby have to complain againſt him, unto which he replied, that there was not any cauſe to apprehend the Emperours being diſcontented therewith, ſeeing

ing every Princes proper intereſt is to be preferr'd before all others whatever, and that the reſolving on this neutrality with the King of *Swede*, was the only viſible way to preſerve his State from a ruine, which elſe was unavoidable. However this diſcourſe though grounded upon reaſon and piety, could not prevail upon him. He ſaid as much unto the Elector of *Cologne*, unto whom he made his next addreſs from his Majeſty; neither here could he effect any thing conſiderable, ſo much were they diſpoſed to uphold the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, before thoſe of the Church; as if they had not much regarded the beholding Gods houſes demoliſhed, Altars profaned, Sacred things plundered, Prieſts and Religious men deſpoyled, provided they might not ſee the Houſe of *Auſtria* abaſed, or reduced to the neceſſity of being contented with thoſe States alone which did juſtly belong unto them. It was a bewitching blindneſs, not to be enough admired, that theſe two Electors (by embracing the Neutrality) might preſerve themſelves, their Religion and States, and yet would by refuſing it, expoſe all to an aſſured ruine. But will not every one be more ſurprized with aſtoniſhment, when he ſhall underſtand, That they deſpiſing that accomodation which his Majeſty had mediated, ſhould in the end aſcribe all the calamities of the German Church unto his Majeſty's fault? As if he who furniſhed them with aſſured means to preſerve it, could be blamed for their non-acceptance, and ruining it: For my part, I muſt needs conclude them alone guilty of thoſe afflictions which befel both the Church and themſelves, for that he who refuſeth the means for obtaining any end, can complain againſt no one but himſelf, if he miſs of his Deſigne. In fin, they deſired a prolongation of the Treaty; the fifteen days being expired, that they might conſider on ſome other ways of Agreement. The King, that he might lay the whole fault at their own doors, as alſo that he might not ſeem to decline any Propoſals tending to the Churches good, diſpatched the Marquis *de Breze* a ſecond time into *Germany*, for that purpoſe. But the King of *Sweden* having laid before him how that there was not any more likely way then that of Neutrality, by them refuſed; and that delays, (which was but Truth) gave his Enemies opportunity to fortifie themſelves againſt him, he deſired to be excuſed: And thus their own wilful ſtubborneſs was the cauſe of his purſuing his conqueſts.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is in petty Princes a fault not to be pardoned, if they ſtand off, and ſubmit not to that Conquerour who will undoubtedly be their ruine: They cannot alledge any reaſons to juſtifie themſelves, for that Neceſſity is a lawful excuſe for all our actions, and Juſtice obligeth the weaker to receive the Law from the ſtronger. But much greater is their fault, who without any detriment to themſelves or Intereſts, may by ſitting ſtill make their Peace. *Caſar* (one of the greateſt Captains amongſt the Ancients) adviſed to agree upon what condition ſoever, provided it were ſure, rather then to be obſtinate in a War with an Enemy more potent then ones ſelf. Thus of evils, the leaſt is to be choſen; neither is the Pilot to be diſcommended, who that he may prevent an abſolute ſhipwrack, parteth with ſome of his Lading unto the Sea. Humane hopes are deceitful, ſo that it was the choice of a wiſe man, rather to ſecure himſelf from an evil, then to aſſure himſelf of an uncertain good; it often hapneth, That he who refuſeth an advantage offered unto him, liveth to repent his non-acceptance thereof. Thus the City of *Tyre* was ſorry, but too late, that they had not ſooner accepted of *Alexander*'s conditions, by which they might have been exempted from the calamities of a long ſiege; which refuſing, did not long after behold their beautiful Buildings ruin'd, part of their inhabitants kill'd, and the reſt brought into captivity. But it is not to be doubted that Catholique Princes are obliged to comply with a Victorious King, if their continuation of the War may bring any detriment unto Religion; nor can any Alliance diſpence with this Law; The Pagans themſelves were ſo juſt in the obſervation thereof, that they never encroached upon it. And indeed, what reaſon can be

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alledged to prefer any mans State, before Gods? And what reason is there to endure the profanation of his House, who is Lord of Lords, for the advancing of an earthly Princes Interests? Which being so, Is it not just that they acknowledge the Obligation they owe unto God, by preferring Religion the only mark of our service, before the Ambition of any Soveraign, unto whom they are only tyed by the bonds of Friendship? Should they do otherwise, what could they reasonably expect from so profane a scorn, but the inflicting of that curse wherewith God threatned *Solomon*, for not preserving his contracts with him, nor observing his Commandments, *viz.* That he would pluck away his Crown, and give it to his servant.

*The King taketh the Archbishop of* Treves *into his Protection.*

AT the same time the Sieur *de Charnace* made several journeys unto the Elector to represent unto him the same considerations which he had offered unto the Duke of *Baviers*, and Elector of *Cologne*; his Success with him was better then with the other two, because he found him in a great Alarum, The *Swedes* were at his Gates, and the Spaniards had already seiz'd upon his chief City of *Coblentz*, with divers other places of his State, insomuch that he had only *Hermestine* left in his own disposal. He had then sent the Sieur *de Scotti*, Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, unto the King of *Sweden*, to secure himself from that storm which most threatned him; but his reception had been none of the best, in regard he had not only furnished his own State with Souldiers, and made great contributions towards the supporting of the League, but had lately taken the Castle of *Stolberg*, and slain a young *Comte de Solms*, with two of his Trayn; and his Letters too were none of the most respectful. All the answer this Gentleman received, was, That he should advise his Master to keep his Purse well provided, to satisfie all those guests who were coming into his Country; That for his part he was not unmindful of the Treaty of Alliance made with *France*, which engaged him to preserve all such Catholique Princes in the enjoyment of their Estates, who should accept of the Neutrality, which he should not fail to perform, when the Elector should adhere unto the conditions of the said Treaty, which obliged him to come off from the Emperors party; the which if he refused, he knew how to compel him to render him an account thereof, as all the rest of his Associates. This answer seemed very high, yet indeed it was but reasonable, seeing he promised all fair usage if he became Neuter, and observ'd the conditions contained in the Treaty with *France*. Could more favour be expected from a Prince against whom one committeth acts of Hostility? Now the Elector being naturally fearful, was so surpriz'd, that he expected the Swedes every hour at his Gates; and the same usage from them as the Bishop of *Wirtzbourg* had already received; so that he resolved to cast himself into his Majesty's Arms, who undertook to make his peace with the Swede, and to protect him from all violence. Not that he wanted (to say the Truth) any affection for the House of *Austria*, it being easie to read his inclinations in his very looks; but, because he knew in cases of Necessity, no one is obliged to assist another to his own prejudice, especially if it cannot be attempted without exposing himself to the danger of a manifest ruine. These were the chief reasons which induced him to shelter himself under his Majesties wings; and although his Proposals proceeded not from any good will to *France*, yet they were such as were too important to be refused; *viz.* That he would surrender part of his Towns lying on the Borders of this Kingdom, unto his Majesty, That he would retire himself unto *Treves*, and there deliver his person as a gage of his Fidelity. These Propositions were the more considerable, in regard his Majesty having him in his power, and the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandebourg* at his disposal, it would be impossible for the Emperor to get his Son crowned King of the *Romans*, and King of *Hungary*, and this made his Majesty the more willing to receive him into his Protection, and to perswade him to sit as Neuter, in relation to the King of Swede.

*Politique*

*Politique Observation.*

Although Neutrality of it self carrieth little assurance with it, it being frequently observed, that he who becomes Neuter, seeth his Country exposed as a Prey unto the Conqueror; yet the case is much altered, when his Neutrality is countenanced by the protection of a great Monarch, who being his Neighbour, secureth him from all danger. I should hardly advise a Petty Prince to put himself under the defence of a King far distant from him, because in case of an Invasion, his succours cannot without difficulty arrive unto him; and if they come at all, it will be unseasonably, and too late for his defence. Every one knoweth, that an Army in a long march disbandeth of it self, and those few who hold out to the end, have more need to rest then fight; Hence it is those Protections our Kings have embraced in *Italy*, find such ill success. *Lewis the* XII. undertook the protection of *John* and *Hannibal Bentivogli*, who were both thrust out of *Boulogne*, when it was least suspected, neither was there any means to prevent it.

*Octavian Fregose* put himself under the same protection, but all would not keep him in the Dutchy of *Genoa*. *Pisa* threw it self into the hands of the French, but was deserted, it being impossible to dispatch Forces timely enough to defend it. Otherwise it is in the protection of a Prince living under the eye of a great Monarch; nothing is so easie as his assistance, and such a King is in honour bound to defend such a Prince, with and against all men, that no inconveniency betide him. The Law of Protection obligeth him who craveth it, to pay all honour and respect unto his Defender, and that with such submission, that in case he recede from his devoir, it may become lawful for his Protector to seize upon his State; and on the contrary, his Protector ought to undertake his defence, and secure him from the oppression of any other whosoever. That which rendereth the Protection of a Neighbour Monarch to be valid, and full of safety, doth most especially consist in the prudent Government of him who is protected, as when he doth wisely observe and regard the Laws of Neutrality, which are neither to assist or provoke either party; in so managing his affairs, he giveth no occasion of offence; and if the prevalent power attempt against him, his Injustice will appear the greater, because a petty Prince is not obliged to declare himself, when his ruine is in danger. His Conduct indeed cannot please either party, neither can it reasonably offend either; which if so, neither can with reason attempt against him: whereas if he declare himself against a great Prince lying on the skirts of his State, his utter destruction will be unavoidable.

## *The King sendeth the Mareschals* de la Force, *and* d' Effiat *into* Germany.

The Catholique Princes had no sooner proposed to become Neuters, but the Cardinal whose eyes are alwaies open to see and judge of what is fit and proper for his masters glory, advised his Majesty to send a strong army into *Germany*, to shew them that they might safely put themselvs under his protection although he wanted not Forces who were already advanced unto the Borders of their Country, to secure them in a case of need, and to defend them from any violences which they might apprehend from the Emperour, if the wheel of Fortune should turn about. This Army consisted of about twenty four thousand men, commanded joyntly by the Mareschals *de la Force, and d' Effiat*. The Elector of *Treves*, adhering unto the Neutrality, under the Kings protection, it was thought requisite for his greater security, that his Towns should be delivered into his Majesties power, for that the Imperialists hold all for enemies who do not countenance their ambitious Designs; and consequently would force the rest (as they had already done part of his Towns) out of his hands; which if they should effect, what were it but to run upon one Rock, by endeavouring to avoid another. He was soon perswaded of the necessity of this advice, which easily induced him to admit French Garrisons into his Cities.

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During these things, the Generals of the Army press'd him to conclude the Treaty in order to his promises, which he seemed but coldly to receive, having already been assured from the Swedish King, that for his Majesty's sake nothing should be attempted against him, whilest he was under his protection. They press'd him to be as good as his word, telling him, it was dishonourable for their Master to receive him into his protection, and that others should hold his Towns from him; whereupon he deposited the Castle of *Hermesteine* into their hands, a place considerable, both for its Form and Scituation, which is such, that it may block up the River *Rhine* at the foot whereof it is seated. Twelve Companies of French marched into it, under the command of *Saludie*, who had long treated with the said Elector, as well as the Sieur *de Charnace*: The like he would have done with his chief City, had it been within his power, but the Chapter being gained by the Imperialists, had forced him to quit it to the Comte *d'Ysembourg*, who kept it with a Garrison of Spaniards sufficient for its defence: The next thing he did, was to deliver *Philipsbourg* into their hands, but his Governour in stead of obeying his commands, in receiving the Garrison, protested he would not deliver the Places, unless unto those whom the Emperour did appoint. Hereupon the Spaniards apprehended (the Elector being in this humour) that *Coblens* might also be designed for his Majesty; to prevent which, they found means to clap a Garrison into it. This place was more important then strong, is scituate upon the mouth of the *Rhine* and *Mozelle*, where they joyn their waters; so that the *Rhine* only parted the French and Spaniard; which had been enough to have kept them at peace, had not the Elector of *Treves* Interests given them occasions of falling out. The King was engaged to protect him, neither could the waters of that large River quench the heat of their Fury, which egg'd them on to skirmish as often as occasion required, which was the cause that they continued not long so neer together, without engagements on either party; and their emulation had increased, had they continued their Neighbourhood any longer together.

## *The City of* Treves *besieged, and the Arch-Bishop established by the Kings Forces.*

THe Cardinals advices and indeavours still tended to preserve a good correspondency between the two Crowns, neither was he to seek for an effectual means to continue it at this time, which he did, by the King of *Swede's* interposition, who perswaded them to march forth from thence, and divers other places. The Design was concluded, and the Marshal *Horn* advanced thither from *Mayence*, with eight thousand Horse, and six score Companies of Foot, all well appointed. The Rhinegrave had a particular Commission for the re-taking of *Coblens*, before which he came about mid-*June*, invested the place, and soon forced the Garrison to surrender upon composition, which once delivered, he restored unto the French, having first dealt with the inhabitants to discharge the expences of the siege, and his march thither. The taking of this place strook such a fear and terror into the Spaniards, that they resolved to quit divers others, at least there needed but little perswasion to intreat their removal; only they made some difficulty in relinquishing the City of *Treves*, which they hoped to keep by the means of some new fortification they had there raised, and a sufficient Garrison to defend it. The Marshal *d'Effiat* was commanded to besiege it, but whilest he was drawing his Army thither, Death, which excuseth neither *Alexanders* nor *Cæsars*, deprived him of his life at *Luxelstein*, but could not rob him of the glory of having served the King his Master with an extraordinary Prudence, both in his Councels and Embassies, with an approved integrity in the management of his Treasuries, and with an illustrious courage in the command of his Armies. The King received the news hereof with grief, and there being no time to be lost, in preventing the Spaniards fortifying themselves, his Majesty soon dispatched the Marshal *d'Estree* into his place,

whose

whoſe Prudence and Courage had been experimented in ſeveral occaſions, and had acquired him the quality of Marſhal *de France*, ever ſince the year 1624. He departed from *Paris* by Poſt towards the Army, where he found the *Vicomte de Arpajon*, and the *Comte de la Suze* Marſhals *de Camp*, who had undertaken the command of the Army, ſince the Marſhal *d'Effiats* death, already advanced near *Troyes*; which they had ſummoned to deliver; the garriſon refuſed, being reſolved to ſuſtain the ſiege and defend the place. Hereupon the *Vicomte de Arpajon*, made his approaches with the Army, and gave orders to inveſt the place, which was performed with ſuch expedition, that the inhabitants found themſelves unexpectedly ſurrounded the very next day. The *Comte de Temsbourg* had not confidence enough in the ſtrength of the place to ſuffer himſelf to be pent up in it, but quartered at *Grafenmacher*, neither had he furniſhed it with above eight hundred men, which conſidering the French power, he thought to augment by clapping three hundred horſe and twelve hundred foot into it, together with a good convoy of Ammunition. In order to which, he made his approaches, but the Marſhal *d'Eſtree* comming to the Army juſt as intelligence was brought of this deſign, he took ſuch courſe that they could not effect it; for he no ſooner received the news, but he commanded the *Comte de la Suze*, and the *Vicomte de Apajon* to a place, by which they were of neceſſity to paſſe; thither they went, and perceiving the enemy ſent to diſcover their Forces by Lievtenant *Alexis*, and twenty light horſe, who advancing further then was requiſite, were quickly ingaged by five ſquadrons of horſe, who forced them to give ground, but were not long unſeconded by the *Sieur de Moulinet* with five and twenty Gallants, by the Companies of *Luzern* and *Roche-Brizant*, and in fine by that of the Cardinal, led by the Marquis *de Mony* and *Coeſlin*, ſo that the skirmiſh became very hot, and many Charges paſs'd on both ſides, untill at laſt they fell to it with their Swords only, ſo long, that in concluſion, the *Comte de Tſembourg*'s horſe having long ſuſtained the French were repelled, and falling in upon their own foot diſordered them, ſo that the French had the purſuit of them, untill the night concluded the buſineſſe, and favoured the enemies retreit. The Imperialiſts left fourſcore Nobles, forty priſoners, their Convoy, and two Cornets behind them, which were preſented unto the King by the *Sieur de Chezelles Bautru*. After this defeit the Marſhal *d'Eſtree*, looking more ſtrictly into the ſiege, found ſome things in diſorder, which he quickly rectified, and brought all things into ſuch method, that the garriſon was ſoon forced to ſurrender. The Chapter were ſenſible of their Treaſon, and acknowledge their lawfull Prince, and thus the Town was taken by compoſition, of which the *Chevalier de Senecterre* was made Governour. This piece of ſervice thus happily effected, the conqueſt of thoſe other places in the Spaniſh hands, was not long in agitation; the Arch-Biſhop being reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his States and Revenues, by which he became ſenſible what a happineſſe it was to injoy the protection of *France*, which ſecured him from all thoſe dangers fallen upon the reſt of his neighbours.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

AMongſt the moſt heroick actions of Kings, the defence of thoſe who deſire their protection, is one which addeth very much to their glory, and raiſeth their power to an eminent greatneſſe. Nothing doth more liken them unto the Divinity, then the defence of the weak and feeble; and if in petty Princes it be a mark of weakneſſe to follow the fortune of the Conquerour; it cannot but be a ſign of great power in a King, not to deny thoſe who ſue for his protection. The defending of them who requeſt it, is an act well beſeeming the Majeſty of a King, who as he ought not to admit any Rival in his Crown, ſo ought he not to deny the communicating of his power unto them who flie unto him for refuge. This is it which maketh a King Arbitrator of all his Neighbours affairs, who gladly ſubmit their differences unto the judgement of a Monarch, who imployeth his power for the maintaining of Juſtice. No one can be ignorant how this is it which rendreth

them

them invincible, it being moſt certain, that who ſo lendeth a hand to help his friends in their neceſſities, ingageth ſo many ſeveral defendors, whenever his occaſions ſhall require it. To be able to ſubſiſt alone, without the help of others is very honourable for a King, yet his glory will be imperfect, if he do not imploy his power to redreſſe his oppreſſed Neighbours in their neceſſities. Tyranny doth build its greatneſſe on the uſurpations of others rights, whereas Juſtice foundeth her glory on the defending the oppreſſed. And if a King may at any time ſend his forces abroad out of his own State, it ought to be either in preſervation of his Allies, under his protection, or in revenge of injuries offered unto him.

*The Emperour endeavoureth at* Rome *to break the Kings Alliance with the Swede.*

THe League between the *Swede* and *France* together with the Elector of *Treves* inclination made ſuch an Alarum in the houſe of *Auſtria*, now unable to divert the ſtorm hanging over them, that they reſolved to have recourſe unto *Rome*, and there to repreſent the Churches grievances in ſuch terms, that they might receive the ſame advantages which the Spaniards heretofore did, upon the like pretences. The Cardinal *Paſman* was diſpatched thither, in order thereunto, where being come, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to ingage the Pope in their affairs; his Holineſſe was preſs'd to make a Croiſade for preſervation of the German Catholicks, for the ſuppreſſing of Hereſie, and eſtabliſhing the Church in its former ſplendor. There were divers calumnies publiſhed abroad againſt the Swedes, the diſaſters of the Church, and miſeries of the Catholicks were aggravated unto exceſſe, but not a word to be heard, how that the Intereſts of the Church had not been in queſtion, but by their unjuſt ſupporting the ambitious deſigns of the Auſtrian family. He indeavoured to perſwade the Pope, that the King of *Sweden*, like another *Attila*, had reſolved to beſiege *Rome*, and force his Holineſſe from his Seat, but eſpecially was he charged to declaim againſt the Alliance between the *Swede* and *France*, and to ſolicite his Holineſs to ſend a Legate or extraordinary *Nuncio* to break the knot as prejudicial to the Catholick church. The Duke *de Savelly*, his Imperial Majeſties Embaſſadour, and the Spaniſh Embaſſadour had order to ſecond him: Cardinal *Borgia* newly tied unto the Spaniſh party, by the gift of the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Sevill*, did not only underhand indeavour to procure the ſuffrages of particular Cardinals, but in the open conſiſtory did violently exclaim, in blaming the Pope for abandoning the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and in it, the Church it ſelf, highly exalting the King of *Spain's* zeal for Religion, and crying out againſt the cold rewarding his good intentions.

Now divers of the Conſiſtory, being unacquainted with the affairs of *Germany*, and how the misfortunes befallen on ſome Catholique Princes, was the only effect of their own faults, were at firſt divided, and the Spaniſh Partiſans became ſo ſtout, that his Holineſſe had juſt cauſe to diſlike their proceedings. But his Holineſſe informing the Conſiſtory with the true ſtate of affairs, made it appear unto the Cardinals, that the War of *Germany* was a War of State, not Religion, and the matter was ſo manag'd that the houſe of *Auſtria* had no great cauſe to rejoyce. The Popes anſwer to their party was, that the Emperour had drawn upon himſelf thoſe evils which he now indured; that the men and monies waſted in the plundering of *Italy*, the Sacking of *Mantua*, and threatning of the Holy Sea, would better have ſerved to hinder the Swedes, and put a ſtop to their conqueſts; that the Remonſtrances of his Legats and Nuntioes, had been deluded, *Germany* neglected, the Swedes ſlighted, *Italy* invaded, and the Holy Sea forced to lay out it's Treaſure, in the preſervation of it ſelf, and *St. Peters* Patrimony; that in fine, his Government might poſſible be traduced, not blamed, that his indeavours already uſed, and which he reſolved to continue, were capable enough to juſtifie his cares for the Churches good, that he would willingly contribute the remainder of his power

which was but small, having consumed the Treasures of the Church in the War of *Italy*; And lastly, that he would gladly imploy any remedy which he should find expedient to destroy Heresie and preserve the Church; and that he might unto this Temporal add a Spiritual remedy, he proclaimed an universal *Jubile*, exhorting all men to assist the Church of *Germany* with their Prayers. The Deputies of *Germany* were but little comforted herewith, but departed from *Rome*, unsatisfied. They might easily have obtained, as heretofore, thundring Excommunications against *France*, and have exposed the Kingdom to ruine, had *Gregory* the Fourteenth been yet alive, but we do not now live in those times. The Masque of Religion wherewith the House of *Austria* use to cover their designs, is now taken off, and the Cardinal who knoweth of what concernment it is for States to hold *Rome* in friendship was not backward, both for the good of the Church and this Kingdom, to inform his Holiness of the design contrived by the House of *Austria*, for the overrunning of *Italy*, and bringing the Holy Sea into such subjection, that themselves might overaw the Censures, Decrees and Excommunications of the Church; so the Pope convinced of the truth hereof, was not possibly to be surprized, but blamed the German Princes for exposing their States to such miseries, in behalf of the ambitious design of the House of *Austria*; and on the contrary, commended his Majesty for his readiness and willingness, to protect the Church and those very Princes, in case they would recede from their wicked designs.

### *That Catholick Princes ought to hold good correspondence with* Rome.

IT was not without great reason, what *Antonio Perez* once told the late *Henry* the Great, *viz.* that the French being unmatchable for courage, would undoubtedly conquer the whole earth, if to their natural valour, the favour of *Rome*, the mastery of the Sea, and a fix'd Council of able Statesmen were adjoyned: These three things make a Prince truly great: And the course of affairs now leadeth me to discourse of one of them, *viz.* of the necessity of holding a fair correspondence with the Roman Sea, which I may well say is necessary, partly for the avoiding of those evils which may happen by want thereof, and partly for the inducing the people by its approbation to admit of the many and several undertakings in a State. The Empire of Souls, is both great and tickleth, if it were only in relation of those Anathemas which may be darted out against Princes. One of the most conspicuous church-lights, said, and that with great judgement, that the Thunders of the Church are to be feared, how unjust soever, and indeed so they are, because the execrations of Christ Jesus Vicar, are of great efficacy before God, who holdeth the Government of Kingdomes in his hands, and also because of the terrours they strike into the people, who concluding a Prince reproved by God, as soon as by the Holy Sea, do not only lose their respect, due to such rulers, but even run into disobedience and insurrection. Did not those Thunders in the times of the late League, kindle the flames, which did long consume this Kingdom, what was it which brought *Navar* into the Spaniards hands, but the imbroils between *Lewis* the Twelfth and *Julius* the Second? Now if a good intelligence with the Sea of *Rome*, is a security from such like misfortunes; it is no lesse an advantage to a State, in regard of its approbation of a Soveraigns enterprizes. This is it which holdeth the people in quiet, which maketh them think the yoak of obedience to be easie, which preserveth the love of their Prince in their minds; and which rendreth contributions imposed by necessity, the more supportable; and in general it may be said, that there is not any thing how bad soever, which they will distast, if approved by the Holy Sea, so great a respect doth Religion produce in the minds of men. King *Numa* had no better invention to make his actions received by the people of *Rome*, then by telling them, he did nothing but by the Counsel of the Nymph *Egeria*, who communicaced the Will of the Gods unto him. No one is ignorant of the repute which the South-sayers had with the people of *Rome*, in perswading them to approve of their Consuls and Emperours designs and undertakings. Could then any more likely way be invented,

both

both to justifie their undertakings, and incourage their Souldiers, then by telling them the Gods approved of them? Neither can it be doubted, but the Pope's approbation is an effectual way to perswade people to like their Princes designs, to live in quiet, and to be well satisfied with the Government under which they live. But how much then are the Popes obliged to be favourable towards *France*, which hath ever been their Refuge, their Asylum, their Prop and Protection? Besides, their Interests are the same with ours, seeing the French use not such under-hand shufflings as the Spaniards, and are far enough from such ambitious designs as the House of *Austria*, who are still contriving to oppress the Liberties of the Church, to subjugate the holy See, and to over-awe its Decrees; whereas the French endeavour only to preserve every one in his own Right, and to be contented with a good Pope, an honest and stout man, who will not suffer himself to be surprized by their Enemies, but shew himself a common Father to all, without procuring any detriment to one, by the suggestion of another.

*The Cardinal endeth a difference between the Bishops and Friers.*

NOt long after the Kings return from *Lorrain*, the Cardinal undertook to compose a difference between the Bishops and Friers, which had made a great noise for sundry ages together; The Friers relying upon their priviledges obtained from the holy See, pretended to have power both to Preach and Confess, without permission from the Bishops; and the Bishops unto whom all people within their Dioceses are subject, by common right, did perpetually thwart that pretension: They could not down with the Friers Priviledges, alledging they ought to be declared void, as being oppugnant to the primitive constitutions of the Church, which ought to be preserved in the same model, for the continuation thereof in its pristine splendour. This quarrel had been especially fomented during the last year, by reason some Books had been published in the name of the English Catholiques, which preferr'd the Monastical life before that of the Prelats, and seemed to imply that Friers were more necessary, at least more useful to the Church then the ordinary Pastors. To say the Truth, these Propositions were bold, and without offence to any one, may safely be termed rash and inconsiderate. But what likelyhood was there of composing these differences? Was it probable that the whole Society of Friers would relinquish the priviledges they had obtained from the holy See? On the other side, What reason was there that the Prelats should have so little authority over them in Administration of Sacraments, and the Word of God, seeing in the Primitive times Friers were only mix'd amongst the Laity, and addressed themselves unto the Bishops Congregations to receive the Sacraments from their hands, or those who executed their charge? No one but the Cardinal could give an end to these differences, there being not a man who durst so much as make a a Proposal whereby each party might receive satisfaction: neither did he wave the trouble, but willingly took it upon himself, though he was even at that time imployed in the most important affairs of Christendom; yet such was his indefatigable zeal for God's glory, and the Churches good, that he undertook the business. He caused the Superiors of the Orders to come before him, one by one, well knowing, that to negotiate such a business in a Publike Assembly, would be a labour in vain, and equally difficult as the breaking of a cable, whose particular threads are easily to be forced asunder. He was a person well vers'd in all Antiquities, and accordingly he represented to them, how that in the first Institution of Monks, they were consecrated unto God by the mediation of Bishops, who received their Vows, instructed them, and directed their Consciences: He laid before them the original of the whole Affair, , and shewed them, how that the Sons of God had subjected all those who sold their goods, and followed him, unto the Apostles, whose Successors the Bishops are; whereupon they making a strict profession of leading an Evangelical life, were more particularly obliged to observe the order established in and by the Gospel; not that he would question the validity of those exemptions

granted from the holy See, unto which he owed much more reſpect and obedience then to debate the Ordinances thereof, yet that he muſt needs inform them, that they could not be diſpenſed with from following the order eſtabliſhed by Jeſus Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, in adminiſtring the Sacraments and Word of God; That it was not alwaies proper to uſe the utmoſt of a mans power, and that the wiſeſt perſons are uſually the moſt moderate; that in fine, themſelves could not deny but they were obliged to relinquiſh ſome part of their pretenſions, for the avoyding of trouble to the Church, which was likely to enſue upon this account, and whereof the Heretiques diſcourſed with much freedom and joy; That this Peace would be more acceptable to God, then all the advantages it could otherwiſe procure unto particular perſons; That it would tend unto their Honours, by teſtifying unto the world the moderations of their minds, and humility of their Spirits, the two worthy ornaments of a Religious perſon, and that conſequently the world would eſteem the better of them; That he hoped it would be the more acceptable before God, in regard they did exemplarily ſet forth the merit of obedience and ſubmiſſion to their Prelats in ordinary, unto whom God hath with his own mouth committed the leading of men unto charitable works; that he ſhould not willingly propoſe, that the Biſhops ſhould have ordinary juriſdiction over their perſons, or power to viſit their Monaſteries, but that leaving them full liberty to execute their Monaſtical functions, it ſeemed fit unto him, that they ſhould not refuſe to be dependent upon them in matter of adminiſtring the Sacraments, of Thanks-giving, Penitence, Preaching the Word, and to admit them to have power to repeal this priviledge which was derived from them, according as the Council of *Trent* hath preſcribed, all whoſe Decrees are true, and ought to be obſerved. Theſe Reaſons were of themſelves ſtrong enough, but much more powerful, when animated by the charms of his diſcourſe, which hath ſo great an influence, that it is impoſſible to deny him any thing, if all they who have had the honour to know him, may be credited. Accordingly each one addreſſed himſelf to obſerve his directions; and although ſome unreaſonable perſons began at firſt to create ſome difficulties, yet his Prudence ſoon prevailed over them, inſomuch that they could not be thought the ſame men, who had ſo lately and ſo ſtiffly maintained their abſolute Independencies upon their Ordinaries. He cauſed a Declaration to be drawn, wherein they acknowledged themſelves uncapable to preach without examination, licence, and approbation from their Biſhops firſt had and obtained, and that the ſaid Biſhops might at any time revoke the ſaid Licenſes; withal, that they neither ought nor could hear the Confeſſions of Secular men, without approbation, which the ſaid Biſhops might likewiſe repeal, in caſe of any incapacity, or publike ſcandal. Every one ſubſcribed thereunto. The Biſhops diſpatched Copies thereof into all parts; and thus his Eminency ended a difference which had made ſuch a noiſe ſo many Ages together, and in which there was but little hopes.

*Politique Obſervation.*

THe credit and eſteem which an eminent perſon obtaineth in a State, have ever been reputed ſufficient to appeaſe any embroyls what ever. His Judgement will work the minds of men to what form he pleaſeth, and every one regarding him as a perſon bleſs'd from heaven, and indued with ſo extraordinary an underſtanding, that no one dares deny him any thing: They give ſo abſolute a power over their very wills, that there is no appeal from his reſolutions; they permit him to command any thing without contradiction, to ruſe them without reſiſtance, and to determine all things without exception. The eſteem of a Phyſician doth oftentimes as many cures as his Phyſick; and this ſame perſwaſion is ſo powerful, that ſomtimes the very ſight hath been a Cure. And is it not likewiſe moſt certain, that the credit which a great perſon acquireth in the opinions of men is more powerful then any other means to reduce them unto reaſon? Nay, Doth not his very preſence ſomtimes appeaſe great ſeditions? The Authority of a *Phocion* at *Athens*, and

and of a *Cato* at *Rome*, hath often wrought wonderful effects. Was not the only appearance of the Philosopher *Apollonius Thyaneus* sufficient to appease great discords between divers Cities of *Asia*? When *Julius Cæsar* was in a strait, his very presence alone asswaged the Roman Legions, raging in a mutiny; nay he reduced them to such a pass, that having cashiered them, it was not without much entreaty that he restored them to the Army. The Consul *Popilius Manas* was able by his meer presence to appease an Insurrection of the common people of *Rome* against the Senators. It is (to speak the truth) very strange to behold a people mutined, raging and foming like the billows of an outragious Sea (which overthroweth and destroyeth what-ever opposeth it) slighting the force of Arms, entreaties, threatnings, and all things else, yet on the sudden becalmed at the presence of some great person, who by his worth and services hath acquired an extraordinary reputation amongst them. But to him who knoweth how powerful Credit and Repute are, it will not seem incredible; for he cannot be ignorant that opinion will sooner procure a good proposition to be admitted, or an ill advice rejected, then any other means or devices what-ever. A good opinion will make any impression on mens minds, it will move their hearts, tongues, hands, and lead their wills and affections as it were in a string. Credit and Esteem do inscribe I know not what attracts of Majesty on the faces of those who have once acquired them, so that a man is forced as it were to subscribe unto their inclinations, and most men think it a rashness to resist their Wills in any thing what-ever.

## Monsieur *arriveth at* Bruxels.

THe Duke of *Lorrain* was not a little happy in having obtained his Peace from the King's Bounty, neither was the Cardinal a little extolled for having settled Peace between the Churchmen of the Kingdom: But the sky cannot long continue without clouds, neither can a Peace be so established, as that no troubles should at any time arise, which now fell out accordingly: For *Monsieur* having resolv'd to go unto *Bruxels*, began to prepare himself for his journey, that he might make sure of those Forces which the Spaniards had promised unto the Sieur *de Puy-Laurens* towards the invading of *France*, and there to conclude with them what course it were best to steer. *Monsieur* at his departure from *Nancy*, made a small days journey unto *Remiremont*, where the Princess *Marguerite* then was, that he might satisfie the passion which is incident upon new Marriages; From thence he went unto *Besançon*, whence after a short repose he went towards *Bruxels* by *Luxembourg*. Passing by *Thionville*, he left *Coigneux* and *Monsigot* behind him, having taken his Seals from the former, and delivered his Pen unto *Guillemin* in place of the second. I may not omit to observe that the discredit of these two persons was but the effect of *Puy-Laurens* displeasure, conceiv'd against them for their boldness in informing *Monsieur* with reasons to divert him from the marriage, whereunto he had always inclined him; for from that time he put an hundred several tricks upon them; and such was his Love and Ambition, that he could not endure the sight of any one in the House, who durst contradict his Will and Pleasure. The *Infanta* hearing that *Monsieur* was drawing near unto *Bruxelles*, gave order for his reception according to his Quality: At his coming he was entertained not only with great honour by her Highness, but from the Spaniards too, who finding him inclined to interest himself in their designs, endeavoured to give all imaginable content. *Monsieur* made his entrance on the 28. of *January*, attended with two hundred Horse. The Marabel received him in the King of *Spain*'s name. The Marquis de Sainte *Croix*, with all the Officers and Nobility of *Flandres*, met him a league from *Bruxels*, with a Troop of Gentlemen before them, armed from head to foot: All the Companies of the City came to salute him; Briefly they did him all the same Honours as had been shewed to the Queen his Mother. He dismounted at the *Infantas* Palace before he visited the Queen; She received him with those Civilities and Favours which are inherent in her, and those so obligingly, that they were

were extraordinary great in perſons of her age. She came to meet him at the firſt Hall, where ſhe intended him his audience, and preſently told him ſhe was very ſorry there ſhould be any quarrel between them at their firſt interview, becauſe he had come to viſit her before the Queen his Mother: Whereunto *Monſieur* replyed very handſomly, that he ſhould more eaſily give her ſatisfaction as to that Quarrel, then for the great obligations which he owed unto her: After ſome other Civilities, ſhe lead him into a Hall, where were the Grandees of *Spain*, together with the Knights of the Golden Fleece, who ſaluted him, being all bare, himſelf being likewiſe uncovered ſome little time: After which *Monſieur* and her Highneſs ſeated themſelves in chairs provided for that purpoſe, th' *Infanta* in that on the left hand, and *Monſieur* on the right; where after half an hours entertainment, *Monſieur* deſired leave to kiſs the Ladies, who were all placed as if it had been at a *Ball*, This complement paſs'd over, he went to viſit the Queen his Mother, who conſidering him as the perſon who ſhould vindicate her quarrel, force his Majeſty to baniſh the Cardinal from the Court, and eſtabliſh her in her former power in *France*, received him with all the teſtimonies of joy and gladneſs, though ſhe forbore to diſcover all her thoughts, the better to hide the intelligence and agreement between them. The *Infanta* defrayed all his expences until the 17. of *May*, when he departed from *Bruxels*, and took great care that he might paſs away his time with all ſorts of diverſions, both within door, and abroad; which recreations were ſomtimes interrupted by the jealouſies and quarrels hapning between thoſe of her Court, and the Queen-Mothers.

### *The danger of Drawing Strangers into a Kingdom.*

IT is very dangerous to call ſtrangers into a State, in hopes to ſupport a revolt by their means. No doubt they will be ready to foment any diſcontent, and to incourage any attempt. but it is wiſdom to miſtruſt them. Is it not a madneſs to hope for men and miracles from a Prince who hath enough to do to defend himſelf? If there be any Libertines uncapable of civil ſociety, any diſorderly irreligious perſons, any Plunderers, ſuch as take all they meet, theſe are the men with whom they ſhall be furniſhed; Now were it not (I pray) a folly to build hopes and deſigns upon men ſo qualified? To ſay the truth, ſuch men as they cannot affectionately ingage themſelves, ſo will they not readily endanger themſelves, but behave themſelves moſt couragiouſly in rifling and robbing naked and poor people, until they come to fight, and then nothing is ſo pittiful and backward. Now if it be weakneſs to truſt in ſtrange Souldiers, it is more folly to confide in their Commanders, who if perſons of no courage, what reaſonable expectations can be hoped from them? And if they be perſons well qualified, and fit to command, there is then more cauſe to fear then truſt them, for doubtleſs they will hardly forſake any Hold they once take in a Country, but will do their utmoſt to ſurprize ſome place of Importance; which if it be not ſuddenly to be effected, yet certainly they will deſigne it, and bring it to paſs, when opportunity inviteth them. The *Carthaginians* (according as *Polybius* relateth) ſaw their affairs run from bad to worſe, when their Army became full of Strangers, Gauls, Spaniards, Greeks and Fugitives, and *Tacitus* tells us the true cauſe, why Armies compos'd of Strangers ſubſiſt no longer then Fortune ſmileth upon them, but disband upon the leaſt blow or loſs, becauſe they want affection. Th' Emperour of *Conſtantinople* having called ten thouſand Turks unto his aſſiſtance, ſoon perceived his own folly; becauſe they finding themſelves the ſtrongeſt party, would not return back again, but laid the foundation of thoſe miſeries under which they now hold that Empire. But that we go no further then *France* it ſelf, which hath more indangered it, then the calling in of the Engliſh and Spaniards; and doth not every one know, that when Civil Wars have opened the Gates of a Kingdom unto Strangers, they ſoon fortifie themſelves ſo ſtrongly, that they are hardly to be removed, but after long and ſad Wars? It is great prudence in a Prince, not to engage in any revolt, but if he be ſo ill adviſed,

advised as to take up Arms against his Soveraign, let him beware of calling in strangers to his assistance.

## Monsieur *resolveth to joyn himself with* Goncales de Cordoue.

*Monsieur* perceiving the Spring to come on, and the time for leading Armies into the Field draw neer, resolved to leave *Bruxelles*, and joyn with *Dom Gonçales de Cordoue*, who expected him at *Treves*. Before his departure he took leave of the *Infanta* at a publick Audience, who, after he had been re-conducted by all the great Lords of the Court unto his Lodgings, sent him a Present of three Coffers, which bespoke her no lesse magnificence then nobleness of mind. The first was of perfumed Leather imbroidred, the Lock, Key, and Arms of Gold, enamelled, within were two suits very rich; the second was of crimson Velvet embroidered, fill'd with very fine linnen; and the third was full of all sorts of sweet meats: She likewise presented him with a Suit of Arms and two handsom Horses, fitter for shew then use; neither was she unmindful of gratifying the chief Gentlemen of his Retinue, some with Rings, some with Diamonds, and others with Chains of Gold, having Meddals of the King of *Spain* hanging at the ends of them. *Monsieur* being once departed from *Bruxels*, made his usual speed towards *Treves*, whither *Dom Gonçales de Cordoue* was advanced, with design to fall upon the Palatinate (as he pretended) and there to establish his Masters affairs, which the *Swedes* had much disordered; but in truth, to invade *France* with *Monsieur* which was most probable. The King of *Spain* had dispatched him from Court, about the beginning of *January*, with Commission to command the Army in the Palatinate, and Order to go into *France*, as an extraordinary Embassadour to indeavour some way of accommodation for the affairs of *Germany*; and from thence to go unto the Arch Dutchess, who should give him instructions for his further procedure. Accordingly, he came to *Paris*, and thence went to Saint *Germain en Laye*, about mid *March*, the King being then there. His Majesty treated him with a great deal of splendour, and caused his Musqueteirs to exercise before him, that he might see, how dextrous he was to imbattle an Army, and to lead them on to fight with more judgement then the ablest Commander in his Kingdom. The next thing he did, was to visit the Cardinal, by whom he was very civilly receiv'd; but having never seen him before, he thought to surprize him, and in his discourses upon the affairs of *Germany*, to make him swallow shadows for real substances. But his Eminency let him perceive that the Emperors and his Masters designs were but too well known, and that it was but a trick to perswade the World that the War of *Germany*, was a War of Religion, and not of State; so that in conclusion, he saw his devices were eluded, and that there is not any Fetch able to circumvent the prudence of that grand Minister. Hereupon, he made no long stay at Court, his design thither being for other ends then to receive bare complements and civilities; yet in going off, he commited one Act absolutely contrary to the custom of all Embassadours, *viz.* his refusing of a Sword beset with Diamonds, which with the Scabbard was worth ten thousand Crowns, sent unto him from the King for a Present, shewing by this Action, that having left *Spain*, to trouble *France*, he would not receive any Present which might oblige him to lessen his ill will. Not but that he was soon payed in his own coin, and that by the *Sieur de Guron*, who was the presenter of the Sword, for *Dom Gonçales* his Secretary, coming to him and offering him some Present from his Master, was told, that he would not receive any thing from a Minister of *Spain*, who had refused the Liberalities of his Master, and that it was as hard to surprize him at *Paris*, as at *Cazal*.

After he had continued some few days in this Court, he departed towards *Bruxels*, and from thence having received Orders from the *Infanta*, went towards *Treves* in expectation of *Monsieur*, who came to him about the end of *May*. *Dom Gonçales* received him with all imaginable honour, went to meet him with the Spanish Nobility, entertain'd him and his retinue at Supper with a great deal of splendour;

dour; and in fine, left his own lodgings unto him. *Treves* was the Randezvouz for the forces of *Dom Gonçales*, of the *Comte de Merode*, of the *Comte de Embden*, had he not been diverted. *Monsieur* was in consultation with them, hoping he might carry most of their Forces into *France*; but they let him see how the Spaniards have not yet lost their old custom of promising much, and performing little, to such as expect relief from them. The King indeed had, by the Cardinals perswasion, taken a good course to divert their designs, *viz.* by giving them work enough in *Germany* and the Low-countries, so to keep them off from invading their neighbours: For just at that nick of time it was, that the Hollanders by his advice, went and besieged *Maestry*, with so potent an Army, that the whole force of *Spain* and the Empire, could not possibly relieve it. *Dom Gonçales* found himself necessitated to draw thither, that one affair being work enough to imploy his utmost force; so that *Monsieur* was necessitated to be satisfied with such few men as could be spared, and to dispatch the *Sieur de Fargis* unto *Spain*, there to negotiate a greater assistance; in the interim, he advanced towards *Nancy*, hoping to supply this defect, by the forces which he expected from the Duke of *Lorrain*.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is great Prudence in a Minister of State, having once discovered that the designs of a Forraign Prince, are to foment and support Revolts in his State, to cause an enemy to encounter him, that being a most infallible way to break his resolutions; for most certain it is, every one will sooner bestir himself to quench the fire which burneth his own house, then to kindle a fire in his neighbours. Prevention, and Diversion, are too great advantages in War (saith *Alphonsus de Arragon*) thus did the Syracusians, procure the Lacedemonians to invade the Athenians, whereby they might prevent their sending of succors to *Nice* in *Sicily*: Thus *Hannibal* advised *Antiochus* to go and Forrage the country of *Philip*; to the end, that finding new work for his Forces, he might be disabled from sending them to the Romans to fight against him; and thus *Avirus* a Roman Captain, invaded the Country of *Tentari*, to hinder them from assisting the Ansibarians with their Forces. To provide great Armies for the defence of a State, and for the suppressing of an insurrection, is not all, no, there ought to be prudence, and discretion in the management of affairs, and to make a strong diversion, is as necessary as to fight well: Besides, Prudence is of so much the more advantage, in regard by such diversions it weakneth those who revolt, reduceth them to exigencies, and inability of doing any thing considerable; and in fine, maketh them easie to be overcome, wheras without it, it would be a hard matter to secure any thing from their violence.

## *The Indictment of the Marshal* de Marillac.

IT was near about this time that the Marshal *de Marillac* was condemned, having been imprisoned at Saint *Menehoust*, in the year, 1630. as hath formerly been declared. The Cardinal knew, that the punishing of great persons ought not to be precipitated, lest that which is indeed the effect of Justice, be thought the hand of Revenge, whereupon he was of opinion to delay the prosecution of his Indictment for some certain time, and only to follow the usual course though the further way about, for the more ample information and instruction of his Judges: Besides, he was not ignorant, that as the highest stars are slowest in their motions; so Kings whom God hath raised above the ordinary pitch of men, ought to be lesse active in the works of Justice, then other men. I insert this criminal in the Catalogue of great men, not in regard of his birth or the services he hath done the State; but in consideration of the imployment wherewith his Majesty was pleas'd to honour him, which was more to avoid the Queen-Mothers importunities, then for any reward of his deserts, which could hardly have invited his Majesty to raise him unto so

so eminent a degree. Indeed the whole Court was astonish'd to see the King advance him to that dignity, openly saying, that the extortions he had used in his employments were his most remarkable actions; they accused his courage, nor could they dissemble their opinions, that such honours were not used to be conferr'd on persons of his temper. The late King, *Henry le Grand*, did ever slight him, nor did he ever appear at Court, but under the Queen-Mothers Regency, who had given him a Wife of one of the Daughters of a branch of the House of *Medicis*, before the Crown of *Florence* had been setled on that family; and who besides the honour of his name, had nothing which could intitle him to any great actions. Running at the Ring was then much in fashion, where his diligence got him more credit then any fight he had ever seen. The first command he had was under *Monsieur de Angoulesme*, where he was Commissary of the Victuals, which he discharged so untowardly, that the King had then punished him upon divers complaints made against him, but that the Cardinal interposed in his behalf. The building of the Cittadel of *Verdun* was the next thing intrusted to his care, but he presently fell to make such exactions upon poor mens labours, that some particulars thereof already proved, besides what is yet in dispute are prodigious. The Garrison being once established, he robb'd the Souldiers, as much as the Builders; and being Lievtenant of the Country, he went on to that height, that he exacted from the Villages, whatever was necessary to be spent in his house, divers Towns payed him yearly compositions, raised by compact, that they might prevent the quartering of his Souldiers; others agreed to provide necessaries for his house, which however, for the most part, were delivered but once in kind, and then altered into sums of ready mony. If any Town made the least resistance or grumbling, the inhabitants were sure to be ruin'd and plundered by his Souldiers, who knew they should not be called to account for it, but rather that they should be countenanced for it, by him who set them on work. This trade did he drive, and that so publickly over all the extent of his power, as if the King himself had approved thereof; neither was there want of any proof to make evident at his Tryal. In the year 1627. he was imployed at *Rochel*, where the credit he got was so little to his advantage, that the Commander *de Valance*, who calleth every thing by its right name, talking one day unto the King of a man without courage, openly said, that he was no more a coward then *Marillac*. About that very time was it, that he indeavoured by his Letters, and the designs of those of his Cabal, to sow the Seeds of discontent between the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal, which have proved so unhappy to the whole Kingdom; and he continued to foment that fire with such care and addresse that the sparks of it are not yet quite extinguished. During the Kings abode in *Italy*, the Cardinal to please the Queen-Mother, procured the command of the Army in *Campagne*, to be conferred upon him, where he robb'd the Souldiers of their very bread with such boldnesse, that he sometimes exacted a third, frequently a quarter, but never miss'd a fifth; and when he was commanded with his Forces into *Italy*, he delayed the time with excuses, either that he might crosse the Kings designs (which they of his Cabal much desired) or because he would not divide that command with another, on t'other side the Mountains, which himself injoyed alone in *Campagne*; insomuch, that his Majesties affairs had fallen into extream disorder, had it not been for the Prudent Conduct of the Cardinal and Generals who commanded the Army in *Italy*. Succeeding Ages will hardly believe, that such excesses were put up so long together, especially if they compare it with preceding times, where the Marshal *de Gie*, descended from one of the best houses of the Kingdom, and a person intrusted with great imployments under three several Kings, where the Admiral *Chabot*, one of the most valiant of those times, and one who governed the State with *Anne de Montmorency*, where the Marshal *de Biez*, the Chancellour *Poier*, *Jean de Montaigu*, *Grand Maistre de France*, *Peter des Essarts & Semblance*, were severally punished for the same, and yet much lesse crime of purloining the Treasure. But these things were all connived, at inconsideration of the Queen-Mother, whom the Cardinal would not provoke,

and therefore kept those Passages from the Kings ears: But at last, his seditious intreagues, together with his Brothers, and their Faction at Court, for to destroy the Cardinal, and to exalt even the Queen-Mother to that height, which they did, as appeared in the Battel at *Dupes*, did so provoke the King, both in regard of his base ingratitude towards the Cardinal, by whose only means it was, that he injoyed all his Honours and Benefits from his Majesty, and also because they indeavoured to compel his Majesty to destroy the Cardinal, by whose prudent conduct the State had received such signal advantages as are not to be equalized since the memory of man, that he was at last forced to leave him in the hands of Justice, to receive the punishment of the law, for the oppressions he had committed upon the people.

*Politique Observation.*

THe Oppression of the poor, is a crime which reacheth high as heaven, and crieth for revenge unto God. The Poor have this advantage over the Rich, in exchange of the goods of fortune that God owneth them for so many particular Members of his Body, and will not suffer them who injure them to be unpunished, in regard he taketh it as acted against himself. He giveth great men power enough to defend themselves, which having denied unto the poor, himself becometh their Protector; and he strictly requireth all Kings, the lively Images of his power to do justice unto them. Upon this just ground are the Ordinances of *France* founded, which severely punish (like the Roman Laws) all such Governours and Commanders, as oppresse the poor to satisfie their own covetousnesse, and our Kings have made the greatest persons of the Kingdom, the Objects of their Justice, whever they have been convicted of Tyrannical violence. What reason is there, that poor men who have enough to do to satisfie the necessities of life, who undergo great inconveniences in quartering of Souldiers, and in effect, bear the greatest burthen of War, should be forced to satiate the unbounded Avarice of a Governour or General? Were not that to bury them alive, or to force them to despairs; Despairs the more dangerous, because they are a soil in which great men usually sow the Seeds of their discontents, to raise divisions, and beget civil dissentions? Is not the King more injured therein then any other whatever? Is he not truly the head of his Subjects, the heart of their lives, and fountain of their souls? Which being so, is it possible to exhaust their blood and substance, without weakning and destroying him? Besides, in case any sudden necessity befall, where shall he look for assistance? And in case of an invasion, will they not be easily ingaged to a Revolt, upon hopes of more gentle usage?

*The Marshal* de Marillac's *Death.*

THe Marshal *de Marillac's* Indictment was finished with all due formality; he was first conducted to *St. Menehoust*, thence to *Verdun*, the Theater of his Crimes, and where the proof of them would most easily appear; from thence he was carried to the Castle of *Ruel*, where the King commanded judgement to be given by the Lord Keeper and 22 Judges, elected by his Majesty for their integrities and known abilities. His kindred solicited for him, as often, as many, and with what liberty they pleased. They used their utmost indeavours to ingage the Judges to save his life, nay they threatned them, partly by recommendations, partly by menaces, sent from persons abroad, the most potent that could be interested in his protection. The discussing of the Informations, Interrogatories, and Pleas by him used to save his life, took up two moneths time in the Court. All the Commissaries were perfectly instructed of every proceeding, it being permitted them, to deliver the full and ample extract of all his charge and defence, unto those who solicited in his behalf. He was so favourably deak withall, that one of the Commissaries, who had drawn up the information, was not received as Judge,

nor

nor divers others against whom he excepted, at which the King was not a little offended. It was permitted that one of the Judges who pleaded unto his fellow Brethren, nothing but reasons of lenity, and all arguments which might induce them to acquit him, was admitted to sit as Judge, though by the strictness of law he might have been excluded. The King himself proceeded with so much Clemency, that there was not any one appeared on his behalf, to solicite his condemnation; but on the contrary, his Majesty called all the Judges before him, and that he might give them free liberty to act, told them, he expected no other Justice from them, but such as they would willingly shew unto his meanest subject. To be short, before they proceeded to judgement, he was twice demanded after the longest Interrogatories that ever were heard (it having lasted three whole days) if he had any thing to say for himself, unto which he answered, no. More was as much favour and lenity shewed, as possibly could have been desired, towards a person designed to be saved. But what likelihood was there to defend him, from the penalty of the Ordinance in 46. ratified in Parliament, which declareth, that whoever purloineth the Treasure, shall be punished by confiscation of Body and Goods? Upon what accompt could he be exempted from the penalty of the Ordinance *de Blois*, which commandeth that all the Heads and Members of Companies, found to have exacted monies to avoid quartering in Houses of Villages, shall be punished with death, without hopes of pardon, with this additional clause, that though his Majesty should by his favour, or the importunity of others, be induced to pardon it, yet the Lord Keeper is prohibited to seal it, and the Judges required not to regard it? Could the Judges possibly have eluded that Law, which rieth on the Kings very Mercy? Moreover, what could they find in the Prisoner, or his Crimes, which could invite them to favour him, who had not made himself considerable in any his imploiments, wherewith the King had honour'd him, but by the extortions he had imposed on the people? Are not all Magistrates bound to imploy their utmost care, in defence of the poor, who have no relief but Justice? Whereas his Robberies, accompanied with such hellish imposition, made him worthy of death, and did they not likewise oblige his Judges to be the more severe towards him? The State could not receive any losse by his death, who had never done any remarkable service for his King or Country, but who on the contrary, was the chief instrument to perswade *Monsieur* to come into the Kingdom with his Sword in his hand. Could it with reason have been expected that the Cardinal whose services are indeed considerable enough to obtain his Majesties pardon for any offendor, should use his power with the King to beg his pardon, who had consented and peradventure proposed to destroy him, at least promised his assisting hand in so execrable an action? Can it be denied, but that after such strong and weighty reasons, it had been injustice to afford him any favour? Whereupon twelve of his Judges, conforming their opinions to the rigours of the Law, adjudged him worthy of death, declaring him attainted and convicted of purloining the Treasure, of publick extortion, exactions, falsities, counterfeits, cheats, over-charging and oppressing the Kings Subjects. Two days after, *viz.* upon the 8th. of *May*, he was beheaded at *la Greve*, whither he was carried from *Ruel*.

### *Politique Observations.*

HAppy is that State where the Laws are strictly observed, was the saying of an Antient: and it may truly be called Happy indeed, because the Laws inhibit any thing repugnant to the Publike good, cherish what-ever is conducing to the advantage thereof; for that the true happiness of a State consisteth in the privation of those evils which may afflict it, and in the enjoyment of those things which contribute to its advantage. When the Laws are despised, then are the people oppressed, then the Usurpation of another's Right, Disobediences, Revolts, Violences, and all the crimes which are the plague and ruine of a State are in agitation; where-

as Justice on the other side, consisting only in the due observation of Law, corrects all disorders, and secureth every one in th'enjoyment of those goods which Fortune hath bestowed upon him. Th' Emperour *Justinian* writ very fully and well unto the Prætor of *Lacedæmon*, as is to be seen in his *Institutions*: A sentence indeed as is deserving to be set up where-ever Kings make their usual residence, whereby they may be put in mind of the advantages which happen to a State by the due observation of the Laws; *All things* (saith he) *which pertain to the well government of a State, are ordained by the Constitutions of Kings; whereupon who so would walk wisely, shall never fail, if he propose them for the Rule of his Actions.* A King is called the living Law of his Country; implying the life he infuseth into the Laws, and that his commands do chiefly tend to inforce the observation of them. Whatever severity he useth in this particular, is commendable, because it is a means to secure his State from those disorders which are repugnant to the publike good; and though he should seize on, he cannot possibly be thought violent, because it is only in order unto the Laws, unto which violence is absolutely contrary. If were to be wished, that a Prince would be careful to reward the services done either to his Person or State; but on the other side, he never ought to let the Laws fall into disuetude, especially those which keep the people in obedience, and which serve to secure them from oppression. Indeed to what purpose do the Laws command and injoyn punishments to be inflicted on such who infringe them, unless Justice punish them in execution? Were not this to put Arrows into a Quiver, from whence they can never be drawn. It were to make the Magistrate an immoveable Statue, a Chimera, which only serveth to fright people in Ballads, or to still little children, but vanish at a time of need, without effecting that for which they were established in the world.

## *The Duke of Lorrain recommenceth the War.*

THe Duke of *Lorrain* having only made his peace with the King at *Vic*, with a resolution to recommence the War upon the first fair opportunity, did verily believe he had now fallen upon it, the conjuncture of time, considering how affairs then stood, and how *Monsieur* was inclined; whereupon he began to raise men, and to fortifie some of his Towns. The King was fully inform'd of his Designs, by divers intercepted letters, the undubitable witnesses of his ill-will, and which convinc'd his Majesty beyond all his fair words which he sent unto the King, to keep him still from securing the Frontiers of the Kingdom. Some there were written by his Father, others by the Princess of *Salmbourg*, which did not only assure *Monsieur* of Forces in *Lorrain*, but withal, did furiously invite him to stick close to his Interests, and to put himself into a posture to gather the Crown of *France*, which they positively said would shortly fall of it self into his hands. Othersome from the Sieur *de Puy-Laurens* unto the Princess of *Salmbourg*, in which he assured her, that certain designs of great importance then contrived, were infallible. Besides that, the Cardinal's penetrating sight (which pierceth into the secrets of Princes Cabinets) had discovered all those devices from the correspondence they held in the Kingdom; his Majesty had just reason to transport his Forces into *Lorrain*, to root out that Duke, and to over-run his Countries; But the Cardinal, who never adviseth the making of a War, unless when it is impossible longer to continue peace, was of opinion, That his Majesty should do well first to send the Sieur *de Gurou* unto him, to complain of his unjust proceedings, to endeavour to dissuade him, and to make a more full discovery of his intentions, and the order he designed to prosecute. This advice pleased his Majesty wondrous well, and the Sieur *de Gurou* was dispatched towards the Duke, who saluted him from the King his Master, and then expostulated to him, that he could not sufficiently admire, that having made a league with his Majesty but four or five months since, wherein he positively engaged to break off all correspondence and intelligence between himself and *Monsieur* the King's Brother, as also the enemies of *France*, he should so quickly (contrary to the

the Agreement) follicite *Monsieur* to come into *Poitou*, and invade the Kingdom of *France*, and not only so, but likewise negotiate with the Emperour and the King of *Spain* to assist him with Forces for this end and purpose, shewing them his own would only serve to augment the glory of *France*. This Discourse (grounded upon undeniable Truths) touch'd the Duke so to the quick, that he was at a non-plus neither could he alledge any thing in justification of himself, but by adding new impostures, which did the more evidently declare his wicked intentions, and peradventure more to the life, than a confession of his disloyalty. But this was not the only time they discoursed together, nor were these the only reasons which the Sieur *de Garas* endeavoured to divert him; nay he laid before him his Majesties clemency, particularly known unto him in the Treaty of *Vic*, wherein his Majesty found him as a lost, in great distress, without hopes of relief from the House of *Austria*, and in a condition unfit to defend himself; and how he, (who would not his Majesty prosecute the advantages he then had? That thus he might somewhat terrifie him, he represented to him sundry motives to persuade him to believe, that the King would easily destroy any Forces which should invade the Kingdom, which once effected, he for his part would be exposed to an inevitable ruine; for that his Majesty was then bound by all reasons whatsoever, to revenge the injuries offered unto his Crown and State. That he might well believe his Majesty having done his business both with the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, his few Forces would easily be [illegible] under the [illegible] of his Kingdom. These reasons were so just and weighty, that neither Prince, nor Subject could against *France*, would easily have been perswaded to relinquish the War; But such was his blindness, and so great his vain hopes, that he could not be drawn to any thing: Nor that he did then openly declare himself, but putting off the matter from day to day, delayed the time so long, until *Monsieur* entered into the Kingdom with his Sword in his hand, and not [illegible] his publick warlike preparations; from whence it was called to be seen, that he was little fearful of peace and quietness. The next thing he commanded which his Majesty did, was to command the Mareschal *d'Effiat* to advance with his Army into *Lorrain*, whereby he intended to be in his own person, with [illegible] thus the presence of a Prince might not a little encourage the Soldiery of *France*. His Majesty likewise ordained, that the new raised Forces should march towards the Frontiers, and there expect, until he had dispatched an Affair of great consequence, which then called him away. The securing of *Calais* was a thing exceedingly necessary, the Government of which place had been gained by *Monsieur's* Cabal, and engaged to serve him and his Interests in any thing: That Town is of no small consideration, it having formerly given the English, when, and as often as they desired, an unmolested entrance into the Kingdom; and with them *Monsieur* held but too much intelligence at this very time. This was a disease not to be suffered to grow any older, nor the cure of it had been almost desperate to any other but the King; for *Calais* as it is far removed from *Paris*, so it is likewise more distant from *London*. But his Majesty, whose vigilance doth oftentimes give him great Victories, did easily endure the trouble of the Journey. He knew from his cradle in what the wonderful great reason that an Emperour designing to represent upon the Stage of the world, the means which the Roman Republique had used in conquering the Universe, contrived a *Rome* with wings upon its feet and hands; intimating, that Vigilance had made her Mistress of the world: In order whereunto, he never apprehended any enemy either within or without the Kingdom, whom he did not readily encounter in his own person, upon the least intelligence that he might take them unprovided, who had contrived any thing against his State or person, and thereby overcome them with less trouble, and more safety.

The King departed then from Saint *Germain* about the beginning of *May*, and was long after ere he came to *Calais*, where being arrived, he placed his Companies of the Regiment of *Navarre* in the Citadel, commanded the Sieur *de Villeroy* to retire himself to one of his Houses, left the Duke *de Montmorency* to command it, until

his

his Majesty should otherwise dispose of it, and having stay'd two days, he departed towards *Lorrain*; that he might let the Duke know, his proceedings had made him guilty both of Injustice and Rashness, which two things he was come to chastise by the force of his Arms.

*Politique Observations.*

GOd having constituted Kings as the Images of his Power, doth no less require of them to punish any injuries committed against their Majesty, then the crimes of their Subjects. To what other end is it that they have the sword of Justice intrusted with them, unless it be as an assured testimony of the power they have to Right themselves for any injuries? He who hath so little courage as to pass them by, will soon become the object of his Neighbours scorn, every one will trample on him, and God himself being offended at his little care in preserving those stamps of his Majesty which he hath imprinted on his Forehead, will justly permit him to be despoyled of that honour which he had bestowed upon him. God hath unto private men given no other means to repel the injuries offered unto them, then the Justice of their Sovereigns, whom he hath commanded to right them; but otherwise it is with Kings, unto them he hath given power to punish those who offend them, be they of what quality soever. There is not a man above them who can arbitrate their differences, themselves are the only Judges of their own Rights, and they may lawfully take up Arms both when and as often as their Prudence and Justice shall think fit. The *Primum Mobile* hath no dependence on any other Orb in point of his motion; and Kings (those primary causes of a State) have no superiour authority over them, to direct them in point of War. It is sufficient that they against whom they take up Arms, have given them cause so to do. Hence it is that one of the eminentst lights of the Church calleth that War just, which is undertaken to revenge injuries: And *Archidamus* in *Thucydides* saith, Every War is just, which is made to revenge any groundless injury. Now amongst all the things which may provoke a Prince to take up Arms, that of raising Forces to invade his Kingdom, of violating Treaties, and recommencing old Quarrels, are most justifiable. The Rules of Politique Justice do not only permit a War as lawful, against them who come and besiege Towns, and commit disorders in another State; no, they are not bound to sit still in expectation of that storm, but it sufficeth to have only known & discovered their designs and malicious intentions: for otherwise it were a very great imprudence, the ablest Commanders having ever concluded it better to carry a war into his Country who designeth to invade, then to expect him in our own. In fine, The Breach of Treaties and Promises hath always been accounted highly injurious unto Princes. Gentlemen have their throats cut for breach of word, and Princes may not put it up, if it be of never so little concernment, without making war upon it. With the Spaniards indeed it is proverbial, *Wind carries Words and Feathers.* The wisest Politicians do tell us, That to promise in a Treaty what is not intended to be performed, is to scorn a Prince, and *Homer* saith, He who promiseth one thing, and intendeth another, ought to be reputed for an Enemy.

## Mounsieur *entreth* Lorrain *in Arms.*

THe King being at *Laon*, was inform'd by a Courier from the Mareschal *de la Force*, that *Monsieur* had pass'd by *Malatour*, a little Village between *Verdun* and *Metz*, and that his Forces were joyned with the Duke's; and by another near the same time, that *Monsieur* no sooner arrived, but he began the war, having cut off a Troop of Carabines, sent by the Mareschal *d'Effiat* in peace, the Duke being obliged to give his Majesties Troops free passage; and in fine, that he was entred the Kingdom in Arms. Hereupon the King advanced in hast towards the Army, which was numerous and strong, the Mareschal *d'Effiat* being arrived from *Germa-*

*ny*,

ny, and commanded the Duke *de Chaune*, and Mareschal *d'Effiat* to draw together the Nobility which came to attend him upon the Frontiers. To make short, he came to Saint *Mihiel* the 15. of *July*, ready to fall with his Army upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, in case he offered to hit it foot, or send any Forces unto *Monsieur* into *France*, but he was better advised, as it fell out, then so to do. The Mareschal *d'Effiat* without more loss of time, presented his Army before *Pont à Mousson*, which so terrified the Inhabitants, that they opened their Gates without resistance: The Duke of *Lorrain* was no less astonished, and now beginning to foresee his ruine, desired a meeting with the Mareschal *d'Effiat*; where he excused *Monsieur's* arrival at *Nancy*, protesting it was not by his procurement, and telling him he would give his Majesty any satisfaction or assurance of his fidelity. The Mareschal acquainted his Majesty therewith, who thought it not best to pardon him a second time, without some kind of revenge, especially seeing there was no trust to be given to his promises, after so manifest a discovery of his malice and designe against *France*; whereupon he drew up to *Vaudemont*, to enter upon *Lorrain*. In the mean time having Intelligence brought, that a Regiment of the Duke's Horse, commanded by the Sieur *de Lenoncourt*, was not far from *Rosnivay*, that he might teach him to be another time more wary, he commanded the *Comte d'Alais* to draw out six hundred Horse, his own Musquettiers, thirty of the Cardinals Guard, two hundred Musquettiers of the Regiment *des Gardes*, all mounted upon small Nags, and to go charge them; which was effected accordingly, with such courage and success, that two hundred and fifty were left dead on the place, many wounded and taken, besides five Cornets, and store of Horse which afforded the Foot opportunity to march more to their ease. The King's loss was not great, there being only seven killed, and some few hurt, amongst whom the Duke *d'Halwin*, Commander of the light Horse, and the Sieur *de Boucheuomes* received two Pistol shots in their Arms. The Sieur *de Galabre* was at that time about two leagues distant, raising a Troop of Dragoons for the Duke's service, but he was hindred by thirty of the King's light horse, and as many of the Mareschal *de Schomberg*, who by his Majesty's order charged them so home, and so suddenly, that they had not leisure to make any defence, but were all brought away Prisoners. The King in the interim advanced into *Lorrain*, and took divers places one after another. *Bar le Duc* surrendred upon the first summons, Saint *Mihiel* did the like, into which place his Majesty entred in Tryumph, accompanyed by the Prisoners of *Rosnay*, and his whole Army, to the great astonishment of the Inhabitants, who were not used to behold so great a Power. He ordained the Sieur *de Neufmont* to take the place of Justice in the Seat of the Soveraigne Counsel of *Lorrain* in this City; and finding the Officers refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance, he prohibited them to exercise their Offices, and appointed others in their stead; hereby shewing unto the Duke of *Lorrain*, that his ruine was inevitable, as often as he durst attempt any thing against *France*, or recede from his devoir. In earnest, I know not unto what that little Prince may be compared more fitly, then unto the earth, which may well fill the Ayr with exhalations, and sometimes over-cast the Sun with clouds, from which not long after proceed Thunders and Hail, to destroy what-ever she hath of beauty, and to reduce her richest Harvests unto nothing. For just thus, who-ever hath beheld the designes of his contrivance, the preparations he hath made, and his attempts ever since his first comming to the Dukedom, must conclude his whole work hath been to raise storms, which have in the end fallen upon his own head, to his great loss, and then vanished like a cloud of Thunder.

*Politique Observation.*

NO War is just but that which is necessary, according to the opinion of the wisest Politicians: So that a Prince never ought to undertake it, but upon full considerations. War is known to be the source of all misfortunes; it filleth a State

with

with impieties, violences, extortions, and cruelties, it destroyeth the innocent, incommodeth the rich, and pulleth away the bread out of the hands of the poor, what reason therefore to commence it, unlesse upon good ground, and when necessity doth even inforce it? Now of all Princes which fail of their designs in point of War none are more justly punished for their temerity, then those who build designs disproportionable to their powers; such Princes are easily reduced either to a necessity of seeing their Army cut in pieces, or of making a Peace upon dishonourable conditions. Perhaps they fancy an augmentation of credit power, and glory; but in conclusion, they are driven to exigencies and confusions, which had never befallen them, had they but prudently remembred that the Creator of the Universe hath set bounds to all Empires; that he had before our birth ordained what condition we should here injoy; that our lives and our fortunes are both limited, and that notwithstanding all our care, all our indeavours, we cannot increase the one, or protract the t'other one tittle, unlesse Heaven concur to favour our attempts: They find by experience, that the most active and busie drive on their ends more slowly then other men; that those men whose minds are taken up with continual broyls, do often fall into the snare they had contrived for others; and that those Princes who think to be most wise and subtle in deceiving others, are commonly themselves mistaken and deluded. To conclude, they who are truly wise, do foresee at a distance what the issue of their attempts may be, and do refer the management of affairs unto their Judgement, without following the impetuousnes of their emotions; they know, that who so is master of his passions, is master of his Fortune; and they imitate *Cæsar*'s Prudence, who never took the Field, until he had taken care for four things which seem to be the true foundation of Victory.

The first whereof is, To be fully inform'd of an Enemies Force, of his Advantages, and of his Wants, before he encounter with him.

The second is, To have an Army in readines, if possible, before he hear of it.

The third is, To have all Provisions both of Ammunition and Victuals in a readines.

And the fourth is, To have all sorts of Instruments and Warlike Engines at Command.

These were the things which gave *Cæsar* the opportunity to prosecute his Conquests with succes, and to bring great exploits to perfection, in a very small time. He who would imitate his Victories, ought to imitate the example of his Prudence, otherwise his misfortune will be as great as were his Quondam hopes of glory.

### *The Duke of* Lorrain *sendeth to assure the King of his Service.*

IN vain do the Stars endeavour to twinkle in the Sun's presence, who ushered in by the morning, darkens them at his only sight. In vain do the great Rivers (which astonish the world by the impetuousnes of their waters) endeavour to contest with the Ocean, which forceth them to pour all their store into his Bosome, as a Tribute due to his greatnes: And in vain doth a petty Prince make a muster of his Forces, in presence of those of a great King, before whom he is only esteemed as a small star, which hath neither light nor luster, when the Sun comes in view. The Duke of *Lorrain* was forced to confes as much, though against his Will, both in consideration of the defeat of his Forces, and los of his Towns: In fine, he was necessitated to send the Sieur *de Courrisson* to offer all sort of satisfaction unto his Majesty. The King amidst the greatest Victories, was ever wont to prefer peace before war; yet because Infidelities are a just cause of distrust, he could not believe that the Duke had any cordial intention to conclude the war, his Word and Actions being disconsonant: Whereupon he Proceeded on Wednesday *June* 23. to invest *Nancy*, and accordingly he came with his Army two days after unto *Liverdun*, which is only two Leagues distant from it, and sent another part of his Army within half a league from it. The Duke well perceived

that

that the King was resolved in good earnest to chastise him for all his ill designs against *France*, and finding himself press'd by the near approaches of the Army, sent the Sieur *de Ville*, chief Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and *Junin*, Secretary of State, once more to offer him all manner of content, giving them likewise full liberty to treat. They testified unto his Majesty, that their Master was very much afflicted for having inconsiderately suffered himself to be ingaged with *Monsieur*, They protested that in future he would continue immovable in his Devoir; That he would pay him the Fealty and Homage due for the Dutchy of *Bar*; That he would inviolably adhere to the Interests of *France*, particularly offering to joyn his Forces with his, to be employed in any expedition whatever; and withal, that he would depositе part of his Towns in his Majesty's hands, as a gage of his performance. The King received them very curteously, knowing it to be more glorious to receive the submissions of his Enemies, confessing themselves vanquished, then to destroy them, despoil them, and insult upon them; and then, as if he would set no bounds to his clemency, he promised to pardon him a second time, and that he would not be against any accomodation that reasonably could be desired, provided there might be any assurance of his promises. But it being requisite to find out some other kind of security for performance of his engagement, then what had formerly been, whereby he might be deprived of the means of running any more into his former designs, his Majesty remitted them to the Cardinal to conclude the Articles of the Treaty.

*Politique Observation.*

ALthough all Princes have power and riches more then enough, wherewithal to be contented, yet some there are, who pursuing their ambitious Inclinations, sooner then the Laws of Prudence, do daylie engage themselves in new Designs. They seem to divert their eyes from what they possess, covetously to behold what they have not; and to quit the true and solid goods of peace, that they may obtain an uncertain vain-glory in War. Their Designe of growing great, feedeth them with discontents; and that they may not bound their pretensions, their minds are perpetually floting in uncertainties: Oftentimes it falleth out, that they do but ill proportion their undertakings to their abilities, by which means, when they imagine themselves to be highest, they fall lowest. God (that he may punish them) seldom permits them to gather any other fruit from their desires, but trouble and vexation; and that those who endeavour to rise highest, should have the greatest falls. To conclude, a little child forsaken by his Nurse before he be well able to go alone, will not so soon fall, as an ambitious Prince in the midst of his whole Power; for the child finding himself unsupported, begins to fear, to lay hold on any thing, and not to stir a foot: But a Prince once bewitched with this Passion, being too too confident, doth inconsiderately run into every danger, attempteth things above his reach, and in fine, sheweth by woful experience in himself, that he who feareth no man, is soon to be destroyed. Better it were that they bounded their affections, and that considering 'tis not the large extent of a Princes Dominion which giveth him contentment, but the moderation of his desires, they would arrest those emotions and ebullitions which set them in action, and make them stoop to the Empire of Reason.

## *The second Treaty of Peace with the Duke of* Lorrain.

WHat good successe might there not be expected from this Treaty, when the Cardinal had the management of it? His courage and conduct had already extended the bounds of *France*, raised several Trophies to the King's glory, and acquired new Lawrels to his Majesty; wherefore it was not to be doubted, but that he would a second time let the Lorrainers know, that his Master doth as well inherit the courage as the Crowns of his Predecessors, who have ever forced

their Ancestors to stoop under their Arms, in despite of the House of *Austria*, the Supporters of their hopes, not their State; and that there was no conclusion to be made with him, without extraordinary pledges for performance of their promises. To this end tended his very first discourse, that he might presently cut off their hopes of surprizing him, and destroy their designs of getting clear for a few fair words, or protestations of fidelity. Two causes there were which inclined the Deputies to receive the Law from him; First, An unavoydable necessity either of accommodation, or of ruine to their Master's affairs: And secondly, That in regard it was to be doubted, that in case these effects did not oblige him, he would resolve, notwithstanding all the misfortunes arrived upon him, to re-commence the War upon the first fair opportunity of time or hopes, wherewith the House of *Austria* entertained him. This latter was so improbable, that it could hardly sink into the Cardinal's thoughts; yet because he somwhat suspected it, he made it his main designe in this Treaty to obtain such advantages for the King, that it should be altogether impossible for the Duke of *Lorrain* to engage himself in a third War, without his utter ruine. The meeting was at *Liverdun*, where after divers contests, it was at length concluded, That the Duke should deliver the Town and Castle of *Stenay* within six days, and within three days after the Town and Castle of *Jamets*, with the Arms, Ammunitions, and Victuals therein unto his Majesty, for four years times, as gages of his fidelity, upon condition that the said time being expired, the said places should be restored, in the same condition they then were: That during the said term of time, it should be lawful for the King to put into them what number of men he pleased; That the Inhabitants take the Oath of Allegiance unto his Majesty, and swear, not to attempt any thing contrary to his service. That the Duke should within three days surrender into the King's hands, the City and Fortress of *Clermont*, which his Majesty pretended to belong unto him, by Process of the Parliament of *Paris*, who had adjudged his Majesty to have the possession thereof, paying to the said Duke such a sum of money as should be agreed on by Commissioners from both parties, in recompence of the Revenue he received from thence. That the Duke should be obliged to render homage and fealty for *Barr*, within one year, unto the King. And as touching all differences moved, or which hereafter should be moved between them, that there should be Commissioners of either side appointed, to sit at *Paris*, when-ever it should please his Majesty to think fit, to make a fair end between them. It was likewise concluded, that the Duke should religiously observe and keep the five first Articles of the Treaty of *Vic*, which should be confirmed without any exception what ever: That he should faithfully adhere unto his Majesties Interests: That he should joyn his Forces with his Majesties, and assist him to his utmost in any War what-ever: That his Majesties Forces should have free passage through his Country: In consideration whereof, the Cardinal undertook in his Majesty's behalf, to surrender the City and Castle of *Bar* unto the Duke, as also the City and Castle of Saint *Mihel*, *Pont-a-Mousson*, and generally what-ever his Majesty had taken from him, to with-draw his Forces from *Lorrain*, and to protect the Person and Estates of the said Duke against all persons without exception. The Cardinal perswaded his Majesty to confirm these conditions, which could not be well misliked, they being advantagious for the glory of *France*, and leaving his Majesty at full liberty to go and chastise them, who abusing *Monsieurs* name, had set the Kingdom in an uproar. And thus was the Treaty of *Liverdun* signed upon the 26. day of *June*.

This Treaty being thus concluded, the King went to *Pont-a-Mousson*, where the Cardinal *de Lorrain* came to meet him, and to give caution for performance of his Brothers promises; in order whereunto, *Stenay* was put into the possession of the Sieur *de Lambertie*, *Jamets* of the Sieur *de Plessis*, who entred with their several Regiments into them; and the King surrendred what places he had lately taken in *Lorrain*. From thence the King went to *Sechepre*, whither the Duke came to wait upon him; testifying himself to be sorrowful for having given his Majesty any cause of discontent, and beseeching him to forget what was pass'd. The King re-

ceiv'd his Highneſs with all demonſtrations of kindneſs, aſſuring him he ſhould no more remember what was paſs'd, and hoping his good conduct for the future would never give him occaſion to think of it hereafter. The Duke was not backward to make many proteſtations, though he little intended to perform any part of them. In concluſion, his Majeſty returned into *France*, and ſo to *Paris*, chuſing rather to follow the inſtigations of his goodneſs, then of diſtruſt, which he had however cauſe to return.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is ever more commendable in a Prince to exceed rather in credulity then jealouſie, eſpecially if it be not to his diſadvantage: whereas on the other ſide, Diſtruſt is praiſe-worthy in Treaties with a perſon not to be credited, and where an eaſie Belief may breed inconveniences. It is equally bad, to believe no man, and to believe every man; and as it is prudence not to truſt a man whom there is cauſe to ſuſpect, ſo it is a ſigne of courage, not to fear where there is no cauſe of diſtruſt. It ſomtimes hapneth, that confidence breaketh the courage of an enemy, reduceth him to his devoir, and forceth him to relinquiſh his Deſigns: For as diſtruſt doth extreamly much diſ-oblige the trueſt friends, ſo confidence hath ſuch charms, that it is able to captivate the moſt mortal enemies. Mens paſſions are not unconquerable; ſomtimes clemency and bounty may effect more then force and violence. A ſoyl, though bad of it ſelf, and apt to produce nothing but Thiſtles and Brambles, yet when cultivated and manured with induſtry, may bring forth good grain: and ſpirits (though naturally deceitful and falſe, yet) may be reformed by reaſon, and generous dealing. The Venetians did heretofore ſhew a notable example hereof, when having taken a certain Prince of *Mantua* priſoner, who extreamly much ſlighted them, and had ſworn their ruine, they not only reſtored him to Liberty, but withal, made him General of their Armies; and he finding himſelf overcome by ſo great a confidence, layed out the utmoſt of his care and courage to ſerve them. And th'Emperour *Auguſtus* by his confidence in *Lucius Cinna*, accuſed for having deſigned to murther him, ſo abſolutely wrought upon him, that he had not afterwards any perſon more faithful or affectionate to his ſervice.

## Monſieur *goeth into* Burgogne.

WE have before declared how the King being juſt upon his March into *Lorrain*, *Monſieur* paſs'd by with his Forces; The ſight of his Majeſty's Forces hindred him from making any great ſtay, as alſo from carrying the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Troops along with him, which he intended, and was a thing very neceſſary, in order to his deſigns, becauſe the buſineſs in *Languedoc* was not yet ſo forward as was expected. From *Lorrain* he went into *Baſſigny*, and quartered at *Andelot* on the 13. of *June*, where they who abuſed his favour, and made uſe of his Name, publiſhed the moſt ſeditious Libel that was ever yet heard; it was fraught with infinite proteſtations of doing his Majeſty ſervice, their uſual pretexts who imbroyl the State: As if to trouble the whole Kingdom, to beſiege Towns and Cities, to oppreſs his Subjects, to ſeize on the money belonging to the Exchequer, to engage the Nobility in a Revolt, were to do his Majeſty ſervice, and all this expreſly againſt his Majeſty's command and inhibition. Were not theſe Proteſtations a ſpecious veyl, wherewith *Monſieurs* followers endeavoured to hide the impatiency of their ſpirits, when they ſaw thoſe predictions which foretold the King's death above two years before come to nothing upon which they built all the hopes of their advancements? That indeed was the true cauſe which induced them to ſpread thoſe libellous calumnies againſt the Cardinal, with ſuch abſurd exaggerations, that they made them incredible; ſo true it is, that ſlanders of exceſs, and contrary to any probable appearance, make but ſmall impreſſions upon them who are maſters but of never ſo little reaſon. Indeed who could well believe him to be a diſturber of

the Publike peace, an enemy to the King and Royal Family, as they publiſhed in their Manifeſt, who in fifteen dayes time procured by his prudent conduct, ſo many glories for *France* and his Majeſty in *Lorrain*? What probability was there to perſwade the world that he would make himſelf Maſter of the State, as they endeavoured to convince unto *Monſieur*, who had uſed ſuch great induſtry to cauſe his return into *France*, when he firſt left the Kingdom, and who never ſtirred towards *Piedmont*, until his return was certainly concluded? And in the end, he forced them to diſ-own that imputation, by his perſwading the King to ſhew him ſo much clemency, and ſuch extraordinary magnificence, to oblige him to a ſecond return. What reaſon could they then have to take up Arms upon his accompt? They had not any the leaſt juſt ground for it, which is evident to all the world; neither were all their ſlanders able to fully his glory in any particular what-ever: But rather on the contrary, as Muſk and Civet acquire a pleaſant and delightful ſmell amidſt the dunghil and Ordure, by the ſame Anti-periſtaſis that fire is hotteſt in the coldeſt of Winter; ſo all their ſlanders proclaimed againſt him, ſerv'd only to increaſe the ſweet odour of his Reputation, which his Services and Qualities (more then humane) had acquired unto him. That I may ſay ſomthing touching his own particular reſentment, it is moſt certain, his ſoul was more affected with compaſſion for *France*, then concern'd for his own Intereſts, amidſt all thoſe Thunders, which did not much trouble him. All the vain attempts of thoſe ſtorms did but redouble his courage; all thoſe Thunders did break themſelves againſt the Rocks of his conſtancy, which ſeemed to have grown harder from thoſe many blows ſtruck againſt him in the courſe of one year: In fine, all thoſe waves and huge Billows which threatned to overwhelm him, ſerved only to manifeſt, that his ſervices had made his favour inexpugnable.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT cannot but be an unjuſt reward, to repay the ſervices of a grand Miniſter with calumnies. If good offices do by all kinds of Juſtice oblige a grateful return, what reaſon can there then be, injuriouſly to attaint his honour, who imployeth his whole time in his Countries good? It is ſaith an Ancient, a great mans miſery, when he ſeeth himſelf appayed with ſlanders; yet notwithſtanding, the moſt famous men of Antiquity, and thoſe very perſons from whom our Kings have received moſt ſignal ſervices, have found themſelves ingratefully rewarded. Let us a little look back into the beginning of this Monarchy, and take a view of thoſe who have ſerved our Kings, hardly ſhall we find any one whoſe conduct hath not been blamed, accuſed, condemned. We have hereof laid down the reaſons in other places; at preſent I ſhall inſert this only, That the Favour of their Maſter the Benefits they receive from Him, and the Glory which they obtain by their ſervices, are a ſufficient cauſe to procure them hatred; ſo great an Empire hath Envy in the Courts of Princes. Not that this misfortune is only appropriate to this Monarchy; No, it is of longer ſtanding, and more univerſal: For did not the Athenians banniſh *Themiſtocles*, the greateſt man of his time, and one who had done them unſpeakable ſervice? Was not *Coriolanus* hated, accuſed, baniſhed by the Romans, whom nothing but meer neceſſity could reduce to a ſenſe of their fault? And how often did the Iſraelites rebel againſt *Moſes*, who had how-ever done ſo many miracles before their eyes? A thouſand other examples might be produced, were the univerſality hereof a thing queſtionable. Surely a deplorable thing it is, either in reſpect of its injuſtice, it being unreaſonable, that a perſon who hath done the State good ſervice, ſhould be therefore ill requited: or elſe in reſpect of the ill conſequences, it being frequently ſeen that it begets troubles, to which only end ſuch defamations are ſpread abroad. *Manlius Capitolinus* had no other way to raiſe a Sedition in *Rome* againſt *Camillus*, after he had ſecured the City from the French, who had ſurprized it, then by raiſing of ſcandals upon him, and endeavouring to perſwade the people that he had embezelled the Publike Treaſure. But what? may

it

it not I pray, in general be said, That aspersions have been the seeds of all the Revolts which ever hapned in *France*, and that the Authors of them have seldom gotten any thing thereby, except shame, hatred, and confusion?

## Monsieur *the Duke of* Orleance's *Entry into* Burgogne.

IT is said that Dogs do never bark so much against the Moon, as when she is at her full, and shineth brightest; and true it is, that those factious spirits which abused *Monsieurs* name and favour, did never spread abroad more aspersions against the Cardinal, then just when he acquired most glory by his services against the Spaniard, the English, the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Lorrain*. Every one knoweth how that their Libels were published at that very time. But as the fair star which ruleth the night, ceaseth not to prosecute her course, notwithstanding all the snarlings and barkings here beneath; so likewise this grand Minister, whose merits had raised him to the Government of affairs, and whom God seemed to have bestowed upon *France*, as a bright star to dissipate all those clowds, wherewith the hatred and envy of the French, indeavoured to eclipse him, did not discontinue his Career, nor suffer the effects of his courage to be diverted, out of a fence of fear, either of the one or the other. All their attempts served only to reinforce his diligence, that he might stifle the fire in its first eruption, which was designed to burn the whole Kingdom. *Monsieur* was marched into *France*, with about two thousand Horse, Liegeois, Walloons, and Germans, commanded by the *Sieur Metternie Canon* of *Treves*, and *des Granges* of *Liege*; at first he fell into *Bourgogne*, because *Monsieur de Montmorency's* Letters, acquainted him, how the affairs of *Languedoc* were not yet ripe for his service, which made him resolve to spend some time there. Being advanced within four or five Leagues of *Dijon*, he writ unto the Mayor and Sheriffs, as also unto the Parliament, to induce them to favour his stay, and to furnish him with means for his Armies subsistance, thinking with himself, that in case they should condiscend thereunto, he might quickly find some way or other to get himself into the City, and become Master thereof. But as it fell out, they were not inclined to give him that content; rather, on the contrary, having received his Letters, with great respect, they sent them all unto the King, and beseeched his Highnesse that he would approve of their proceedings herein, to the intent that receiving his Majesties directions, they might follow his instructions in that particular. In the mean time, they raised the whole City, and mounted their Canon, in case need should require. Whereupon a Body of *Monsieurs* Horse, comming up to fire the *Fauxbourg* Saint *Nicholas*, the great shot gave them so hot a welcome, that they were forced to return with the losse of about twenty men, whom they left upon the place, amongst whom was a certain Captain, a Liegeois, much esteemed by *Monsieur*, who departed the next morning. *Monsieurs* Forces were so netled at this disaster, that they resolved to be revenged. In conclusion, they committed such disorders, that most part of the adjacent Villages were burned, being first of all plundered. But it was not the backwardnesse of *Dijon* which forced him to leave that Country, the Marshal *de la Force*, who followed him at hand, was the chief cause of his removal from those parts: For as soon as ever the King understood of *Monsieur's* march into *Franche*, knowing no time ought to be lost, in preventing a Revolt, and that delays may afford such persons opportunity to raise Forces, and seize upon strong places; he commanded the Marshal *de la Force*, to take with him about ten thousand foot and two thousand horse of the *Lorrain* forces, and to attend upon his motions, to prevent any further inconveniency, so that the Treaty of *Liverdun* being once concluded, *Monsieur* had but little time of rest in that Country. His Majesty likewise thought fit to send the Marshal *de Schomberg* upon the same design, with fifteen hundred *Maistres*, *Gensdarmes*, and Light-horse, as also nine hundred Musquetiers mounted, which himself chose out of the Regiment of his Guard; so that having these two in his Rear, he was forced to march with the more speed. His

Troops

Troops being all compoſed of ſtrangers, committed great inſolencies, where-ever they went, which thing, beſides the obedience they owed unto his Majeſty, obliged every little Town to ſtand upon their guard. Some of his Forces, attempted to ſeize upon about thirty or forty Mules, neer *Corcone*; but the Inhabitants falling upon them, beat them back, and ſaved their Mules, but with the loſſe of twelve men left dead in the place, which ſo incens'd his Highneſſe, that he reſolv'd to beſiege the Town, and make them pay dearly for it: But the Biſhop *de Mande*, whoſe Loyalty and Courage was well known, hearing thereof, raiſed a hundred Gentlemen, and four hundred foot, and with them got into the Town, and reſolved to defend it: Whereupon, *Monſieur* who had no leiſure to ſtay in any place, marched off, traverſing the whole Kingdom, without any conſiderable thing done, untill he came to *Languedoc*, ſuch good order had the Cardinal taken under his Majeſties Authority.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is great Prudence, not to neglect or ſlight the ſmalleſt Revolts, but to cut them off in the firſt growth. Some are ſo fatally blind, as to perſwade themſelves, that having great Forces a ſmall Army can hardly get any advantage upon them. But the wiſeſt men have learnt from Reaſon and Experience, that mean beginnings, have ſometimes had dangerous ends, and that inſurrections, are like Rivers, which the further they run, the more they increaſe their Channels, and inlarge their Banks. They are not ignorant of the inſtability of humane affairs, and that of all others the chances of War are moſt incertain. They know, that to diſregard an enemy, giveth him a great advantage, for that he is thereby permitted to raiſe Forces, and to fortifie himſelf; ſo that in concluſion, it will be as hard a task to ſubdue him, as at firſt it would have been eaſie to have prevented him, from making the leaſt progreſs in his deſign. One of the *Pharaohs* of *Egypt* was ſo inconſiderate, as to ſlight the Caldeans, being thereunto perſwaded by ſome eminent men of *Tunis*, who told him, that for a Prince of his birth, deſcended from a ſtem of antient Kings, Lord of a large Country, and eſteemed by every one, as the Arbitrator of War and Peace; to fear ſo inconſiderable an enemy, would be injurious and diſhonourable to him; but he was not long unpayed, for the Caldeans invaded his Country, aſſaulted his Cities, and ruin'd his Kingdom, they meeting with no oppoſition at all. The ſmall eſteem which thoſe of *Ninive* made of their Beſiegers, and the great confidence they put in their own Walls and Power, were the cauſes of their being taken in the middeſt of their mirth. There need no more but one ſmall ſparkle to kindle a great Fire, and but a ſmall Revolt to over-run a whole Kingdom, if there be not ſome preventive Force uſed. Do we not ſee how the greateſt Storms, begin with a little Gale of Wind; and that the greateſt darkneſſes are Uſhered in by ſmall Clouds; ſo do we likewiſe often ſee, the greateſt Wars to grow from little beginnings. A State is ſeldome without, I think, I may ſafely ſay never, ſome diſcontented perſons, who would be very glad to joyn their forces, with thoſe of any Revolted Prince, if they could have but a ſmall opportunity: And ſome, indeed, too too many Ranſackers, who would be extraordinary glad, to be under any protection, where they might be permitted to forrage, Pillage, and Plunder. The ſureſt remedy in ſuch caſes, is, to prevent them betimes, and to wait upon the firſt appearers in the field, with ſuch power and force, that they may not have time to know where they are, and that others may not dare to ſtir a foot to joyn with them.

Monſieur

## Monſieur de Montmorency's *Diſcontents.*

THe Duke of *Montmorency*, was the man who had ingaged *Monſieur* to come into *Languedoc*, giving him to hope for great aſſiſtance in thoſe parts, and that himſelf had credit and power enough to arm all that Province in his behalf. He had been much diſcontented from the year 1629. when the *Eſleus* were eſtabliſhed of ſuch concern, was the Creation of thoſe new Officers unto him; for they were then impowered to impoſe the Contributions upon the people which formerly belonged unto the States, and eſpecially the Governour. Who ſometimes would exact a hundred thouſand Livres for his own ſhare, which loſſe he could ill brook, by reaſon he was uſed to make great expences: It is true indeed, the *Sieur de Emery*, Intendent of the Treaſuries, being ſent into *Languedoc* to execute the Edict, about the year 1631, found a means to content him, which was to levy the ſaid Contributions, by certain Commiſſioners, from whom the King ſhould receive as great advantage as from the *Eſleus*, and yet who ſhould act nothing but by direction from the States, and thus had the Governour of the Province ſtill liberty to make his uſual profits: But the Marſhal *d'Effiat* Superintendent of the Treaſuries, could not approve hereof, either by reaſon of the diſguſts which happened between them whileſt they commanded the Army together in *Piedmont*; or elſe becauſe it was not juſt that the Governours of Provinces, ſhould raiſe ſuch ſums upon the people, already too much oppreſſed, and that without any benefit to the King: So that *Monſieur de Montmorency's* Diſcontent, rendred *Monſieur de Emery's* Propoſal of accommodation of no uſe. Beſides, he was reſolved to proſecute the Office of Marſhal General of his Majeſties Camps and Armies, which would have conferred upon him, almoſt all the Functions of Conſtable, which he could not obtain, upon juſt conſiderations, he having ever ſhewed more of Courage then Prudence in his Conduct. The Refuſal hereof was the more ſenſibly reſented by him, in regard his birth and the honour his Anceſtors had in being Conſtables, perſwaded him that he deſerved it. Theſe were the chief cauſes of his diſcontents, which ingaged him to revolt; whereunto may be added, his Wifes perſwaſions, who being an Italian born, for which and her particular merits the Queen-Mother much honoured her, ſhe ſo dealt with him, that he imbraced her intereſts; and conſequently, *Monſieur* who was then ſtrictly leagued with the Queen-Mother, for to ruine the Cardinal. For moſt certain it is, ſhe did very much contribute to ingage him in thoſe deſigns, unto which, he was of himſelf ſufficiently inclined, having naturally more fire then earth in his temper: Beſides, he verily believed, that the great acquaintances which his fore-fathers Governours of that Province, for a long tract of time, had left unto him, together with what himſelf had acquired, would enable him to diſpoſe the Cities, the Nobility, the States and people, as himſelf pleaſed, whereby he might raiſe the whole Province as one man, and being then countenanced by *Monſieur*, that he might force the Cardinal, and ſuppreſſe the Edict of *Eſleus*, and to obtain for him what honours he ſhould deſire. In order to this deſign, he uſed his utmoſt indeavours with the Biſhops and Nobility of *Languedoc*, to oblige them to him, well knowing, that the people are like the ſmall ſtars in the Firmament, which having no particular motions of themſelves, are guided by the higher Orbs. This his deſign ſucceeded according to his own wiſh, yet not without much detriment to his glory; it being moſt certain, that the readineſſe he met in many to imbrace his Propoſals, was another tye to ingage him in that Revolt. His Majeſty and the Cardinal had particular notice of all theſe Paſſages, it being impoſſible that ſuch contrivances ſhould long be kept ſecret. The Laws of Juſtice obliged his Majeſty not to delay the puniſhment due to the Authors of them; but the Cardinal, conſidering that Soveraigns ought not to be ſevere in ſuch affairs, untill a trial of fair means perſwade his Majeſty to indeavour by the mediation of ſome ingenious perſon, to ſet him right again in his former duty, and not only for that reaſon, but

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becauſe he thought it an act becoming a generous Prince, to preſerve a man of his quality from a ſhipwrack, which had not fallen upon him, but in regard of an inconſiderate heat and fury. He gave the Arch-Biſhop of *Arles*, and the Sieur *d'Emery* inſtructions and orders to go to him, to tell him from his Majeſty what cauſes he had given of ſuſpition, that he ſhould have a care of himſelf; that if he regarded his duty, he would find it not to be lawful for a private perſon to order and govern the State as he ſhould think fit, ſuch power being only Regal: That if the good of the Province were in queſtion, War and Rebellion were but two ill remedies to redreſs the grievances and diſorders thereof. That if he deſigned to raiſe his Fortunes, Revolt was but an ill Foundation, and would be his infallible ruine, ſeeing his Majeſty had hitherto oretopt all his neighbors, and would doubtleſs do the like by him, when-ever he ſhould begin to ſtir. That in concluſion his Birth did lay an obligation upon him of being loyal, ſeeing his Anceſtors had inviolably adhered unto their Kings Intereſts; And that he could not but injure himſelf, if he ſhould eclipſe the glory they had left him, by actions contrary to theirs. Theſe Reaſons were too weighty and juſt not to remove him from his deſigns, had he never ſo little conſidered of them; but diſcontent and paſſion had taken ſuch deep root in his ſoul, that he had not the power to reflect on them; rather he ſtoutly diſowned that he had any project in hand againſt the ſervice and obedience which he owed unto his Majeſty; yet at the ſame time he perſiſted to make ſure of all ſuch as might be uſeful to him in his deſigne. Oh what blindneſs and ſtrange reſiſtance was this! But who will not then bleſs himſelf at the Cardinal's goodneſs, which cannot without great reluctancy, perſwade his Majeſty to any rigorous proceedings, how juſt ſoever; who would not accept of this reſiſtance, but induced his Majeſty to give new Orders and Inſtructions in that particular, unto the Sieur *de Sondeuil*, thinking perchance that he would ſooner hear him then any other, becauſe he had ever admitted him into the firſt place of his confidence? The King cauſed him fortwith to ſet forwards, as ſoon as he had received the Cardinal's directions what to ſay unto Monſieur *de Montmorency*, to diſſwade him from his deſigns, and to keep him off from that Revolt, in which if he ingaged, he would even force his Majeſty to deſtroy him. When he arrived to him, he uſed all his Rhetorique, his utmoſt care, affection, and addreſs, though to no purpoſe; his Reſolution being fixed, and himſelf then engaged to and with divers other perſons.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is dangerous to be wilfully obſtinate in any Deſign, and to be deaf to their counſels, who by their wiſdom may force the ill conſequences and ſucceſſes thereof. Thoſe great men, who ſuffer themſelves ſo to abound in their own ſenſe, are commonly the cauſers of great evils; they beget diſorders, and having fallen into any adverſity, do ruine not only themſelves, but their friends and partakers. Though *Alexander* wanted neither courage nor ſucceſs, yet was he blame-worthy, for ſo obſtinately refuſing the advices of the ſage Egyptians, who counſelled him not to go into *Babylon*, for that they found by their Art he would there die: For deſpiſing their opinions, he went thither, and was there poyſoned by *Theſſalus* his Phyſician. Somtimes it is prudence to change reſolutions, eſpecially ſuch as are unjuſt or rebellious. It is only proper to Mountains not to run backward, but it is a wiſe mans duty to break the courſe of his conduct, if evil, and to ſteer a contrary way, which may be more propitious; to change from bad actions to good and better, though never ſo often, cannot be accounted Inconſtancy, neither will any wiſe man be ſo wedded to an ill deſign, as to perſiſt in it. A prudent man receiveth counſel with joy, and maketh uſe thereof as occaſion requireth, knowing it is not lightneſs to forſake an error once found ſo to be: He had much rather confeſs his indiſcretion, then perſiſt in it; and he knoweth that ſomtimes to be vanquiſhed, is to be victorious. In fine, Stubborneſs is then eſpecially inexcuſable, when it ingageth a man to fall off from the obedience which is due to his Soveraign.

Soveraign. No one what-ever may take up Arms against his Prince, upon what pretence soever. God hath placed the Sword in the hands of Kings, nor may any of their subjects draw it, unless by their Princes authority. Grandees are so much the more to be blamed for raising of troubles, by how much it is honourable for them to be makers of peace. They who raise seditions, and think to hide themselves under a pretence of the publike good, do but deceive themselves; for there is not any man so simple who will believe insurrections to have been really made upon that account; and every one knows, that the first contrivers were set on work either by ambition or interests. But admit the State were in disorder, it is then no more tolerable for the Grandees of the Kingdom to give the Law unto their Soveraign, then for the members of mans body to rule and direct the Head and Heart, those chiefer parts. *Marcellus* who heretofore lived in Heathenish darkness, said, Good Princes are to be begged from the Gods with vows and prayers; but be they what they will, they ought to be loved, honoured, feared. This was the opinion of an Heathen. But if any Nation have less excuses for rebellion then others, it is doubtless the Christian, whom God hath both in the Old and New Testament sundry times commanded to be obedient unto Kings, to be respectful unto Superior Powers, nay patiently to suffer their very disorders and Tyrannies.

## *The Duke* de Montmorency *re-doubleth his Intreagues upon* Monsieur's *arrival in* Languedoc.

*Monsieur* being once entred into *Languedoc*, the Duke of *Montmorency* having pre-assured him that the Nobility would generally rise, and divers strong places open their gates unto him, upon his first appearance in the field, he began to re-inforce his endeavours to effect both one and t'other; until then he fed the King with fair words, having sent seven Couriers to the Court one after another, and all to assure his Majesty of his Fidelity: But it was no more time to dissemble; whereupon he summoned all his Friends engaged with him, to reduce their promises into action, which was follow'd by several open meetings, contrary to his Majesty's Laws and Service. *Monsieur* by several Placards published in his own Name, and declared himself to be his Majesty's Lievtenant General, against the present Government. The Cities of *Narbon*, *Bagnols*, *Beziers*, and *Lunel*, the Castles of *Beaucaire* and *Alets*, with divers other places of less consequence, revolted. There were seen four or five thousand Neapolitans in the Road near *Narbone*, sent by the Spaniard: There were many false Publications made, inveighing against the disorders of the State, only pretended so to be, whereby to raise the people. There was a practice had with many of the Prelats, Barons, and Deputies of the States, who were engaged so far, that by a Result of the States, they concluded to offer unto *Monsieur* that Province, with all its Dependencies, to assist him to re-establish the State in better order, and to afford him means to destroy such as opposed, of whom they made the Cardinal to be Head, and promised the Duke of *Montmorency* to league themselves with him, and never to forsake or fall off from his Interests; and particularly commanded, that nothing should be registred of that which had been promised unto the Sieur *d'Emery*, concerning the Edict for *Essens*, but that all such Acts should be void and burn'd. Moreover the Duke of *Montmorency* sent several Commissions unto divers Gentlemen, and others, in his own name, to proceed to divide the Kings money in the Dioceses: At the same time he writ letters unto the Commonalty, to invite them to approve of the said Commissions, and unanimously to embrace the States resolutions. He endeavoured to withdraw the Marquis *de Fossez* Governour of *Montpellier*, from his Majesties service, proffering to make him Mareschal of *France* immediately, and divers other rewards in future, as was evidenced unto his Majesty by his own letters. He caused the Arch-bishop of *Narbone*, President of the States, and the Sieur *d'Emery* to be arrested, because they had ever opposed his Designs; He not only

raised all the Souldiers he could both in that and the adjacent Provinces, but also he sent one of his Domestique servants into *Spain*, with the Sieur *de Fargis*, to negotiate there for a supply of men and monies: To conclude, he left no stone unturn'd which he conceived might any way contribute to advance his Designs: and had *Monsieur* stay'd but one three weeks longer before he came thither, questionless his attempts and successes would have been more prejudicial to the State, as was conceived by all men who had any judgement in affairs of that nature. The Parliament of *Tholose* (which hath ever been notoriously true and faithful unto the King upon all occasions) taking notice of these his undue proceedings, issued out several Inhibitions, to hinder his further progressions: First they ordained that the Substitutes of the Attourney General in all Marshalsies and Courts of Judicature, should make diligent enquiries to discover his Designs and Actions: They condemned the Result of the States, as rebellious: They prohibited any monies to be levied, paid, or collected in the Duke of *Montmorency*'s name: They made a Decree against all the Officers of the States, who had any way procured the said Result, enjoying them to be taken and imprisoned, that they might be brought to tryal and condigne punishment; and particularly, the Bishop of *Alby* having delivered the said place unto *Monsieur*, they seized upon all his Goods and Revenues, inhibiting his Tenants or Debitors to disseize them, under penalty of being accountable for it in their own names and persons: By which their generous example, they left a pattern to all other Parliaments, that they ought not to regard any man what-ever, when his Majesties service and the publique Peace is in question.

*Politique Observation.*

SEing Parliaments have only receiv'd the power of Justice from Kings, that they might preserve the obedience due unto them, and the people in their Dues and Rights; it cannot then be doubted but they are obliged to oppose all kinds of Revolts, those known destroyers of Royal Authority: If they be deficient on such occasions, they are defective in the chiefest of their Duties: The Princes Power is with them intrusted for preservation of the Publique Peace; To what purpose then should they let it lie dormant, when the Peoples quiet and repose is attempted to be disturbed? In such conjunctures it is not enough that they barely keep themselves within the limits of their duties; which example may peradventure be sufficient to contain the vulgar sort in good order, but they are withal obliged to lay out their utmost endeavours and Authority intrusted with them, for the preservation of their Soveraigns power, which by Civil dissentions cannot but be very much endangered, if not totally destroyed. Doth not every one know, that Parliaments are living Laws, and that they have rigours and punishments in their hands, wherewith to crush any Rebellions in their Cradles? If they should be backward in restraining such disorders, were they not equally culpable with Souldiers, who refuse to fight when occasion requireth? Neither can they be guilty of this defect without ingratitude, & that in the highest degree, for that all their Honor and Power is but derivative from that of their Soveraigns. The Sun is originally clothed with that splendour which makes him shine in the eyes of all mankinde, whereas the Stars twinkle not but by a light borrowed from his; so have Kings an absolute primitive power inherent in themselves, for which they are only beholding unto God: But otherwise it is with Magistrates, who upon stricter enquiry into themselves, will find, that they have not any Authority or Honour but what is dependent upon their Soveraigns; which if so, do not the Laws of gratitude, as also those of submission, enjoyn them to oppose any thing which may intrench upon their Majesties and Glories? And is it not likewise true, that by upholding their Princes Power, they preserve their own, seeing in their first Institution they were subordinate to them, and depending on their good Will and Pleasure; and that themselves cannot be continued in that Respect due to their Qualities, but by the preservation and subsistence of the Original Fountain from whence their first flowed.

flowed. Their Princes are like their ſouls, from whom they receive life and being. If the obedience due to a King be violated, the Authority of a Magiſtrate cannot then long ſubſiſt. Rivers ceaſe to run, when their Springs are ſtopped: The Body ceaſeth to have life or motion, when deprived of the Soul; when-ever therefore Parliaments endeavour to preſerve their Princes Authority, they labour to ſuſtain themſelves, and their own Powers; and they deſtroy themſelves when-ever they forſake them.

*The King granteth a Commiſſion to Monſieur* le Prince, *to Command divers Provinces in his abſence.*

AS in times of Revolts there ought alwaies eſpecial eye to be had upon the Inſurrections which a Rebellious party may make, eſpecially in the abſence of their Soveraign. His Majeſty before his removal from *Paris*, thought good to commit the Government of that place, and the adjacent Provinces, unto the management of ſome Princes of the Blood. Accordingly he diſpatched his letters unto Monſieur *le Prince de Conde*, to impower him to command in *Nivernois*, *Berry*, *Bourbon*, *Tourain*, *Poitiers*, *Aunis*, *Xainſtonge*, *Haut*, and *Baſſe*, *Marche*, *Limoſin*, and *Auvergne*, to preſerve them in peace and quiet, which he intruſted with him eſpecially, in confidence that his loyalty and zeal for his ſervice, as alſo his Prudence and good Conduct, would effectually cauſe him to be very ſollicitous and diligent in preventing any troubles what ever. The Letters were accompanied with an extraordinary and unlimitted power, which did a little ſurprize ſome people of ſmall underſtanding, who think a King never ought to intruſt ſo great a power with any Prince of the Blood. But indeed it was an effect, and that a very remarkable one, of the Cardinal's Prudence, who knew there is not any cauſe to fear the power of a Grandee, where there is any aſſurance of his being diſcreet. The Laws of Gratitude and Submiſſion do both oblige them to oppoſe any thing which incroacheth upon their Kings glory; and it cannot be denied but that they preſerve their own in particular, by preſerving their Kings Authority. Whilſt the Duke of *Montmorency* was diſpoſing all things in order for the war, *Monſieur* marched into *Albigeois* and the Biſhop delivered *Alby* into his hands. He reſted there ſome time to refreſh his Army, and from thence he went, leaving five hundred horſe behind him, unto *Carcaſſonne*, where he held ſome intelligence; but having been inform'd of the Sieur *Mangot Villarceaux* his great care to preſerve the Inhabitants in their duties, he paſſed on to *Beziers*, and gave order for a new Fortification. From thence he deſigned to march to *Narbone*, and make ſure of that place, by the help of ſome Intelligence which he there had, which would have been a Port at command, to have received any aſſiſtance from *Spain*, as likewiſe to retire unto, in caſe of neceſſity. But he was preſently diſcomfited to hear that thoſe of his party had been overpow'red by the Arch Biſhop, and ſome other of his Majeſty's ſervants, who under pretence of aſſiſting him, got into the place, and ſo maſtered it. Now the King being informed of all theſe proceedings, The Reſult of the States, the Revolt of Cities, and of the inclinations of ſome Lords, thought his preſence would be neceſſary about thoſe parts; The Cardinal was of the ſame opinion, and aſſured his Majeſty, that if he would undertake the trouble of the journey, all thoſe ſtorms would paſs away in ſix weeks time, as it fell out accordingly. Hereupon the King concluded upon the expedition, and before he left *Paris*, cauſed the Parliament to publiſh a Declaration in common form, againſt all thoſe who followed *Monſieur*, or favoured his deſigns, proclaiming them to be Rebels, guilty of high Treaſon, and Diſturbers of the Publike Peace; commanding all Officers to proceed againſt them, according to the Rigour of the Law, yet with ſo particular a teſtimony of affection unto *Monſieur*, that his Majeſty would not have him declared guilty; but in the Declaration publiſhed, That he would totally forgive him, if he acknowledged his error within ſix weeks after publication thereof. His

Majesty likewise made a Declaration sent unto the Parliament of *Tholose*, to proclaim the Duke of *Montmorency* guilty of high Treason, degraded from all honours and dignities; the Dutchy of *Montmorency* extinct, and re-united in the Crown, and all his goods confiscate; enjoyning the Parliament of *Tholose* to make his Proces, and requiring all Prelats, Barons, Consuls and Deputies of any Cities, who had assisted, subscribed, or assented unto the Result of the States, to appear before the Parliament at *Tholose*, or the next Presidial to their dwelling houses, within fifteen days after publication thereof, to disown their Actions and Consents; and in case of non-obedience, to be deemed as Rebels and Traytors, degraded from all honour and dignity, prohibiting the imposing of any Taxes, by vertue of any order from the said States. Moreover, his Majesty expresly commanded the Mareschals *de la Force*, and *de Schomberg*, to be careful that *Monsieurs* levies might not draw into a Body together, but that they should fall upon them upon their first appearance. These things thus setled, he departed from *Paris* the eleventh of *August*. The very news of his march out of *Paris*, so encouraged his Majesties servants, and disheartned the Rebels, that all their contrivances did forthwith begin to fall. The first thing which befel them (but which was a great good Fortune for *France*) was a division between their Leaders, which gave the two Mareschals a great advantage upon them: The Sieur *de Puy-Laurens* had been accustomed to command all who came neer *Monsieur*, and could not now well endure that the Duke of *Montmorency* should issue out Orders for the carrying on of the War; whereupon there grew a great jealousie between them. Moreover the Duke *d'Elbeuf* being of another quality then the Duke of *Montmorency*, pretended to be *Monsieurs* Lievtenant General, which however the Duke would not admit off, in regard he was Governour of the Province where all the Tragedy was to be acted. Hereupon it being hard to make any accommodation between them, it was thought requisite to part them, and to assigne every one what he should command, who being thus divided by and amongst themselves, were easily overcome by his Majesties Forces.

*Politique Observation.*

THere is not any thing which giveth more advantage against Revolts, and in general all enemies, then the division of their Commanders and Forces; if unexpectedly they fall into this disorder, fortune is to be thanked; and if it be possible to contribute in the least thereunto, it ought the more industriously to be attempted, in regard the effect cannot but be advantagious. All great Captains have been chiefly solicitous of this one thing. *Coriolanus* warring against the Romans, destroyed the possessions of all their principal men, but saved those of the people, that so he might provoke the one against the other: *Hannibal* on the contrary, he preserved those of *Fabius*, but burnt all the rest. The Thebans advised *Mardonius* to send great Presents to the most eminent of the Grecians, that the rest might be jealous of it: And *Cleomenius* the Athenian, assaulting the Frazenians, cast certain darts into the City, with Letters fastened to them, which served to raise a sedition amongst them, in the heat whereof he fell upon them, and became Master of the City. To prevent this disorder, the wisest Politicians have ever thought it proper, that there should not be several Heads of an Army of equal power, unlesse every one so commanded in particular, that there should be only one at one time to be obeyed. We see if it be otherwise, jealousie takes place among them, and every one in particular is carefull that no one obtain any advantage which may procure him greater honour then himself; insomuch that they make a difficulty to support and assist one another; so many men, so many minds: This approveth one Counsel, he another; and in this diversity of opinions, the thing commonly is left undone: Was it not to prevent this inconvenience, that the Romans, having two Consuls, would not that both together should have the marks of Soveraign authority, but that each should take his turn? Did they not also Or-

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dain, that they should not both together command the Armies, but each in his day? And yet notwithstanding that care some divisions happened amongst them. A well governed Army ought to be like the Body of Man, whose Members are joyned and united to the Head by invisible Nerves and Arteries, which enable him to move them according as he listeth. And thus to prevent divisions, it were expedient, there were but one Head to command the motion of all the Forces, according as he shall think fit. *Agesilaus* King of the Lacedemonians (though one of the greatest men of Antiquity, yet) that he might counterminate *Lysander*, and discredit his Authority, abrogated his sentences, and acted quite contrary to his advises: And usually it happens, where there are two Commanders of an Army, the one thwarts the others designs, then hatred, envy, and obstinacy, hurle all things into disorder, which obstruct the carrying on of every small inconsiderable enterprize. For this cause was it, that *Lycurgus* one of the wisest Legislators among the Ancients ordained in his Laws, that the Kings of *Sparta* in times of Peace should act joyntly with their Magistrates, but in War should have Soveraign authority, and that all things should depend upon their Wills.

## *Another Commission to* Monsieur le Comte de Soissons.

AS in times of revolt, and the Soveraign's absence, the insurrections which Rebels may make ought to be mistrusted, his Majesty before his departure from the adjacent Provinces of *Paris*, gave the like power, to *Monsieur le Comte de Soissons* in *Paris*, and the Isle of *France*, as also over the Army in *Picardy* with instructions to repair thither as occasions should require. By this means the Provinces thereabout remained in great quiet. But that I may say somewhat concerning that Army left by his Majesty in *Picardy*; and in that particular, evince the Cardinal's usual prudence, I shal observe the advantages which might thereby have been made in the present conjuncture of affairs. It cannot be doubted, but that it was the securing of those Provinces, and the awing of such factious spirits, as were inclinable to foment the troubles; for in case the least insurrection had been, that Army had soon fallen in upon them, and buried them in their own ruines. Moreover, it was neer about that time, when the leading men of the Low-countries, weary of the Spanish Tyranny, insupportable to the common people, laied the design of shaking off that yoke, and setting their Country at liberty: They had recourse unto the King, to implore his protection, and made divers overtures unto him, to enter upon the *Comtez d'Artois* and *Flanders*, which belonged to him by a just Title. But his Majesty who never approveth of Revolts in other Princes Subjects, more then in his own, made a scruple of absolute ingaging with them, or of passing his word to assist them in that design; though the Spaniards, being less religious in the observation of Treaties, and who preserve the greatness of their State, only by fomenting divisions among their neighbours, were at that very time ingag'd to support *Monsieur* in his revolt, and to furnish him with Forces for the over-running of *Languedoc*. His Majesty did not totally refuse them, but kept himself in a condition of sending them forces, in case the Spaniard invaded *France*, as they had promised: Thus did this Army serve to keep off the Spaniards in the Bay of *Languedoc* from landing, they mistrusting to be repayed in the Low-countries, and doubting if they entred *France*, the French would do the like to assist those Lords who were sufficiently disposed for revolt. It is likewise true, that it served to beget such jealousie in the Spaniards, that they were forced to retain many of their Troops in the Low-countries, *Hainaut* and *Artois*, which would have done them more service at *Maestrich* against the *Dutch*, whom by this means his Majesty did equally succour, as if he had sent the Marshal *d'Effrez* with the Army, in the Country of *Treves* according to their own desires and proposals.

*Politique*

*Politique Obſervation.*

THough Armies for the moſt part are raiſed to fight, yet ſometimes they are deſigned for other ends, wiſe Princes having oftentimes obtain'd great advantages by them, without ſtriking a blow. The meer jealouſie which their motion may ſtrike into an enemy, obligeth him to ſtand upon his guard, who otherwiſe had deſign'd to aſſault ſome place; and in caſe he have aſſaulted it, to recall ſome part of his Forces to prevent any attempts. This effect is not of mean conſequence, becauſe it divideth an enemies force, and conſequently, rendreth him more eaſie to be conquered: Whileſt the Waters of a great River are all ſhut up in their own Channel, their torrent is more impetuous, their force the greater; and who ſo then indeavoureth to waſt over them, runneth no ſmall hazard; whereas if diſperſed into ſeveral Rivulets, their courſe is more ſlow, their depth leſſe, ſo that they are both ſafely and eaſily to be Forded: Thus an enemies Army may ſometimes be ſo ſtrong, that he is to be feared, and then nothing better then to divide him, and force him to ſeparate himſelf by ſome motions which may fill him with ſuſpicions. How oft have Princes been compell'd to ſtay at home in their own defence by their apprehenſions of an Army appearing on their own Frontiers, juſt when they have been upon the point of invading their Neighbours? Beſides, what Armies ſoever a Prince placeth on his Frontiers in times of War, they alwaies give him this advantage of keeping his own Country in ſecurity; either as to Forreigners, who commonly make uſe of any pretenſions about the Borders of a Country to colour their attempts; or as to the diſcontented perſons of a Kingdom, who poſſibly may ſtir in their Prince's abſence. To preſerve Peace without making war, is an effect advantagious enough, and indeed a cauſe ſufficient always to keep an Army on Foot; A thing, in my ſenſe, of the more uſe, in regard War ought not to be made, but in order to Peace; and withal, it being more uſeful for to preſerve Peace by a ſhew of War, then by War it ſelf, that common Uſher of Fire and Sword. For this reaſon it is that a Prince ought not then to raiſe his Army, when a Forreiner is upon the point of invading his Kingdom, or when factious ſpirits are juſt ready to revolt: No, He ought to prevent both the one and the other: and the bare ſight of an Army is ſufficient to deter them from the boldneſs of any enterprize.

## *The Mareſchals* de la Force, *and* de Schomberg *charge* Monſieur's *Army.*

THe Mareſchals *de La Force*, and *de Schomberg* being arrived with part of their Forces in *Languedoc*, were not men of that temper, as to ſtand with their hands in their pockets, and to let the Rebels play their game, without defending themſelves, or indeed, without aſſaulting them; their courage redoubled when they ſaw the principal Cities ſtand firm in his Majeſty's ſervice, and that divers chief Lords of the Country, diſ-abuſed of their firſt impreſſions, gave aſſurance of ſerving his Majeſty againſt all men. The Mareſchal *de La Force* thought it time to ſhew himſelf to the Enemy; and whilſt he was yet at *Pont-Saint-Eſprit*, expecting the coming in of ſundry other Troops, he deemed it proper for his Majeſty's ſervice, to ſend part of thoſe he had into *Vivareſt* to defeat thoſe Souldiers which the *Vicomte de l'Eſtrange* had there levyed; He commanded part of the Regiments *de Vaubecourt*, and *de Sane*, with four Cornets of Horſe, led by the Sieur *de la Roque Maſſebons*, to march thither; and their courages having ſoon tranſported them, they found moſt of the Forces in a Body near the Vicomt's quarter, who commanded them in perſon, and very near *Privas*. The Officers having called a Council of War, and conſider'd the State of the Enemy, reſolved to fall on them in their Trenches, whereto they were retired; and having made their approches,

ches, the Combat was very hot, and the defence couragious; but after three hours dispute, the *Vicomte de l'Estrange* was forced to render himself Prisoner, and being delivered over into the Sieur *de Machault's* hands, a Master of Requests, was convicted, and beheaded at *l'Estrange*, for an example to other Rebels, and to oblige them, if possible, by this just rigour to return to their Duties. Not long after this defeat, the said Mareschal *de la Force* had Intelligence that the Baron *de Penaut* Governour of the Castle *de Brameviro*, and the Sieur *de Regale*, Captain of the Town, wrought upon by the Duke *de Montmorency*, employed all their endeavours to gain the chief Inhabitants, and perswade them to receive *Monsieur* with his Forces: But such was the course he took, that all their attempts were to no purpose. It was impossible on the sudden to prevent *Monsieur's* getting into the Castle, there being a particular Gate to receive any in, without passing through the City: But having instructed *du Puy* the King's Attorney, and *la Roche* chief Consul, with what they should do in their own defence against the Castle, in case it should declare it self, and that *Monsieur* or his should get into it; they shewed such courage and good conduct, that they preserv'd the Town in his Majesty's obedience; and instead of furnishing them with any considerable Force, which might have much weakned the Army under his command, which he kept in a posture to fight the Enemy assembled in those parts, he thought it most proper to desire four hundred men of the Army under the command of the Mareschal *de Vitry* in *Provence*, might cast themselves into the City. Mean while *Monsieur* gets into the Castle with store of Horse, and the Mareschal *de Vitry* having Intelligence thereof, dispatched thither his own Regiment, whom himself followed in person; and there were such strong Fortifications raised against the Castle, that it was impossible for them within it to force the City, without great loss to themselves. Yet such was *Monsieur's* courage, that the Assault was resolved; whereupon all his Forces were commanded to prepare themselves to fall on, and accordingly were disposed in order: But the Dukes *de Montmorency* and *d'Elbœuf* both there, were so exasperated by jealousies between them, that they could not resolve upon precedence: so that their strife hindred the execution of the design, and changed their assault into store of Cannon shot discharged against the City, to batter and ruine it. The Inhabitants were no whit terrified hereat, rather on the contrary, as if their fidelity had receiv'd new vigour from those violences, they resolved to undertake a Siege against the Castle: In fine, some got upon the Towers, others into the Steeple of the great Church, from whence they found a means to shoot into the Castle, which did not a little disturb the Garrison; They likewise battered it on the other quarters, by the help of those Troops which the Mareschals *de la Force*, and *de Vitry* had sent unto them; so that the Garrison was much incommodated, having not Ammunitions necessary long to subsist, or to sustain a Siege. The Duke *d'Elbœuf* having got out, provided to send a Convoy with provision of Victuals, and Ammunition of War into the place: But the Garrisons placed by the Mareschal *de Vitry*, both in *Vertabregues* and the Castle *de Saint Romain*, prevented his Design, having twice or thrice intercepted the Mules; and besides, the Mareschal *de la Force* inform'd that the Duke *d'Elbœuf* did gather together store of Ammunition at *Monfrein*, to clap them into the Castle, marched on the second of *September* from *Pont-Saint-Esprit*, and presently forced the Duke *d'Elbœuf* to retire with his Forces from those Quarters; and having commanded the Sieur *de Naillac* to seize on *Monfrein*, upon the Governours promise to receive him, he marched into the place, and carried off all the said Ammunitions, together with the Duke *d'Elbœuf's* baggage, which did not a little retard the King's Army. This once effected, they in the Castle despaired of relief, and surrendred upon composition on the first of *September*. The courage and fidelity of the Inhabitants giving the Lye to that Proverb, *Who first Master of the Castle, Will soon be Master of the City*; and the King to reward them, and incourage other Cities to do the like, bestowed on them divers Favours and Privileges.

*Politique*

*Politique Observation.*

IT is an error to believe it impossible to preserve Cities, their Castles once taken. Divers examples have evidenced, that, as there is hardly any force equal to their courages who are stoutly resolv'd to defend themselves; so there is not any thing which can compel a City to surrender, when it may be fortifi'd against the Castle, and whose Inhabitants are men of courage. The order which the Commander of such a place ought to follow, is, first to inform himself whether the people be divided, whether some party among them be not well-wishers to the Castle, and in case there be, presently to send them packing; then ought he to animate the rest, both by discourses and example, to give proofs of their fidelity: It were good that the Inhabitants did forthwith raise Barricadoes from one street to another, and place Guards to defend them. He is likewise oblig'd to use extraordinary diligence in raising Fortifications to secure it against the Castle, to guard the Ports, and all Avennues, with Souldiers sufficient to make good any assault against those of the Castle, in case they should attempt it. To this end, if there be not sufficient Force among the Inhabitants, trained up in the Exercises of War, he ought not to be defective in procuring them from other places; He shall do prudently, if he visit the main-guard every hour, to see that all be in a readiness. If the City be weak on any quarter, whereby it may be liable to a surprize, he ought to be dexterous in Fortifying it? and in conclusion, having once brought the place into a posture of Defence, he then ought to resolve on laying siege to the Castle: for as an assault addeth more courage to the Assailors then the Defendants, so doubtless his will shew more valour, then if they were reduced to the necessity of their own proper defence. But that which I esteem most considerable, is, that those of the Castle once surrounded and besieged, dare not attempt any thing upon the City, having enough to do to defend themselves: He ought so to invest the Castle, that there may be no way left for the carrying of men or provisions into it; which once brought to perfection, unless they are excellently provided, the Garrison will soon be straitned: If there be any Hill which doth command it, it were proper to raise a Battery thereon, whereby to play upon the Castle: as also to fill the highest Steeples with Souldiers, who by often shooting at them whereever they appear, may in the end tyre them out. Neither is it less necessary that he have Souldiers abroad upon all Avennues, to prevent any relief; and thus the prudence of a Governour animated by his Courage, may secure a City after the loss of its Castle.

## *The taking of Monsieur* de Montmorency.

THe Mareschal *de Schomberg* who commanded his Majesties other Army, being advanced near *Tolouse*, sought all occasions which might afford him any means of testifying his courage: He resolved to besiege *Alby*, but was first obliged to relieve the City of S. *Felix de Carmain*, whose Castle had been surpriz'd by four Brothers, called *the Judges*, then in *Monsieur* his service: In order whereunto, he sent thither the Marquis *d' Ambres* with some Forces, and himself followed with the residue of his small Army; But before his coming thither, he was acquainted how the Marquis *d' Ambres*, who held a particular correspondence with those four Brothers, had offer'd them a considerable sum of money, which they thought themselves happy in accepting of, and so to deliver up the place unto him on the first of *October*. Now *Monsieur* then upon his march to clap some Forces into the Castle, hearing of the surrender, was so much the more desirous to encounter the Mareschal *de Schomberg*, because he it was that had deprived him of that place; as also because his Highness Army was of the two the more numerous. He was returned from *Beaucaire*, having left the Duke *d' Elbeuf* there to secure the Castle if possible. The Duke *de Montmorency* was come with him, who animated him to fight;

fight; The Baron *de Linieres* offered himself to go and discover the state of the Mareschal's Army, which that he might the more easily and securely effect, he went in the habit of a *Cordelier*, which only served to render him suspected, so apparent was it that he had seldom used to wear it. The two Armies met near *Castelnaudery*, and the Mareschal *de Schomberg* having intelligence that the Duke *de Montmorency*, who led *Monsieur*'s Army, had a design to fall upon him, he acquainted the Marquis *de Breze* therewith, who commanded the rest of his Majesty's Army, in the quality of Mareschal *de Camp*; and after some discourse together, they concluded and prepared to fight. The Marquis was the first who discovered *Monsieur*'s Army, within two Musquet shot of the way, at what time he was passing the King's Army over a little River, in the Valley. Now conceiving by the Enemy's countenance, that they design'd to let him pass over a small narrow Bridge with one half of his Army, which consisted only of a thousand Horse, four Companies of his Majesty's Regiment *des Gardes*, and six of that of *Chamblay*, that they might the better fall upon the Rear-guard, and break it, being in a condition not to be relieved; he gave notice to the Mareschal *de Schomberg*, how he thought fit to pass the Army by a good passage about two thousand paces higher, by which they might get over before the Enemy could discover their intent. The Mareschal approved his advice, as very judicious; and having signified as much to him, he put it in execution, and the whole Army passed the Brook, before any of the Enemy advanced towards them. They presently saw the Army in Battalia within a great Meadow, and withall, to give the Kings Army leave to passe, they drew off a little neerer *Castelnaudary*: But had they taken their stations, when the enemy in hast passed the River, who were payed in their own coyn; for the Marshal *de Schomberg* discovering their Forlorn Hope, sent to charge them before they were all passed over; the foot made their shot, as also the enemy's, and the Horse advancing, were at first impeded by certain ditches, though the *Sieurs des Loriers*, and *de Beauregard Champreu*, found a way to passe through with twelve or fifteen of their followers: And *Monsieur de Montmorency*, who was advanced onely to discover them, came on presently, and charged them with an hundred Gentlemen, they met with all possible courage, but with great losse on *Monsieur*'s part; for the *D. de Montmorency* was wounded, the *Comtes de Rieux*, and *de la Fueillade* slain, four or five hundred slain upon the place, and amongst them the *Comte de Moret*; for the Kings Musquetiers having discharged upon their Horse, beat them out of the Field, insomuch as *Monsieur de Montmorency*, was on a sudden forsaken by all, saving four or five of his followers. His courage was nevertheless so impetuous, that he was not moved at it; but on the contrary, suffering himself to be transported by an inconsiderate rashness, as if his wounds had bereft him of sense, he advanced from the place where he was, with those four or five others in his company, into the Field, where meeting the Mareschal *de Schomberg*'s company of *Gendarmes*, he gave and received some wounds, both of Sword and Pistol, without any more consideration of the danger he ran, then if he had been immortal: He charged up to the very Guards, and *Chamblay*'s Regiment, where they discharged so thick on him, that his Horse being wounded in divers places, fell down, and his Master under him, by which means he was taken Prisoner by the Officers and Souldiers of the Regiment *des Gardes*; which yet was so far from incouraging *Monsieur*'s Army to endeavour the fetching of him off, rather on the contrary, they were so astonish'd at it, that they kept their stand, as if fear and grief had equally surpriz'd them. Hereupon the Mareschal *de Schomberg*, and the Marquis *de Breze* found that they were out of danger, and having discoursed some few minutes concerning the present State of affairs, they judged, that having fought so luckily, slain so many persons of quality, and taken him prisoner who was the soul of the Rebellion, it would be improper to run a second hazard; because having the person of Monsieur *de Montmorency*, the residue of the revolt would dissipate of it self, without necessitating the King's Forces to go fight *Monsieur*'s Army afresh, by a strait Bridge, where but few could march together, and that within Cannon-shot. How-

Over they made a stand about an hour in the field, to see if the enemy would demand any thing, but perceiving them not to advance, they drew off the King's Army to the City and Suburbs of *Castelnaudary*, where Monsieur *de Montmorency* was kept for some time, until his wounds would permit him to be conducted to some place of greater security, and that his Majesty's pleasure concerning him were known.

*Politique Observation.*

IT is usual with Souldiers upon obtaining any great advantage in fight, to prosecute their Victory to the full; but a prudent General is obliged to curb in their impetuousness, and to enjoy the favours of Fortune with great moderation; The satisfaction of seeing his enemies overcome with fear, ought not to blind him, but he ought to make use of Prudence, and not to run the hazard of losing a certain Victory already obtain'd, in hopes of a greater, but uncertain; He who cannot be contented with an indifferent Victory, endangereth the losing of that which he hath gotten. Briefly, It is great rashness to drive an enemy to extremities; for, to reduce them to a necessity of fighting, doth often expel all fear from them, filleth them with courage, raiseth up one to be as good as four, and redeems the Victory they had lost. What, but necessity made the *Locrois* behave themselves so courageously, that fifteen thousand of them defeated an hundred and thirty thousand of their enemies? Was it not the same necessity, as History observes, which made the *Romans*, when so hotly pursued by the *Lacedemonians*, that they had not time to retire to their Vessels, to turn again, make a stand, fight like Lyons, kill two hundred of them, and take as many Prisoners? The Consul *Manlius*, that not a man of his enemies might escape him, set strong Guards upon all places by which they were to retreat, but the enemy perceiving it, and knowing the impossibility of saving themselves, fell upon him, slew him, and became so furious, that they had likewise cut the rest in pieces, had they not had free liberty to retreat granted them. For this very reason it was, that the French retreating from *Naples*, the ablest Italians were of opinion, to let them have free liberty of departure; and which is more, if occasion were, to favour their retreat. It is always glory enough to vanquish, in what measure soever; but who so contenteth not himself, renders himself unworthy to keep the Victory he has gotten.

*The Sequel of what hapned at* Castelnaudary.

THe taking of Monsieur *de Montmorency*, was received by *Monsieur's* Army as the greatest misfortune that could befal them, though it was in fine the greatest happiness that his Majesty's servants could wish for, either in regard of *Monsieur's* person, who (had the Engagement longer continued) could not have been kept from it; or else in regard of the Interest of *France*, by this means secured from the enterprizes of a Faction, exposing her Natives to sundry miseries and violences. Every one attributed this accident to the Leaders of *Monsieur's* Army, who had too much courage, and too little conduct; and to his Souldiers, who shewed no courage at all. But to omit the causes of this happy defeat, I shall say, The King received notice hereof at *Lyons*, from whence his Majesty resolved to depart, upon the Cardinal's assuring him, that his only presence, after such an advantage, would soon reduce the whole Province of *Languedoc*, as accordingly it hapned. Notwithstanding the satisfaction which his Majesty received from this Victory, he could not set forward, so apprehensive was he of *Monsieur's* state, without dispatching unto him the Sieur *d'Aiguebonne* to assure him of his affection; who departed upon the ninth of *September*, with order to tell him, that his Majesty touched with the same affection he always had for him, was ready to receive him, to entertain him favourably at Court, and to perform the contents of his last Declaration; that he should be restored to his Goods, Pensions, Annuities, and Governments,

ments, in case he would acknowledge his fault, and relinquish all his correspondencies, both at home and abroad, who had engaged him in that Revolt; that if he had rather live in any other place, his Majesty would assent thereunto, Provided it were a place free from suspicion; That he would restore the Duke d'*Elbeuf*, and would pardon all his Domestiques their Lives and Estates. Could more tenderness and affection towards *Monsieur* be wished for in the Kings heart, then what was here shewed, which cannot be denyed to have proceeded from a bounty truly extraordinary?

## *The sequel of the Negotiation with* Monsieur.

But that I may say something of the event of this Treaty, I shall tell you how the Sieur d'*Aiguebonne* coming to *Monsieur*, found him much discontented, not only for Monsieur *de Montmorency* being taken, but to see most of the Nobility of *Languedoc* falling off from him; which did not a little affright the Sieur *de Puy-Laurens*, and those of his Faction, no less sollicitous of their own, then their Master's interest; who then began to misdoubt their being taken, and made objects of his Majesty's Justice; for that he was obliged to punish the whole Rebellion upon their persons, they having been the chief contrivers thereof. Neither were they less afflicted for having miss'd of those advantages which they fancy'd to obtain by the War. But on the other side, considering the preservation of life is to be prefer'd before all other Interests, they had already concluded, that *Monsieur* wanting Forces to carry on the War, should seem to desire Peace from the King, the only way to secure them from otherwise unavoydable misfortunes, and to betake them to their Arms again upon the first occasion of advantage, which might give them hopes of better success. *Monsieur* was the more readily inclined to follow their advice, in regard he found himself unable to prosecute the War, and reduced to a necessity of submitting to that Law which his Majesty would impose on him; so that he had already sent the Sieur *de Chandebonne* towards his Majesty, to testifie unto him his sorrow for having given him occasion of discontent; and to make him all sorts of Protestations of Obedience and Loyalty for the future; beseeching him to forget what was past, and by the affection wherewith he had ever honour'd him, to moderate that anger he might have conceived against him for his late proceedings: Withal *Chandebonne* had order to beg Monsieur *de Montmorency*'s Freedom, his re establishment in his Goods and Offices, and the like for the Duke *de Bellegarde*, with all other his Adherents, or the Queen-Mothers. To demand a place of Security for *Monsieur*, That the Queen-Mother should be recall'd; That the places deposited by Monsieur *de Lorrain* should be restored; That a million of Livres should be granted to *Monsieur*, to pay off what he had borrowed from the Spaniards and the Duke of *Lorrain*; and that the Arrest issued out against the Lady *du Fargis*, should be repealed. All this had been acted before the Sieur d'*Aiguebonne*'s Arrival; so that his coming to *Monsieur* was not a little welcom, all his Retinue beholding him as their Deliverer; and the Wisest among them were unable to admire the Excess of his Majesty's Bounty.

## *Politique Observation.*

Amongst the divers marks of *Good-Will*, Compassion (the Mother thereof) is the most assured; it being certain, that none is sollicitous to see a person indifferent to him, or against whom he hath some cause of anger, reduced to extremity. Indifferency is too stupid to excite any sentiments of grief at others sufferings; and the heat of blood and choler cause joy rather then sadness. A man from the top of some Hill beholdeth with delight his enemies Vessel beaten by a Tempest, with his Masts already broken, and Sayls torn, ready to be swallowed up by the fury of the Winds and Waves; but otherwise is he affected if the Ship

Conquer any person who is dear unto him; at such a sight he would be wholly transported with grief, his eyes would be lifted up to Heaven, and he would presently addresse himself to send him assistance: In the same manner is a great Prince touch'd with compassion for those who relate to him, or are esteemed by him, when he sees them reduced to any deplorable condition. The Arms which they have carried against him cannot prevent such sentiments, it being most certain that true generousnesse never delights to behold a very enemy reduced to the utmost extremity of misfortune. A well-grounded courage will rejoyce to obtain a victory against his enemy, but then he useth all means he can to comfort him in his affliction, and beareth some part of his sadnesse with him. Thus a noble Roman Captain, having defeated the Macedonians, began to shed tears when he saw their King brought Prisoner before him, and rising from his seat, went to receive him with all honour, as a grand person fallen by accident into such misfortune; and when he cast himself at his feet, would not suffer it, but raised him with a sence of compassion for that estate, wherein he then beheld him. In the same manner the Samnite having overthrown two Roman Consular Armies at the *Furca Caudina*, and brought them into slavery, would not enter into the City of *Capua* but by night, as if they would compassionately hide the confusions which they saw them suffer under the obscurity of darknesse: In conclusion, pittying their distresse, they restored to the Consuls their dignities, their fasces, their Ushers, with the rest of their Train, and thus entring into *Capua*, both Magistrates and people came to comfort them. In the same manner, the ruine which befalleth persons of eminent quality, deserves the more pity from the greatnesse of their fall, and in regard their confusion is exposed not onely to a family or City, but many times to all *Europe*.

## *A Treaty of Peace with* Monsieur.

*Monsieur* received these testimonies of the King's Clemency, whilest he was yet at *Castelnaudary*, and though his present extremity caused him to receive them with a great deal of satisfaction, yet his affection for the D. of *Montmorency* kept him off from concluding any thing, untill he had indeavoured to obtain some assurances of his life and liberty: He seemed unto the *Sieur de Aiguebonne*, to be exceeding sensible of his Majesties goodnesse, beseeching him to assure his Majesty that he was very sorry for having offended him; that he was firmly resolved to render him all manner of obedience for the future, and never to thwart his pleasure: In brief, he desired him to beseech his Majesty in his behalf, as himself most humbly did, to grant, according to his usual clemency, those graces he had already requested by *Chandebonne*, particulary in the behalf of the D. of *Montmorency*. That he respectfully accepted his Majesties offers, but that, adding that one favour to the person whom he loved, and one who had not ingaged but for his sake, he should be infinitely much more obliged, and that he would then go any whither where his Majesty should think fit. The *Sieur de Aiguebonne*, returned with this answer of *Monsieurs* to the King, being yet at *Pont-Saint Esprit*, but there had been a return made thereunto by *Chandebonne*, who had set forward the day before; by whom his Majesty writ to *Monsieur* that he could not grant him any other thing than what had already been proposed to the *Sieur de Aiguebonne*, and conjur'd him to accept of them without making other pretensions, his demands being neither agreeable to his Majesties dignity, the good of the State, nor his own proper interest. Now *Chandebonne* returning with this Letter to *Monsieur*, his Highnesse was not a little troubled to see the difficulty of delivering the D. *de Montmorency* from the danger wherein he was; but the *Sieur de Puy-Laurens*, not forgetfull of those jealousies which had been between them, was solicitous to extinguish those thoughts, and pressed *Monsieur* to withdraw himself from the Precipice, by laying before him the absolute necessities, as his affairs then stood, either of ruine or accommodation, neither did he much

care,

care, as every one observed, to let the *D. de Montmorency* to be alwayes provided himself might be safe from shipwrack. *Monsieur* however could not be so soon induced to that resolution, though he was sometimes inclined, but that *Chandebonne* a second time, to make new instances upon his first Propositions and then retired into *Beziers* with part of his Forces, which, however quartered thereabouts, but neither the Governour nor Inhabitants would permit them to enter. This was the cause that he made no long stay there, but departed on the twenty-one of *September* before four in the morning by torch-light, having received an Alarm that the Kings Army commanded by the Marshals *de Vitry*, and *de la Force* were making their approaches to besiege him. Mean while the King removed from *Pont Saint Esprit*, and came to *Nismes*, where *Chandebonne*, who but three days before, had returned towards *Monsieur*, came again to meet his Majesty, and to inforce the former Propositions, and more especially to procure that the favour which his Majesty granted unto *Monsieur* might be extended unto all of his party. But his Majesty persisted in admitting of no other conditions, whereupon *Chandebonne* gave some hopes that *Monsieur* might be perswaded to submit, in case any one went to treat with him from his Majesty, for that the *Sieur de Puy-Laurens*, was labouring to perswade him thereunto. By this his Highnesse was reduced to such extremity, that he knew not well where to make any sure retreat, his forces being many of them disbanded, and those of *Beziers* it self, now in his Majesties obedience, and who, after his departure from them, had made fresh protestations of fidelity to him, refused to receive him; and in conclusion, had not admitted him at all but by order from his Majesty, who commanded them to receive him, but with his Train onely, and to render him all the honour due to his quality. The King approved of the overture, and seeing *Monsieur* was at *Beziers*, sent unto him the *Sieur de Bullion* Superintendent of the Treasury, and the Marquesse *de Fossez*, Governour of *Montpellier*, but without any other conditions then those, proposed by the *Sieur de Bignolvaux*: At their first arrival *Monsieur* declared, that he could not resolve to abandon the D. of *Montmorency*, who had not ingaged himself in that War but for his sake, no more than the rest of his adherents; that for any thing else he was unalterably fixt to render all obedience and service to his Majesty. They replied, that indeed such sentiments could not but be commendable, neither could they proceed from any thing beside the goodnesse of his nature; and beseeched his Highnesse to consider, that if he had any interest in their concerns, the King had incomparably much more reason not to capitulate at all with him, or to grant, by way of compulsion, any grace to such Rebellious Subjects, who had deserved the most rigorous chastizements of his Justice. They represented to him, that capitulations ought not to be made but between Soveraigns, and that Princes though of his quality, had no other way to obtain grace, but by submission and acknowledgement of their faults; that he might reasonably expect any favour from his Majesties goodnesse, seeing, his Majesty had of his own meer motion, and that before any overtures made by him unto him to obtain his favour, sent to invite him; that after all this, to mistrust his Clemency would be injurious; that for their parts they could not ensure him of any favour for the D. *de Montmorency*, or any other his Domesticks, having no order but the former; but that they might safely tell him, that in case it should stand with his Majesties service, to extend his favour towards all those whom his Highnesse desired, his own innate Clemency would invite him thereunto; that in fine, his Majesty was doubtlesse obliged to inflict some exemplary punishment upon the chief Authors of that Revolt, as a thing necessary to secure the tranquility of the State, to maintain his Majesties authority, to deter others, and to chastize this Rebellion, which of it self compelled his Majesty to execute some justice, unlesse he would render himself culpable against his own estate. These reasons were urged with such addresse, moderation, and prudence, that *Monsieur* was from that time, almost absolutely resolved to submit himself unto his Majesties Will, yet some time he desired to consider of it; which was in effect, that he might the better confer with the *Sieur de Puy-Laurens*, who finding

finding no other way left then that of accommodation whereby to secure himself from the danger he was in, induced *Monsieur* to resolve to treat; he alledged to him that he ought to make the lesse difficulty of it, in regard he might afterwards take his own advantage, and put himself in a condition to obtain more advantagious terms; and in fine, he acquainted the *Sieur de Bullion*, and the Marquesse *de Fosse*, with *Monsieurs* resolution; they took his word, and the Articles of accommodation were concluded, by which *Monsieur* acknowledging his fault beseeched his Majesty:

First, That he would forget and forgive him: He promised his Majesty to relapse no more; that he would relinquish all intelligences with Forreigners, and with the Queen-Mother, during her abode out of the Kingdom, contrary to his Majesties Will.

That he would dwell in such place as his Majesty would prescribe, and live like a true Brother and Subject.

Moreover, *Monsieur* obliged himself not to take any part in their Interest who were ingaged with him; nor complain, if at any time the King should bring them to condigne punishment.

To receive such persons as his Majesty should nominate into the Offices which should at any time become vacant in his family; and to remove such as should be disagreeable to his Majesty.

Briefly, It was agreed that the *Sieur de Puy-Laurens*, having been the chief Agent of those evil Councels, which had ingaged *Monsieur* in the War, should be obliged sincerely to inform his Majesty of what ever had been negotiated for the time past, by which the State might receive any prejudice, and that under penalty of being reputed Criminal, and to have incurred his Majesties displeasure.

These were the chief Articles whereunto *Monsieur* consented, an assured testimony they were of his natural inclination to live quietly and submissely: They were signed by him for his Majesties greater assurance; and thereupon the *Sieurs de Bullion* and *Fosse*, promised him in his Majesty behalf, that his Majesty should receive him into his favor, establish him in al his goods and pensions, give him liberty to live peaceably in such of his houses, as should be thought fit, and that a pardon should be granted to *Monsieur de Elbœuf*, and all others then residing neer his person, without ingaging any thing for the rest.

His Majesty received these Articles by the Marquesse *de Fosse*, and accordingly ratified them; and thus was this desired agreement concluded, which every one considered as one of the most certain foundations of *France* its happinesse. Nothing was discourst of but Peace; the King permitted the strangers six days time to march out of *France* by *Roussillon*, who scattering themselves abroad from one Coast to another, received the same entertainment from the Country people as they had before offered unto them. *Monsieur* retired to his house of *Champigny* neer *Tours*, seemed to be satisfied in his very soul, and withall writ several Letters to the Cardinal full of affectionate expressions, disowning those aspersions published against him under his name, assuring him, that he had never consented to them in a thought, and that in his greatest Passion he had ever much esteem for him, not only in regard of his loyalty towards the King, but also for his eminent vertues, and the great services he had done the State. And thus every one saw an agreeable calm succeed that storm wherewith *France* had been so much agitated.

*Politique Observation.*

AS Kings are obliged to chastize some of the chief Authors of a revolt, as shall hereafter be declared, so ought they readily to pardon the rest. *Cæsar* was more esteemed for his easie condiscension to be reconciled to his enemies, than *Hannibal* for his harsh courage. It was his usual saying, that nothing

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was lesse proper for those who aspired unto great things, than willfully to persist in enmities, which oftentimes cause those forces, which were design'd for great atchievements, to be made use of in a mans own defence, and to secure him for the ambushments of his enemies. Clemency ought to shut a Soveraign's eye, that he may no more behold their faults, who beg his favour in matters of revolt, having first layed by some of the chief, for examples sake. And is it not then a generous revenge to pardon a man already overcome, especially if he be of the same blood? Pardon is sometimes as difficult to be supported by Grandees, as the confusion of a defeat; some have chosen rather to perish then to beg it. Withall, a King is so far from receiving any detriment in his government by granting it, that rather on the contrary, Clemency is a spell which charmeth every one to love him; it is one of the strongest Pillars of his State, besides the glory which it carries with it, whose splendour is not small, generosity having no stamp more venerable then Clemency. And Experience evidenceth, that all good courages have a natural sweetnesse to cure wounds, without leaving any scars behind them. The Herb called by *Homer*, *Nepenthe*, presented to *Helen* by the Queen of *Egypt*, was much esteemed of for the allaying of all griefs, for causing an oblivion of offences, and for restoring the same sentiments of affection, which had been before the breach of friendship. The Grecians were esteem'd very wise, who, when they could find no other expedient to redresse the many crimes, during the time of the thirty Tyrants, publish'd a Decree by them called the Amnesty, commanding they should all be buried in Oblivion; and the valiant *Scipio* took the same course with his revolted Souldiers, telling them, he desired Oblivion might efface their fault; and in case that could not do it, it might at least be smothered in silence, to the intent it might not be cast in their teeth. All that Princes have to consider in communicating the effects of their Clemency, is, so to pardon, that they leave neither the courage nor the liberty of relapsing into a second fault; by making sure of those who may occasion it. Those who humble themselves, they ought to set free from the rigours of their justice; yet the favours they grant ought to be managed with such prudence, that whilest they forget those crimes which they pardon, the other may forget their ways of offending them.

## *The Cities of* Languedoc, *return to their Obedience.*

AS a Tempest usually giveth place to the Sun so divers the revolted Cities of *Languedoc*, upon his Majesties approach to their Province, returned to their obedience; and among others, *Bagnols*, *Alby*, *Lunel*, *Villeneuve*, *Mugueloul*, *Frontignac* and *Beziers*. But the Calm did entirely manifest it self, after *Montpeirs* accommodation had been signed and confirmed, every one then returning to his duty; yet because the Peace of that Province, and the peoples safety were necessarily to be secured, his Majesty commanded, that *Bresson*, the Castle of *Pesenas*, the Cittadel of *Beziers*, and divers other places should be raz'd; which not being any Frontiers, could onely serve for a retreat to Rebels: Withall, he gave Commission to the *Sieur de Machaut*, Master of the Requests, assisted by the Marquess *de Tavannes*, Marshal of his Camps and Armies, to chastize divers partakers of that Rebellion, both in their persons, and the razure of their Castles. And in conclusion, that he might draw a general acknowledgement of the Rebellions committed by those of that Province, and leave some better settlement behind him, he assembled the Estates at *Beziers*, upon the first of *October*, the next day the Session began, himself being personally present. He appeareth with that splendour wherewith he is usually inviron'd when he sitteth in his Throne of Justice, being accompanied by the Cardinals, Princes, Dukes, and Peers, Marshals of *France*, and other Lords attending him The first sitting of the Court was in his Majesties presence, and the Keeper of the Seals, having represented to the Bishops, Gentlemen, and other Deputies there present, how hainous the crime of Rebellion which they had committed in the late Commotions, was, he was most humbly beseeched by

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the Arch-Biſhop of *Narbone* their Speaker, that he would pardon the whole Province, in whoſe name he promiſed him a moſt inviolable fidelity. Whereupon, the King that he might fully make to appear the effects of his Clemency, not only pardoned them, but ſuppreſs'd the *Eſtens*, and confirm'd their priviledges; yet, he made a new order for the impoſition of monies, which were at any time to be levied in their Province.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is not enough to beat Rebels out of the field, and to force them to their houſes; a Soveraign is moreover obliged to eſtabliſh ſuch an Order in the Province where the Rebellion hath been, that it remain not expoſed to the danger of a ſecond ſtorm, after he ſhall withdraw himſelf. He ought judiciouſly to imitate the Prudent Phyſician, who having rais'd his Patient out his bed, indeavoureth to re-eſtabliſh his temper, and to reſtore him to ſuch a condition of health that he may not fear a relapſe. It would be a great raſhneſſe to puniſh all that are guilty; ſo to do, would aſſuredly raiſe a greater revolt, and which inſtead of troubling one ſingle Province, might indanger the whole Kingdome. It is indeed proper to aſſemble ſome of them, that he may receive an acknowledgement of their crimes, their ſubmiſſions, and their repentance; that once paſt, his Clemency ought to pardon the multitude, his Juſtice having reſerved ſome of the Ring-leaders for exemplary puniſhment. Thus *Ariſtides* having received intelligence in the War, how ſome the nobleſt of the Athenians, finding themſelves oppreſſed by poverty, and diſcontented to ſee themſelves depriv'd of that Authority they had formerly injoyed in the management of affairs, had conſpired againſt the people, and reſolved to deliver the Common-Wealth into the hands of the Barbarians, rather then live in the eſtate whereunto they were then reduced, ſatisfied himſelf with cauſing eight of the principle to be taken to puniſhment, and exhorted the reſt to behave themſelves with ſuch courage, that their generouſneſſe might efface the memory of ſo ignominious an enterprize; which one thing wrought more effectually with them, then if he had ſeverely puniſhed them. It is only fit for inferiour Judges to raiſe informations againſt all the particular acceſſaries to a crime: Kings, whom Clemency maketh far more glorious then Severity, ought to wink at the diſorders of the multitude, ſeeing they had not ingaged in a Rebellion, but by the Artifice of the chief men of the Province, who are more in fault then all the reſt. I will moreover adde, that it were proper they did a little ſweeten thoſe Orders which claſh with the peoples ſence, and which have ſerved for a pretence to their Rebellion; for it is exceeding dangerous to be obſtinately reſolute in any thing that goes againſt the hair of the multitude; not that I ſhould think it Prudence to admit of what ever they deſire, that were too baſe a condeſcenſion, and would imbolden them too too much; a mean ought to be uſed, and a more pleaſing way to obtain the ſame ends. The higheſt point of diſcretion conſiſteth in acquiring the end we propoſe, by ſuch windings as may beſt convey us to it; though it be the further way about; and the greateſt Triumph of reaſon ſeemeth ſometimes to yeeld to Time and Neceſſity, and to ſit ſtill with effecting, though not all we would, yet what we may without exaſperating the people. A King may lawfully, without all peradventure, eſtabliſh that which is right, and which carrieth with it any advantage to the publick, but Prudence ought to precede all his Decrees, and he ought to be carefull that there happen not at any time more evil then good by his commands.

## *The Requests of divers Lords for* Monsieur de Montmorency, *his life and liberty.*

ALthough his Majesty had pardoned the common fry, yet the Duke of *Montmorency* being their chief Ring-leader, there was small likelihood of passing by his Delinquency, without due punishment, unlesse it were purposely to give all other Governours free liberty to rebell as often as they pleased; considering how it was by the chance of War, and his own only rashness, that he fell into the hands of his Majesties Officers. For this reason it was, that the King commanded him to be carried to *Tholose* (whither his Majesty came not long after) imprisoned in the Town House, and sent a particular Commission to the Parliament to prosecute his Indictment against him. He was examined, witnesses produced face to face, according to course, neither was there any great difficulty in proving such things as made him guilty of death; he having been taken with his Sword in his hand, against the King, as himself confessed (adding with tears in his eyes, as is usual with all persons of quality, when they find themselves convicted; That if it would please his Majesty to pardon him his life, he would not desire to obtain it unlesse to lay it out in his service, and that he might expiate part of his Crimes, with his Blood. Sundry persons of quality, and amongst others, the Princesse of *Conde* his sister; the Cardinal *de la Valette*, and the Dukes *d'Espernon*, and *de Chevreuse*, were very earnest with the King to obtain his pardon, and *Monsieur* himself sent the *Sieur de Lavaupot*, to cast himself at his Majesties feet, and to Petition in his behalf. But what likelihood was there, of passing by so hainous an offence without chastizing it? What reason was there to give life unto him, who had indeavoured to raise all the Grandees in the Kingdom, with whom he had the least acquaintance, who had used his utmost to ingage one of the chief Provinces of the Kingdom in a Rebellion, who had induced *Monsieur* to march in Arms through all *France*, that he might the better countenance his designs, who had introduc'd the Spaniard, who had had the boldnesse to procure the States of the Province to authorize his Rebellion, who had raised all the Souldiers he possibly could against the King: briefly, who had left no stone unturn'd which might any ways contribute to the advancement of his pernicious designs? What reason can there be alledged, sufficient to excuse such a crime? It was not a fault committed by mistake, or rashly, but a designed contrivance deliberated and discussed; for the effecting whereof, he had bent all his wits, and set all his Engines on work, for above seven or eight moneths together. His name was indeed honourable, in regard of his Ancestors, but he deserved no honour for having been deficient in following the Copies of their Loyalty, was his family illustrious, his Crime was of the greater consequence and the more dangerous for persons of his quality, especially such as had raised great advantages by the favours conferr'd upon them, and the punishment of his offence ought to be exemplary, to warn the Nobility to contain themselves within the bounds of their duties, and within the limits of fear of his Majesties Justice. He had indeed done his Majesty service in two or three occasions, but not such as were any way considerable, with that of this his attempt, which strook at the root of the Kingdom, which forced the people from their obedience, which tended to the destruction of his Majesties authority, and the ruine of his Subjects. What would strangers have said at the report of such excessive Clemency, far different from those prudent severities which themselves frequently exemplifie unto us, upon the least commotions in their own Countries? Had it not been a wilfull blindnesse in matters of State, and the establishment of the publick quiet to have suffered such a Rebellion to passe unpunished? To say truth, he must have no longer been a King, had he tied up the hands of Justice, and hindred her from prosecuting those Orders prescribed by the Laws on such occasions. Thus the Marshal *de Chastillon*, going to wait upon the King, with intent to join his request with

others in his behalf told him, that the countenance and eys of thoſe who ſupplicated him, did ſufficiently declare, that his Majeſty would oblige very many perſons, if it would pleaſe him to pardon *Monſieur de Montmorency's* life, but was anſwer'd with a Prudence well-becomming his Majeſty that he ſhould not be King, if his ſentiments were ſuch as thoſe of private men.

*Politique Obſervation.*

A King would render himſelf much blame-worthy towards his State, if in all his actions he did not regard the publick good, before the ſatisfaction of divers perſons. Good Emperours even according to the opinion of the moſt eminent Lights of the Church, have preferr'd the State before their Fathers or children; and indeed of ſuch conſideration ought it to be unto them, ſeeing they are obliged not to give way to their own wills, when they deſire any thing in prejudice thereof. Were it not a madneſſe to expoſe all the Souls in a Veſſel to th hazard of Shipwrack, by indeavouring to ſave one particular man? Seeing the very life of a King ought not by himſelf to be conſidered, when as the publick good is in agitation, of what weight then ought anothers life be to him? The object of Princes is the civil good, and is folded up in that of the people in general. No one can doubt, but that it is for the intereſt and advantage of the people, to prefer the common good, before that of any particular man, who hath run into any hainous offences. So the Laws have more regard to the ſafety of all, then of any one criminal, and that Prince who being obliged to propoſe to himſelf the Laws for a guide of his Actions, will commit a manifeſt overſight, if he doth not follow the like example. He deſerveth not to wear the Crown, if he permit the oppreſſion of his Subjects, and the Revolt of others to go unpuniſhed; God Almighty having intruſted the Sword of Juſtice in his hands, that he might preſerve them in obedience and defend them from oppreſſions. Kingdomes (ſaith *Plato*) are then well governed, when the guilty are puniſhed. The Lawyer ſaith, that the chiefeſt care which a Governour of a Province ought to have, is to preſerve Peace; to which end, he muſt purge the Country of thoſe who are likely to create troubles, by puniſhing them according to their demerits; in a word, private men propoſe the well-ordering of their families, for the end of their buſineſſe, and ſo ought Kings to prefer nothing before the good of their Kingdomes. It is the property of private men, to be ſolicitous of private concernments, and it is the duty of a King to regard nothing in regard of the publick good.

## Monſieur de Montmorency's *Death.*

THeſe were the juſt conſiderations which moved the Parliament of *Tholoſe*, after proceſſe made againſt him withall legal proceedings, to condemn him to be beheaded by their ſentence of the 30. *October*. But before I proceed to the execution, I cannot but obſerve the Fortitude and Piety wherewith he received his death. The Cardinal *de la Valette*, fore-ſeeing no probability of ſaving him, beſeeched the King would be pleaſed to allow him a Confeſſor, the better to diſpoſe him to receive with ſubmiſſion the ſentence of the Parliament. His Majeſty was eaſily intreated to admit therof, being glad to contribute any thing towards the ſaving of his Soul, by making his body an example of Rebellion, which favour although it be not uſually granted to perſons indicted, before their ſentence be paſſed, yet his Majeſty gave oder to the Marſhal *de Breze*, to conduct Father *Arnoux*, Superior of the Jeſuits, particularly deſired by the Duke of *Montmorency*, and to charge him to aſſiſt him, day and night, for ſo long time, as he ſhould think fit and requiſite for his conſoation. The Father went to him, and found that God beſtowed many Graces upon him, in order to his well-dying; to which end, he deſired to make a general Confeſſion. One thing did ſomewhat trouble him, which was this, he beleeved that to acquit himſelf of this pious duty, there would

would be longer time required, then was probably left for him; he supposing, as accordingly it was that they had resolv'd to sentence him the next morning, whereupon he earnestly conjured the Father *Arnaus*, and the *Sieur de Launay* to go and acquaint his Majesty that he beseeched him to bestow the next whole morning upon him, that he might the more deliberately and without molestation, look back into his Conscience, that he might make such a Confession, as might cause him to die without inquietude of mind, and that he should take this for one of the greatest favours he had ever received from him. The King condescended thereunto, and his Piety being no lesse resplendent then his Justice, he readily granted him that liberty, commanding, that the sentencing of him should be deferr'd for one day; and also permitting him to communicate, although contrary to the use for persons in his condition. He ended those holy duties, which once passed over, he employed the afternoon in making his Will, according as his Majesty had permitted him, wherein he bequeathed unto *Monsieur* the Cardinal, one esteemed for the rarest peece of *France*, being a Picture, representing Saint *Sebastian* dying, and beseeched him to believe that he died his servant. The morning following, he was called unto the Palace to be examined at the Bar where he answered unto all Interrogations, such submission and generousnesse, that he discovered no other fear of death, but with what is natural to the greatest courages; and at the same time that he went out of the grand Chamber, the whole Court (the Lord Keeper being President) condemned him to be beheaded in the place *du Salin*, as guilty of High Treason in the highest degree. The Sentence was pronounced to him with the usual forms of Justice, which when he heard, he told the Commissaries, how he thanked them, and the whole Company, beseeching them to tell them in his behalf, that he receiv'd the Judgement from the Kings Justice, as a sentence of Mercy from God. After this, his thoughts were altogether taken up, in disposing of himself to die like a Christian. And having shewed all imaginable proofs of so dying, he was executed in the Court of the Town-house where his Majesty commanded it to be performed, though he was not intreated to bestow that last favour upon him.

*Politique Observation.*

TO pardon every one, is a cruelty more dangerous then to pardon no one; this only injureth the nocent, but that the innocent, seeing it exposeth all men to great misfortunes. This only destroyeth particular families, whereas that is commonly the occasion of the breaking out again of civil Wars which were thought to have been quite extinguished by Clemency, but do then indanger the absolute ruine of a whole Kingdom, by their second eruptions. Now amongst those many which deserve to be chastiz'd, the chief heads of a Revolt, ought to be punished much rather then the hands and feet, which were but accessaries thereunto: It is the order prescribed by Justice, and in effect, it is more equitable to punish those who are the original and true causes of evil, then those who could hardly defend themselves from following their violent motions. The greatnesse of their qualities may not priviledge them from the punishment due to the hainousnesse of their Crimes, although the faults of common mean persons are usually pardon'd by the too too great indulgence of Magistrates. On the contrary, if at any time Ambition transporteth them into seditions, it likewise rendreth them much more culpable, and consequently more deserving of punishment, then the least and most obscure persons of the Kingdome. Their lapses are not only equal and liable to the inflictions provided for other Subjects; but they are the more notorious, by how much their quality is more conspicuous, because their exorbitances are of a more dangerous consequence. Every one is more concern'd at the Eclipses of the Sun, then those of other Stars, because such are commonly attended by sad events; so the crimes of the chief leading men in a Nation, are more to be regarded, because their effects are more to be feared then those of private men. The revolt of a mean Gentleman, is seldom capable to raise any great troubles in

a Kingdom, but that of a Governour of a Province, or some chief person in the State cannot happen, without carrying great misfortunes along with it.

It is great Prudence in such occasions, to follow the councel, given by *Thrasibulus* to *Periander*, who sent his Ambassadours to him, desiring to be inform'd how he might happily govern his State: He carried them out into a large field, and discoursing to them of things indifferent, he cut off the highest ears of Corn, and then told them they should acquaint their Master, with what they had seen him do, and how that was the best advice he could give him: *Periander* understood the meaning, and well concluded, that the only means to rule in quiet, was to cut off their heads, who might any ways trouble the State, and that Prince who followeth not this Rule, when Justice requireth it, shall quickly find himself necessitated to sustain the inconveniences of a Civil War. He who cherisheth that Serpent which hath formerly stung him, exposeth himself to the danger of a second wound, and that Prince who once pardoneth the Ring-leader of a Rebellion, giveth life to a man, who may in time find an opportunity to raise a second and more dangerous revolt, because he may then better provide in prevention of those evils which caused his first ruine, whereas his death were a *Quietus est*. In a word, a Prince cannot but be commended for sacrificing the life of a Rebel, to the quiet of his State.

## *A Design to surprize the Dutchesse* d'Elguillon.

THe news of *Monsieur de Montmorency's* taking, being brought to *Bruxels*, the Queen-Mother and Spaniards, received it with no less sorrow then astonishment; concluding, that seeing the strongest Pillar of the Rebellion by them raised in *France*, was surpriz'd and carried to a place, where he was onely in a condition of suffering, the whole contrivance which they had so finely spun to force the King to stoop unto their Wills, would now vanish into nothing. The Queen-Mother in particular, who had ever a great kindnesse for the Duke of *Montmorency*, was in great fear for him, lest the King should make him the object of his Justice, for an example to others, as he had well deserved. But Father *Chanteloupe*, who never wanteth remedies, at least imaginary ones, for all accidents, which do never so little provoke the Queen-Mothers passion, knowing that in Womens affairs, a Man is ever acceptable to them, in case he do but sooth them in their affections, advised to surprize Madam *de Combalet*, and to bring her away to *Bruxels*; assuring themselves, that having that Lady in their hands, who being the Cardinals Neece, and indued with such qualities, as rendred her not only the most amiable, but the most deserving person of the Court, was the object of his affections, that grand Minister would be compelled to obtain his pardon, for very fear lest she might find some harsh usage, in case they should put him to death. I may safely say, that the important services of this favourable *Genius*, ought to have hindred the Queen-Mother, who knew him better then any other person whatever, from consenting to so unjust a design when it was first proposed, for that consideration alone, ought to have been an inviolable security to all his relations. But I will only say, the merit of that Lady was sufficient of it self, to oblige her to punish the Authors of such rash Councels, seeing she is the Ornament and Glory of the Court, the honour of her Sex, a miracle of Virtues, and repleniſhed with exemplary Piety, not precise or disagreeable, but attractive and taking; that she doth (as it were) force a respective love in the Souls of all who behold the many Graces wherewith Heaven hath inriched her. But what reason was there, or indeed what reason could there be alledged to expiate the Duke *de Montmorency's* Crimes of Rebellion, upon a person whose acquired Vertues and innate Graces did oblige all Man-kind to pay her all imaginable honour and respect? Yet Passion having no eys to behold any truth which thwarts it; the Queen-Mother approved of *Chanteloup's* design, thought good to command the execution thereof at *Besançon*, writ unto sundry Gentlemen whom she intrusted, to assist the attempt, and took

took care that for the safer bringing her away, horses should be layed ready upon the Road between *Brussels* and *Paris*. But God who is pleased to defend Justice, and willingly protecteth such as are by him indued with extraordinary qualities, discovered the Plot by one *Rouvri*, one of the chief Conspirators, who acquainted Madam *de Combalet* with the whole contrivance; and moreover, furnished her with the means of taking nine principal Agents therein, by the *Chevalier du Gue*, who were all carried to the *Bastille*. It was not long before there were Commissioners appointed for their Examination; and their design being proved, by many undeniable testimonies, they could not have escaped the reward due to such crimes, had not Madam *de Combalet*, of her own good nature, whose charity shineth among her other virtues, hindred the execution, by her humble Petition unto the King. It was satisfaction enough for her, that she was safe from the danger, and she was more solicitous of rewarding *Rouvre*, who had been instrumental in her escape, then of causing them to be punished who would have acted so outragious a violence.

*Politique Observation.*

ALthough besides the injustice, it be an impudent boldnesse, to injure Ladies of Quality and Honour, their Sex and Merit having ever secured them from all outrages, even in the hottest times of War, yet they receive no little glory by pardoning such rudenesse, if any be offered unto them. It is not the same thing in matter of forgiving wrongs, between private persons and Princes, the latter being often obliged to follow the rigor of the Laws for the good of his State; whereas it is alwaies honourable for the former to forgive, especially for Ladies, sweetnesse being a becomming Vertue of their Sex, although cruelty be a usual ingredient in their constitutions. It is a most assured mark of Generosity, then to pardon injuries when one is able to revenge them. None but great Courages are touched with pitty; for those who have shewed themselves most inhumane, they only convert their Anger into Compassion, wherein they might justly enough take exceptions against them. *Julius Cæsar*, whose Vertue is not only notorious, but admired by all the World, was hardly to be moved to anger by the common fry of men, thinking them (belike) beneath his Passion, and too inconsiderable to disquiet him. In a word, it is one of the highest points of Moral vertue, but Christianity inhanceth it somewhat further, obliging us to forgive those who have offended us, for Gods sake, who invites us unto it; an advantage it is, and that much more advantagious against offenders, then punishing of them, seeing there is not any thing wherein we can more lively resemble the Divine Bounty, then in pardoning of injuries. Kings themselves are not more considerable for their Justice then their Clemency. Many there have been ingenious enough in punishing the guilty, but few are the examples of Clemency, it being rarely seen, that a grand patience cohabits with a Soveraign power; though the Sun be the most worthy Ornament of the Heavens, yet he is only respected by men, in regard of his benigne influence, which he sendeth amongst them; and true it is, that let a Lady be never so great, yet nothing can so much recommend her, as Clemency, especially such as carrieth her on, to do good unto them who have made themselves unworthy thereof, by their indeavours to do her a mischief.

## Monsieur *leaveth* France, *and goeth into* Lorrain.

MOnsieur's accommodation being concluded, and his Majesties prudence having disposed of every thing, which seemed necessary for the establishing a secure Peace in *France*, every one supposed that the wings of those who favoured Monsieur's Revolt, had been so clipp'd, that it would be a long time ere they could flie into such disorders. All good Frenchmen, were touched with such joy, as they who having been long weather-beaten, by a Tempest at Sea, do at length safely

arrive

arrive unto their wished Haven. But those joys were short lived, the Sea being quickly covered with Fleets scouring up and down, which threatned *France* with a furious storm: The *Sieur de Puy Laurens*, and some others, who carried any sway in *Monsieur's* Councels, had only perswaded him to reconcile himself unto the King, with design to ingage him in some new Revolt, as occasion should present; and in hopes to make a more advantagious use of it, towards the obtaining of their pretensions, then they had done in *Languedoc*; they were not long without a pretence to palliate their intentions, *Monsieur de Montmorency's* death, should be the ground of his leaving the Kingdom. They suggested to him, that his intreaties having been so ineffectual and unconsidered in the saving his life, who was a person of such neer concernment to him, he could not think himself over secure of his own freedom, in case there should be any suspicion upon him, that however it was a strange affront put upon him, in the sight of all *Europe*, seeing he had not credit enough to save a Gentleman, who had adventured his life and fortunes for his interests. At the same time they gave out, that his life had been promised unto *Monsieur* upon his accommodation; whereas on the contrary, the *Sieur de Bullion*, and the Marquesse *de Fossez*, did never give him any such assurance, that having failed in a particular so much concerning his honour, his Highnesse could not make any longer abode in *France*. Now although all of that Cabal did jointly conclude to carry him out of the Kingdome, yet they could not agree upon the place whither to carry him. The *Sieur de Puy-Laurent* who was passionately in love with the Princesse de *Phalsbourg*, proposed *Lorrain*, the place where his heart was, and advised him to retire thither, it being a thing due to the Princesse *Marguerite*, and there being no such powerfull invitations to carry him into any other place: The rest found but little safety in *Lorrain*, by reason of the Dukes weaknesse, unable to secure their retreat, or stay there; but were of opinion, that *Monsieur* should retire into *Cazal*, where they assured themselves the Marshal *de Toiras*, would receive his Highnesse, and where he might live secure from all fear. The little assurance of safety which *Monsieur* foresaw in *Lorrain*, did somewhat touch him, but the *Sieur de Puy-Laurens*, insinuating to him how easily he might retire from *Nancy* to *Bruxelles*, in case his Majesty should seem to incline towards any expedition against *Lorrain*; in consideration of him, and how that he would alwaies be received there, his birth rendring him considerable, swayed his former resolutions, and made him incline to that side, so powerfull was his credit with him; although the rest represented to him, that he would find lesse security by casting himself into the hands of the Spaniards, then in any other place whatever; that they might perchance entertain him with honour; but that it was to be feared, he would not long continue Master of his own liberty, or that he might have the freedom to get off when he should most desire it. The resolution of departing being concluded, *Monsieur* went into *Lorrain* in *November*, and for the more specious pretext of their relapse, they presumed to write unto the King, persisting to abuse his name and pen; how that the preservation of *Monsieur de Montmorency's* life, and the procuring of his liberty, having induc'd him to submit to whatever his Majesty was pleas'd to impose, the taking off of his head being a person so dear to him, was so publique an affront, and slight, that he could no longer indure it; and withall, that it was impossible he should longer continue in *France*, without giving cause to suspect, he had made his own accommodation with other intentions, then of obtaining that favour, of which he was still fed with great hopes: Besides that, he could expect little satisfaction for his own person, seeing his requests and intreaties had been so little considerable in the executing of him, whose life was equally dear to him, with his own, and whose death he could not digest without great dishonor. This was the substance of the Letter, whereunto there need no other answer, but that the Duke of *Montmorency* having been condemned by one of the most famous Parliaments of the Kingdom, for a Crime which could not be let passe without punishment, unlesse to the very great detriment of the State, especially after himself had sent seven Couriers to assure his Majesty of his fidelity, after he had conspired

with

with Forraigners to destroy the Kingdom, after he had almost totally ruined one of the chiefest Provinces, after he had been taken in the head of an Army, with his sword died with blood in his hand, actually fighting against his Majesties service, after he had fomented divisions in his Majesties family, and committed several other enormities as hath been declared; there was little reason to expect his pardon, and as to the other part, that it was improbable his Highnesse should consent to the Treaty made at *Beziers*, only in order to obtain *Monsieur de Montmorency's* pardon, when as he was absolutely forced by necessity to submit thereunto, having not forces enough to defend himself. Such was the reply which the King sent unto him, wherein he testified to the whole World, how he never offered any just cause to those of his royal blood, to separate themselves from him, or to be deficient in paying those respects, unto which nature and his Majesties affection did not a little oblige them.

*Politique Observation.*

WHatever refusal a Prince receiveth from his King, yet he rendreth himself inexcusable, if his Passion transport him beyond his duty: He ought to recollect unto his memory, how that no one, in a well-govern'd State can impose the Law on his Soveraign, but that every one ought to submit his own private, to his Princes Will. There are in a State, as in the Soul, superiour and inferiour powers, and as the law of Nature hath ordained the weaker faculties give way unto the stronger and more able, so the Grandees of a Kingdom are obliged to stoop under the Laws of their Supream Prince, and to comply with his Will, without any the least contradiction. What but Death can be expected from that body whose particular Members refuse to execute those Offices which are injoyned them by the Head? And what can be looked for from a State, where the Nobles flie out, and deny obedience to the Soveraigns Decrees? This were repugnant to the Order of Justice, nothing but misfortunes could attend it. It matters not whether they alwaies meet with their particular satisfaction, seeing a King is obliged to intend the publick good, not the requests of his Grandees. The Sun which presideth in the Heavens doth not alwaies shine and smile on the earth, as we would have him, but as he is obliged in order to the universal good, so he withdraweth himself at certain hours, and who so should be discontented herewith, would it not appear unreasonable? Are not Kings sometimes necessitated in consideration of their State, to with-hold their favours, and to deny their pardon for certain crimes, which otherwise they would not scruple to grant? And were it not too too little submission, upon such occasions for a Subject to fall off, and to flie out into extremities? Reasons of State are often so visibly apparent, that there need nothing but a privation of passion to behold and force a confession, that it were imprudence not to prosecute them; but admit there were no such evincing arguments, yet no man can justly complain against his Soveraign, in regard reasons of State are for the most part kept secret. Antiquity did observe a custome very mysterious, which was this, they placed a *Sphynx* over the Portals of their Temples, to teach the people they ought not to enter there but with submissions, such as should as it were lock up their bold curiosities, from inquiring into the mysteries which they adored, it being more proper humbly to reverence divine things, then to pry into them with a needlesse Inquisition. I could wish the like Statues were placed at the Gates of our Kings Pallaces, to teach men of all conditions, to receive their Commands and Laws with obedience, cheerfulnesse and submission, without examining the reasons of them, which ought by them, though unknown, to be esteemed for good and just, especially seeing at last, their Will ought to be a Law to all their Subjects, and that it is a kind of Rebellion, as it were, to contradict it. For my part, I think it likewise a great prudence not to inquire into the motives, reasons or inducements of their Wills, because Ministers might thereby be obliged to discover Truths, not proper to be known, as happened at *Florence*, in the time of *Cosmo*

de

*de Medicis*, who being extreamly preſſed by a Florentine to tell him the reaſon, why he had refuſed him an Office whoſe Predeceſſor had been hang'd for ill diſcharging it; at laſt told him, after many importunities, that he did it, becauſe he feared he would likewiſe be hanged as the former, letting him ſee by this anſwer, how he knew him to be like enough for his wickedneſſe to dance in the ſame rope. So a Prince expreſſing any diſcontent for puniſhing of any Grandee, who had ingaged him in a Rebellion, and earneſtly preſſing to know the reaſon of ſuch rigor, might be anſwered, that it was done for fear he might draw him a ſecond time into the ſame ſnares. It is alwaies ſafer for Princes to diſſemble their diſcontents, and cheerfully to ſubmit unto their Soveraigns Will, then to expreſſe any diſlikes which only ſerve to bring them into diſtruſt, to raiſe ſuſpicions and ſpies upon their actions, and to hinder their receiving of any more favours; whereas by their ſeeming to be well ſatisfied, they preſerve themſelves in their Soveraigns good opinion, and in a condition to reap abundance of advantages: And *Guichardine* in his advices ſaith, that he had oftentimes obtained his ends, by diſſembling his diſcontents with thoſe, who elſe would never have ſerved his turn, and that he had receiv'd ſuch friendſhips and favours from them, as he could not have expected had he diſcovered any diſlike.

## *Certain Biſhops of* Languedoc, *depoſed from their Charges.*

THe Duke of *Montmorency*, had acquired ſo great credit in *Languedoc*, that he not only drew off divers men of quality from his Majeſties ſervice, but ſeveral Biſhops alſo, and perſwaded ſeven or eight to ſubſcribe unto the Declaration of the States; ſome recanted what they had done, and became conformable to what his Majeſty had ordained in his Declaration; but otherſome ſtood out in their Rebellion, amongſt whom were thoſe of *Alby* and *Uſſes*, who had delivered their Cities into *Monſieur's* hands, of *Niſmes* who would have done the like, of *Alets* and *Saint-Pont*, well-willers to the Rebellion, either by raiſing of forces or proviſions to be ſent to places already revolted. The Arch-Biſhop of *Narbone* Preſident of the States, had not been defective in indeavouring to divert them from their deſigns repreſenting to them how contrary it was to their profeſſion, which tended to procure Peace, and to ſhew examples of obedience unto others. And why Gentlemen (quoth he, one day, in a full Aſſembly, ſpeaking unto them) and why would you add fuel to the fire already kindled in this Province, or aſſiſt thoſe who indeavour to ſubvert the State, or why will you diſpence with the ſervice you ow both the King and people, to aſſiſt thoſe who contrive wickedneſſe? Will you be the men who ſhall make this place a Theater of bloody Tragedies? Why do you not conſider that the deſigns in which you have been ingaged, tend only to ſerve ſome diſcontented perſons of the Court, to come and extinguiſh the fire-brands of their Ambition, in the blood of our Dioceſans, and to fight out their quarrels upon our very Altars? Have ye not heard how that Forrainers are at the Gates of the Kingdome, and ready to invade us? Think you they will not fall to divide the ſpoil, in caſe they obtain any little ſucceſſe? And ſhall this Province become a Conqueſt, where Rebels and ſtrangers ſhall have ſo much as their Swords will intitle them unto? Have ye forgot the diſaſters which the Church ſuffered in theſe parts during the Civil Wars? Would ye be willing to ſee your Altars prophaned, your Goods deſtroyed, your Church Ornaments plundered, the Portions of the poor rifled, and the Prieſts of the whole Country, flying from their Cures into places of Safety? And admit theſe Heavenly conſiderations ſhould not affect you, how can you countenance the revolt of this Province, where his Majeſty hath deſtroyed Hereſie, reſtored Peace, Liberty, and Glory to the Church, of which ſhe had ſo many years been deprived? Can you forget how his Majeſty came perſonally into thoſe very places, wherein you now countenance Rebellion with his Sword in his hand for our defence, what dangers he attempted, how often he grapled with our enemies, and to what hazards he expoſed himſelf, that he might reeſtabliſh

eſtabliſh us in our Functions, and the free injoyment of our Goods? Can you think on theſe things and not remain firm in the obedience you ow unto him? Behold an opportunity of obtaining great glory is now preſented by God in us. It is in this occaſion God hath injoyn'd us to ſhew forth that loyalty and ſubmiſſion, by him ſo often recommended unto his Apoſtles, whoſe ſucceſſors we have the honor to be. This is it, unto which I cannot ſufficiently invite you, yet you may herein gain honour and happineſſe, and more then that too, if you will do me the honor to believe me. This Rhetorique had been powerfull enough to have retain'd them in their devoirs, had not their ſouls been pre-poſſeſſed by Paſſion, that alone prevented it, inſomuch that moſt of them perſevered to run on in their Rebellion. Hereupon, the King finding them who ſhould have preſerv'd the people in obedience, both by exhortation and example, to excite them to Rebellion, could not put up ſuch diſorders, but appointed Collectors in their ſeveral Biſhopricks, to receive their Revenues, and to employ them in reparation of Religious Houſes, and Epiſcopal Seas, and thinking it improper to intruſt the care of Souls with ſuch diſloyal perſons, he procured a breviat from the Pope addreſs'd to the Arch-Biſhop of *Arles*, the Biſhops of St. *Flour*, and St. *Malo*, to draw up their proceſs againſt them. His Majeſty might have made uſe of his own power, and have puniſhed them, by his ordinary Juſtice, inasmuch as it was Treaſon, from which there is no exemption, neither could it have been thought ſtrange by themſelves, ſeeing Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and the two Apoſtles whom we acknowledge for the chief of Miniſters of the Goſpel, refuſed not to be judged by the Laiery: Yet his Majeſty ever a great reſpecter of Eccleſiaſtical men, would not commit their judgment but unto perſons of their own Coat, who depoſed the Biſhops of *Alby* and *Niſmes* only, death preventing the Biſhop of *Uſſez* from receiving the like puniſhment, the reſt they reſtored to their Biſhopricks, having not evidences enough to condemn them, although they might peradventure be ſufficiently guilty.

*Politique Obſervation.*

ALthough Biſhops by their places are raiſed to an high degree of honour, yet they wrong themſelves if they think they are exempted from their Kings Authority, ſeeing the Popes have in their writings as *Gelaſius* to the Emperor *Anaſtatius*, *Pelagius* to *Childebert*, one of our firſt Kings, and St *Gregory* to the Emperor *Mauritius*, acknowledged themſelves depending upon their authority. It is moreover true, that Biſhops are more eſpecially obliged, beyond any other Subjects, to live in an exemplary Loyalty, and by their indeavours to preſerve the people in peace. Upon their promotion to that ſpiritual dignity, they take a new Oath of Allegiance, which as it were a ſecond Chain, tieth them to the yoke of obedience, but admitting that were not ſo, yet the Miniſters of the Church conforming themſelves to the temper of their Mother, which is a ſpirit of peace, are bound to appeaſe and pacifie the people when they are tumultuouſly given, and much more not to blow the Coals of their diſſention. *Savanarola* was exceedingly condemned for exaſperating an inſurrection in *Florence*, againſt the *Medicis* when he publiquely preached, that it was Gods Will and Pleaſure to have a popular Government eſtabliſhed, to the intent the chief of the City might have no longer power to diſpoſe of the ſafety of ſome, and the Libertie of others. They who are ſo inconſiderate as to follow ſuch ſedicious tracts, do render themſelves the more unworthy of their callings, by how much the Church doth abhor War and Blood. We ſhould think it very ſtrange, if Heaven which was created by the eternal Providence of God, to inlighten the World with its ſtars, to produce nouriſhments, by its influences for the preſervation of all creatures, to enamel the earth with all ſorts of Flowers, and to overſpread it with a thouſand kinds of Fruits, ſhould in a ſudden alter its nature, and only fill us with darkneſſe, terrifie us with Thunders, and load the Earth with Briars and Thorns: And would it not be more wonderfull to behold (the Son of God having not more ſtrictly charged his Diſciples with any one thing, then to

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be obedient, and to preſerve that Peace which he had brought unto Man-kind? Biſhops, their Succeſſors, indeavouring to their utmoſt to deſtroy and die the land with blood, to divert people from their duties, to arm them againſt their lawfull Prince, and by their power of Souls to ruine that Authority, which Chriſt their Maſter hath given to their Soveraigns? This were abſolutely repugnant to the Orders by him eſtabliſhed, and directly oppoſite to the Laws to them preſcribed. If any of them ſhould be ſo forgetfull of their duties, the Miniſters of State are the more obliged to puniſh them, in regard the reverence wherewith they are eſteemed, and the opinion which men have of their ſanctity and Doctrine, rendreth their example of a more dangerous conſequence, and their diſcourſes more powerfull to perſwade, whatever they are diſpoſed to inculcate. For this very reaſon was it, that *Giles* Arch-Biſhop of *Rheimes*, was depoſed by *Childebert*, that *Pretextatus* was deprived of the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Rouen*. In the time of Childery, that *Theodor* loſt that of *Arles* by the command of *Clovis*; upon this ſcore it was, that *Lewis* the Debonair, forced the Arch-Biſhop of *Milan* to give an account of his diſloyalties, *Abon* Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims*, *Volsphod* Biſhop of *Cremone*, and *Theodolph* Biſhop of *Orleans*, accomplices in the Conſpiracy of *Bernard* King of *Italy*. Did not *Hugh Capet* cauſe *Arnoul* convicted of Falſhood and Treaſon to be drawn from the Sea of *Rheims*. It is the ancient politique cuſtom of *France*, a Right belonging to our Kings, and which Pope *Zachary* himſelf adviſed *Pepin* to put in execution, without any ſcruple, when and ſo often as occaſion ſhould require. And what probability, I pray is there, that the Biſhops and Churchmen of a Kingdom, ſhould have a priviledge to ingage men in Rebellion, and not be puniſhed for ſo doing, to inſtill ſedicious Tenents in the minds of men, and that Magiſtrates ſhould not call them to accompt for it, or depoſe them from their functions, after they had rendred themſelves unworthy of them, by their evil deportment.

## *Divers Cabals made by the Duke* de Guiſe.

THe King having ſecured the Peace in *Languedoc*, *Monſieur le* Cardinal invited him to have an eye after the eſtabliſhment of it in *Provence*, where the Duke of *Guiſe* held divers practices tending to Rebellion, and which were depending upon the ſame deſign with *Monſieur de Montmorency*. The King having been inform'd of his evill deportment, for at leaſt a year before, had often moved him to ſurrender the Government of that Province, in conſideration of other recompences offered unto him; and upon his refuſal had commanded him to come to Court, that he might fairly and handſomly diſ-ingage him, without taking notice of thoſe contrivances in which he was then imbarking: It having ever been the Cardinal's advice unto his Majeſty, not to proceed unto the extremities of rigor, but when he ſhould be, as it were, inforced it, by the extremities of diſ-obedience. But the Duke of *Guiſe* kept himſelf in *Provence*, being fearfull leſt his actions might be a means of ſtopping him at Court, and laying him up in a place where he could not be capable of imbroiling, whereupon inſtead of waiting upon his Majeſty, he cauſed his Mother the Dutcheſſe of *Guiſe*, to beg leave of his Majeſty, that he might paſſe away two or three months time at *Rome* and *Loretta*. The King was very glad of it, and readily granted his deſire, as knowing that travel doth often correct paſſion in matters of revolt and love; yet was it nevertheleſſe upon condition, that after his return, he ſhould come to Court, and clear ſome ſuſpicions which had been taken at the manner of his late Conduct. But inſtead of returning back from *Italy*, he diſpatched the *Sieur de Grand Pre*, one of his Domeſtiques, to beſeech his Majeſty then at *Vic*, to beſtow ſome employment upon him, amongſt thoſe forces which were then marching towards *Italy*, for the ſafety of his Allies: His Majeſty denied to grant his requeſt, conceiving that he rather aimed to palliate his diſobedience, then to do any real ſervice, and thereupon renewed his former command, that he ſhould come to him, and juſtifie himſelf as

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to divers particulars whereof he was ſuſpected. But he being never inclined to obey this command; and on the contrary, living out of the Kingdom, without his Majeſties permiſſion, againſt the inhibition contained in the Law, which declares ſuch Princes as violate it, guilty of High-Treaſon; withall, reſiding there to entertain intelligences to the King's diſſervice, of which he had particuler advice, there was no other way to look on him, but in the quality of a Rebel, and to deprive him of the Government of *Provence*, which lay convenient for him to let in a Forraign enemy; he being further to be ſuſpected, in regard the Houſe of *Lorrain* layeth ſome ancient claim, although upon weak pretences to this Province; whereupon the King (provoked by theſe important reaſons reſolved to diſcharge him of that Government, and to beſtow it on the Marſhal *de Vitry*, whoſe valour, prudence, and affection his Majeſty might rely on, with confidence that the D. of *Guiſe* could attempt nothing in prejudice of the State, which would not as quickly be repelled; and withall, cauſed him to take the Oath of Governour the ſame day, that the Peace was concluded with *Monſieur*, though his Letters Patents had been diſpatched in *April*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

IT is very dangerous to commit the Government of a Province to a Grandee who hath once had his hand in a Revolt, who hath declared his diſcontent, or hath any pretence to the place in his charge. The diſloyalty which ingaged him in any faction, rendreth him more deſerving of puniſhment then preferment, and the leaſt chaſtiſement which can be inflicted on him, is to deprive him of all imployments, it being a thing of great concern, exemplarily to chaſtize thoſe Governors which are guilty of ſuch offences. The puniſhment inflicted on them, ſerveth for an example to others, and keepeth them in their duties, whereas impunity incourageth others to run into the ſame faults. Beſides, he who hath once had the impudence to imbark himſelf in a rebellious deſign, will be ever ready to put it in execution, when a fair opportunity invites him. Great ſickneſſes adminiſter ſuſpicion of relapſes; and the wiſeſt Kings, having once ſeen a Grandee fall off from his Allegiance, have ever diſtruſted him, and never afforded him the opportunity of doing the leaſt evill. Small things may be hazarded, but amongſt ſuch, the Government of a Province, one of the moſt important charges of a State may not be reckoned. It is likewiſe equally dangerous, to truſt a Grandee who hath once ſhewed himſelf to be diſcontented; it were to be ignorant of the uſual conſequences which attend great mens diſcontents to intruſt the Government of a Province with them. There is not any thing more natural to a man who is either provoked or beleeveth himſelf injured, then to ſtudy revenge, and to uſe his utmoſt indeavour to retort it. To give ſuch a man authority, were to impower him to ſatisfie his Paſſion, which attended with weakneſſe would be ineffectual. The great imployments of the Marſhal *de Marillac*, did only ſerve to render him the more culpable, neither indeed may any thing elſe be reaſonably ſuſpected from thoſe men that give themſelves over to a male-contented humor.

But above all, it is a moſt ſignal imprudence to commit the government of great Provinces, to ſuch as have any pretenſions unto them, how old or ancient ſoever. This latter age hath afforded us a memorable example hereof, in the perſon of the Duke *de Mercoeur*, who had not raiſed a faction in *Bretaign* but upon ſome pretences as antient as frivolous. Doth not every one know, how much the late King was troubled to get him out? And was not the deceaſed King blamed, for having beſtowed the Government of it upon the *Sieur de Vendoſme*, his ſon-in-law, who in proceſſe of time, was ſuſpected to have deſigned to make himſelf Duke thereof. Ambition doth eaſily ground new deſigns upon ancient pretences, it teacheth Grandees diſloyalty, and maketh them like Moles, alwaies undermining; it maketh them ſlight their quiet Life, Health, Laws, and Religion it ſelf and all, that they may gain the ends unto which they aſpire; nay, it ſometimes ſo puffeth them

up, that ſome of them have carried in their hearts, the Crowns which their Kings have wore on their heads. *Mark Anthony* made a diſcreet Order, when *Caſſius* had made himſelf Maſter of *Syria*, his native Country, whoſe inhabitants had aſſiſted him in that deſign, whereby he inhibited the conferring any command upon a man in his own Country. How dangerous is it then to beſtow it upon ſuch who perſwade themſelves it is their birth-right? If Ambition be to be feared, though without a pretext, how much more is it then to be ſuſpected, when there is ſome apparent juſtice for the ground of it? If the Province be divided into parties, he need then onely adhere to the ſtrongeſt, and then much may be done; but if it be united, he may poſſibly ingage the whole in revolt, if he once get the affections of the people, which is eaſily brought to paſſe if a man deſigns it, and makes it his buſineſſe.

## *The King returneth from* Languedoc *to* Paris.

THe King having ſetled all things in *Languedoc*, in ſuch a poſture, as there remained nothing to be feared; his Majeſty parted from *Tholoſe* upon the 29. of *October*, to return towards *Paris*. Now having formerly underſtood, that *Monſieur* had onely made his Peace with a reſolution to flie out again upon the firſt fair invitation, he intended to march thither with all ſpeed; to which end, he would only be attended with ſome Light-horſe, certain Companies of Musquetiers and Pikemen on horſeback. The Cardinal whoſe body is not ſo vigorous as his Soul, could not reſolve to make ſuch ſpeed, eſpecially conſidering the labours he had undergone in the voyages, and much more the pains he had taken in ſmothering the Wars of *Lorrain* and *Languedoc* in their birth, had much decayed his ſtrength: Whereupon he thought better to wait upon the Queen, but ſcarce was he gone two daies journey from *Tholoſe*, when he found himſelf ſeized with violent ſickneſſe, which forced him to retire to *Bourdeaux*, where his pains ſo increaſed, that *France* was like to looſe him, who in the conduct of his Majeſties Arms and affairs, had eſtabliſhed her in the higheſt point of glory ſhe had ever yet been. His Majeſty was not only tenderly affected thereat but exceedingly afflicted; far otherwiſe it was with ſtrangers the moſt ambitious of who were perſwaded to beleeve he was dead. If they apprehended any joy thereat, much more did the factious ſpirits of the Court begin to lift up their heads, perſwading themſelves this Sun once ſet, they might riſe with more luſtre; and among the reſt, *le Garde des Sceaux de Chaſteauneuf*, inſtead of bewailing with tears of blood, the loſſe of him who had obtained all that honour for him which he poſſeſſed, and who had preſerved him maugre the malice of his many enemies, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo vainly puft up with the hopes of ſucceeding in his place, that he began to act the chief Miniſter, to iſſue out Orders which concerned him not, and to ingage himſelf in Cabals with ſuch perſons, who not onely hated *Monſieur* the Cardinal, and paſſionately wiſhed his death, but had evill deſigns againſt the State. The Cardinal had ever prevented him from ingaging very much among them by the ſtrict hand which he kept over him, and by curbing in his vanities. but being once got out of his ſight he loſt himſelf, by ſetting too forward in affairs, and inconſiderately precipitated himſelf into diſgrace by aſpiring unto too much honour.

### *Politique Obſervation.*

NOthing is more ordinary with men then to be bewitched to great imployments. This was one of the chief reaſons, that the Ancients painted Fortune blind, for few perſons there are who can keep a *medium* in great Offices. There are none but eminent *genius's* who can ſecure themſelves from certain ebullitions, which do (as it were) naturally ariſe from extraordinary proſperity, and do cauſe moſt men to fall from favor to ruine. Ambition and Vanity do every day ingage thoſe whom Fortune ſmiles upon in new deſigns to riſe higher,

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and in case they want lawfull ways, they refuse none which flatter their Passion, when they find themselves most fix'd in their power, then do they most despise that of the law, and assume the licentiousnesse to advance themselves by any means whatever; the higher they are mounted, the sooner they forget those who have exalted them, and they are industrious to destroy their Benefactors, that they may injoy their honours. That which is most deplorable, is, neither age nor time can cure this Court-sickneſſe; but on the contrary, it doth dayly acquire more force and deeper root in ordinary spirits who are the more apt to esteem their own deserts from the time of their experience. Hence it is that they can never be sufficiently rewarded. This is that which hath ever been a *maxim* with me, a great rise is commonly the first step to misfortune, especially to a man who is not indued with an extraordinary conduct to curb his Passions, and preserve his soul in modesty; neither did I ever think any man the happier for being in great Offices, he hath more trouble for the time to come, then satisfaction for the present; the superabundant cares, the troubles and discontents which accompany him day and night, and his insatiable passions which do incessantly solicite him to aspire unto more, force him to deny himself, the enjoyment of what he hath, that he may arrive unto what he hath not. Happy is the man who is content with his own condition, he is Master of more injoyments and tranquility then those who afflict themselves in their greater pretensions; and on the contrary, there is no person more unfortunate then him, which knoweth not how to bound his desires, nor to acknowledge his good fortune.

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# ANNO 1633.

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## *The Arrival of the Cardinal at* Paris, *after his sickneſſe at* Languedoc.

IT is reported that the people of *Thule* grieved with the Sun's long absence, who for the space of 40 daies leaveth them in an absolute darkneſſe, did heretofore go up to the tops of the Mountains, when first they saw the morning Usher him in, to welcome his approach with a thousand shouts of joy, and offered sacrifices to him. It should likewise seem that most men of quality, at Court, or in *Paris* the beginning of this year, impatient of once more seeing the Cardinal, whom every one considered as a most propitious star, on whose Prudence the King hath often said the happineſſe of his State depended, would imitate the like actions at his arrival. Heaven which is frequently pleased to mingle some evills with the prosperities of this life, had sent this grand Minister, together with the joys of those happy successes which his Counsels had obtained for his Majesty in *Languedoc* and *Lorrain*, a very dangerous sickneſſe, to the great grief of all such who were any whit desirous of the good of *France*; but Passions changing with Objects, joy succeeded their grief, when it was once known that he was returning indifferent well, and the desire which all considerable persons had to see him invited them out to meet him, so that they rode from *Paris* to *Roche-Fort*, a small Village belonging to the Duke *de Montbazon*, where he was to rest before he came to *Paris*, which was covered with Horses and Coaches full of Nobility. Divers went to meet him as far as *Estampes*, and others to *Orleans*; but who will not be surprized to hear that the King himself was pleased to honour him so far, as to visit him at

*Rochefort*

*Rocheſort*, and to ſhew him the teſtimonies of ſo particular an affection, that nothing could be more viſible or obliging: Hardly had the Cardinal alighted, when the King arrived. His Majeſty impatient to ſee him, went up into his Chamber by a back-ſtair, which was the nearer way, whil'ſt this grand Miniſter hearing of his comming, went down the great ſtairs with more diligence then his ſtrength would well bear; ſo that inſtead of meeting, that agility which is natural unto the King, cauſed him to go down again, and after ſome hindrance by the preſſe of the Nobility, they at laſt met in the Caſtle Court. The Cardinal approaching his Majeſty caſt himſelf at his feet, but the King preſently raiſing him with one hand, imbraced him with the other ſo tenderly, that moſt of the beholders could not forbear tears of joy, each one profeſſing that it was impoſſible to ſee teſtimonies of a more cordial favour from a Maſter, or more reſpectfull affection from a ſervant. Such were the ſentiments both of one and the other, that at firſt they were ſpeechleſſe; but having recovered the liberty of their tongues, the King told him, that he received as much joy to ſee him in ſo good plight, as the enemies of *France* had at the falſe report of his death, that this teſtimony of their hatred was a new inſtigation to augment that eſteem he ever had of his ſervices, and that he ſhould not recommend any thing with more earneſtneſſe unto him, then the being carefull of his own health. The Cardinal anſwered, he deſired not to live but to ſerve his Majeſty, that he dayly begg'd of God that his ſervices might be the boundaries of his life, and that his health would ſoon be recruited, ſince he found his Majeſty in ſo good condition. After this they retired two hours in private together, to conſider of divers affairs which his Majeſty would not conclude without him, after which his Majeſty returned to *Paris*.

*Politique Obſervation.*

EXtraordinary honours are juſtly due to great Miniſters of State, as the only luſtre of their fair attempts. The joy of their return from a long voyage, hath often invited the people to go forth and meet them, and to render them all imaginable reſpects. Thus *Pompey* returning, after he had been ſome time detained at *Naples* by a dangerous ſickneſſe, the greateſt part of the Romans marched out of the City, the ways, the Port and the ſtreets were ſo full, that there was hardly any Paſſage. Some were offering ſacrifice for his health, others feaſting and making merry in ſign of joy; ſome march'd before him with Torches, and others ſtrewd the way with flowers. Thus likewiſe *Scipio* returning from *Germany* where he atchieved glorious exploits, every one long'd to ſee him return triumphing to *Rome*, that they might render him the glory which he deſerved, yet becauſe the Triumph was not a cuſtom to be granted to ſuch who were neither Pro-conſuls nor Magiſtrates, the Senate could not reſolve to grant him that honour neither did he deſire it; but on the other ſide, it is obſerved in Hiſtory, that there never was ſo great a concourſe of people in *Rome*, as at his return either to ſee him, or to teſtifie their acknowledgements they had of his ſervices by their going out to receive him. I will paſſe a little further, and add that juſtice and prudence, do oblige Kings to joyn with their people on ſuch occaſions, and ſo render extraordinary honours unto their Miniſters, either for the more ample acknowledgement of the ſervices they have receiv'd from them or for the more countenancing of them in the execution of their commands, or to incourage others to be affectionate to their ſervice. Acknowledgement is a Virtue requiſite both in Prince and people, and ſeeing the ſervice done to a State is of no leſſe advantage to a Prince, then to his Subjects, he is no leſſe obliged to teſtifie his gratitude, if theſe proofs of his good will confer a great honour on thoſe who have ſerved him, himſelf receives no mean advantage thereby; becauſe the Nobility who are extream ſenſible of honour, will not then ſticke at any thing which may tend to his ſervice, and the Agents of his Will have more credit and authority to execute his Commands. Is there any thing more glorious (ſaid the great Chancellor of *Thiery*, King of the Goths) then

to

to deſerve praiſe and approbation, who by reaſon of their Soveraignty are not to be ſuſpected of Flattery? Surely no, the honour which they confer upon any one proceeding from the favourable Judgements which they give of his actions, and their authority permitting not them to be guilty of adulation. Which if true (as doubtleſſe it is) there is not any thing then which doth more incourage Nobility, then the glory wherewith Princes honour their ſervants, nor is there any thing which doth more impower a Miniſter then the carreſſes which his Prince beſtoweth upon him; they confer no leſſe credit upon their Miniſters, then their ſtamps do on their monies.

*Tiberius* one of the wiſeſt Roman Emperours did well underſtand the importance of this maxime in the honours which he beſtowed on the Conſuls thoſe chief Miniſters of his Will, when he went to receive them at the Gate of his Palace, at ſuch time as they came to ſup with him, and waited on them back again when they took their leaves.

*Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, the man who layed the foundation of that great power which this Monarchy hath ſince obtained, was not to ſeek in it, when as *Gonzalve* one of his greateſt Captains, returning to *Burgos* after having rendred him ſuch important ſervices as are well known to every one, he went out to receive him with ſuch honour as cannot be expreſt. Neither was the manner of his entertaining Cardinal *Ximines* leſſe remarkable, for he ſeldom ſpake to him but bare headed, and ſometimes received him upon his knee. He well knew, that the honour wherewith he acknowledged his ſervices, did animate others to follow his example, and gave that grand Miniſter ſo powerfull an authority to execute his commands, that there was not a perſon of what condition ſoever durſt oppoſe him.

### *A diſpatch ſent to the Hollanders to hinder the Treaty.*

IT being of great concernment to prevent the concluſion of any Treaty between the Spaniard and Hollander, his Majeſty bent his chief care to take order accordingly: Indeed it was at that time a matter of ſo great concernment, that the Fortunes of moſt Princes of *Europe* ſeemed to depend thereupon; and ſo much the more circumſpection ought his Majeſty to uſe, in regard of the Procedures of the Spaniard, who had contrary to form permitted the States of the Provinces obeying the Low Countries, to negotiate the particulars of the Treaty with the Hollanders, and the advantagious proffers by him made to obtain it, gave great cauſe to look about, leſt they might be induced to aſſent thereunto: Neither was it unknown, how that he deſigned (the League once concluded) to aſſiſt the Duke of *Orleans* with an Army, as alſo the Duke of *Lorain* to invade *France*, and to ſend the reſidue of his Forces unto the Emperour, the better to curb the *Swede*, and to proſecute thoſe advantages he had lately obtained againſt them. The Cardinal who pierceth into the depth of their pretenſions, was induſtrious to fortifie his Majeſty in the reſolution of preventing the concluſion of that Treaty; in order to which, he likewiſe made him certain Propoſals well-becomming the acuteneſſe of his more then humane ſpirit: He committed the management of that negotiation unto the *Sieur* of *Charnace*, who was newly returned from *Germany*, where he had given ſuch ſundry proofs of his prudence amongſt divers Princes, that his well-acquitting himſelf of that imployment, could not be any ways ſuſpected. I ſhall not ſay any thing concerning his inſtructions, onely this, the Orders contained in them were ſo many incomparable effects of the Cardinal, to whom nothing was impoſſible, but I ſhall paſſe on to the addreſſe which he uſed in the execution of it, ſo happy I ſay it was that he obtained all that could be deſired. After having paſs'd the uſual Complements in his Majeſties behalf to the Prince of *Orange*, the Governours and Deputies of the States of *Holland*; he told them that his Majeſty was very ſolicitous of ſuch a League, which may conclude their differences in an happy peace, but not finding any likelihood thereof in that now propoſed unto them he was pleaſed out of his affection and good will to

their

their interests to send him unto them to communicate such thoughts unto them as he conceived most advantagious to their Common-wealth. He beseeched them to consider that the eagernesse alone wherewith the Spaniards prosecuted it, was enough to render it suspected, that Counsels entertained with heat by an enemy, cannot be but with design to advantage himself, that it was visible the disorder of his affairs was the onely cause he so passionately prosecuted it, that the extremity to which he was reduced being assaulted over all the *Indies*, in *Germany*, in *Italy*, in the Low-countries unable to furnish out new Levies or monies necessary for his security, did not a little incline him thereunto: He further represented to them, how it had alwaies been esteemed for a matter of great concernment, not to give an enemy breath when he is upon the point of falling, and made it easie to be concluded, that for them to make a Peace with the Spaniard in this his low condition, would be the more prejudicial to them, he having hardly any other shift to make himself considerable, than the reporting of this Treaty to be concluded; neither was he backward to represent unto them, that admitting these his reasons should be invalid, yet they did abuse themselves, if they beleeved that the Treaty could include their Peace in it, in regard of the Spaniards obstinate resolution of never relinquishing his pretended Soveraignty over their Countries, a resolution which he hath ever protested against the Decree of the 16. of *July*, 1588 which declared *Philip* the second to have lost all his right over them, and how that after he had treated with them as between Soveraign and Soveraign by concluding that Treaty, 1609, yet he could not forbear his ill intention during the 12 years that it lasted, and which is more set *Berkius* Chancellour of *Brabant* in the year 1621. to solicite them to return unto the obedience, as he was pleased to say of their natural Prince that in vain they did perswade themselves the Councel of *Spain* would relinquish his pretensions; seeing on the contrary, upon every occasion he hath been ready to drive on his pretences both upon them and others, and that admitting the Treaty should be once concluded, yet they must ever be renewing of it; and in effect that nothing would be obtained thereby, but the losse of a fair opportunity, whiles the Spaniards were reduc'd to so low an ebb. He moreover, forced them to confesse, that the Treaty being uncapable of producing their Peace, the State of their affairs, and good of their Country did not oblige them in any respect to desire it, that their Provinces were never more flourishing, that Learning, Husbandry, Trade and whatever Peace maketh elsewhere to flourish, were with them freely exercised in times of War, that their Disciplines were so carefully improved, that the Athenians could never with so much reason represent an armed *Pallas* as they might, that their Pastures and Plains, were not in the least troubled with the Souldiers; that their Plow-shares were as bright as their Pikes and Swords; and that the noise of the Cannons did not at all hinder their Traffick, as the Province of *Zealand*, and those others which are most addicted unto Merchandize have declared by their aversions to this Treaty. Some private ones of *Spain* might paradventure object that admitting the State of their Provinces might not compel them to a cessation of Arms for some years! yet it could not however but be advantagious to them, because the Flemings and Walloons, would in that interim forget their warlike exercises, and that the Swedes and Protestants would so weaken the House of *Austria*, that there would be no more cause of fear; but he easily convinced them of the vanity of their hopes, and represented to them, how little reason there was to beleeve that the want of accompt during the Treaty, would *effeminate* the Flemings and Walloons, because the Spaniard would not leave them idle, but find employments enough for them in other parts: and that on the contrary, undoubtedly the Spaniard would transport all his force into *Germany*, which he had formerly entertained in the Low-Countries; by which means he would force those Princes who counterpoised his Power, to receive the Law from him, and to lay down their Arms, and which once effected, that he would bring back his Forces from *Germany* recruited with a far greater strength, which had for many years supported the House of *Austria*; and that it would not then be very difficult to reduce *Holland*

unto

unto ſlavery. This Anſwer was the more to be conſidered, in regard it was ſo convincing, contrary to the preſervation of their State and Liberty; nor did he forget to add that on the contrary, it was not a little important to foreſee how much this Treaty would undoubtedly weaken the united Provinces, both in regard of the Diviſion it would raiſe among them, or the diſ-uſe of Arms, and their Traffique in the *Indies*, ſo far was it from any likelyhood of encreaſing their power; that it was but vain to hope for it without relinquiſhing the Trade of both the *Indies*; the Spaniard being not ſo indiſcreet as to condiſcend thereunto after the receiving ſo great detriment as he had from them; but that in caſe they concluded it, they would thereby blaſt their faireſt hopes, diminiſh the ſtock of their riches, and cut off their right hand, their power by Sea, without which they were not conſiderable among their neighbors: As to what concern'd the diſcontinuation of the War, he freely told them that States preſerve not themſelves but by ſuch means as have ſerved to eſtabliſh them, as natural bodies ſubſiſt not but by the ſame things as are in their firſt compoſitions; and that they did in vain ſtrive to cauſe their State to flouriſh in peace, which had received it's birth and being from War, and which could not but by War be preſerved in its preſent ſplendor. He layd before them that peace would be abſolutely prejudicial to them, as experience had evinced in the late 12 years Treaty, during which the Spaniſh Plots, Gold, and deviſes had wrought them a 1000 times more damage then all their open force could ever do; beſides, the Souldiers laying by their uſual exerciſes, would looſe much of their valor, by which till then they had obtained ſuch ſignal advantages, and being not ignorant how powerful impreſſions truth maketh, when it is ſeconded by glory; that he might excite them, he proclaimed aloud, that there never yet was Common-wealth, ſo like the Roman, as that of the Hollander; adding withall, that if that had receiv'd ſuch continual growth from War, as it had not in ſeven hundred years from it's firſt foundation untill *Auguſtus* time, but only twice ſhut up the Temple of *Janus*, ſo it had loſt it ſelf by an unactive Peace, and that nothing but the like misfortune could befall them, when once they ſhould relinquiſh their exerciſe of Arms. Nor did he conceal from them that in caſe they ſhould then conclude the Treaty, their Republique would totally diſcredit it ſelf with its Allies, not only becauſe they would no more eſteem their conduct after they ſhould ſee them run on to ſo diſadvantagious a reſolution; but the more, in regard they did in ſuch a conjuncture of time as would be very prejudicial to their neighbours, eſpecially thoſe of *Germany*, who finding themſelves thereby diſ-obliged, could not for the future be ſo aſſiſting to them, as formerly they had been. He beſeeched them to remember that a State which injureth its Allies, injureth it ſelf; and that in fine, if after ſo many victories they ſhould humour the Spaniard in his paſſionate deſire of the Treaty, there could no other eſteem be had of them but ſuch as *Caſar* had of *Pompey* when he was well handled by him at *Duras* but not proſecuted, who openly ſaid, *Pompey* knows not how to overcome. This was the ſubſtance of moſt of the reaſons no leſſe judicious then powerfull, which the *Sieur de Charnace* imployed at divers meetings had with the Miniſters of *Holland* to prevent the Treaty, ſo dextrouſly did he manage them, ſo vigorouſly and with ſuch addreſſe that he eaſily convinc'd the Prince of *Orange*, who for ſome particular intereſt was indifferent well inclined thereunto, and perſwaded the Governours and Deputies of the States to confeſſe, that there was no more to be thought but how to force the Spaniard by Arms to an abſolute relinquiſhing his pretenſions over their country, in a Treaty of Peace, wherein all the Princes their Allies ſhould be included to oblige him the more firmly to obſerve the conditions thereof, neither ſatisfied with this reſolution, he aſſured them according as he was commanded, that they might the more readily take the field; how the King would cauſe a ſuccour of ten or twelve thouſand men, to be ſent unto them from the *Swede*, who accordingly were conducted unto them about *Auguſt* by the Colonel *Melander*; ſo that about the beginning of *Spring*, the Prince of *Orange* beſieged *Rimberg* and carried it, and ſent Count *William* of *Naſſau* to the confines of *Flanders* to divert the Spaniard.

*Politique Obſervation.*

WHatever terrour the horrour of Arms do naturally carry with them, yet do I think that Peace ought not to be concluded but on four occaſions. The firſt is, when there is a juſt ground to believe that it will carry things to an advantagious Peace, for ſeeing War ought not to be undertaken but in order to the obtaining of a good Peace, and that the end is ever to be preferred before the means, it cannot be doubted but that Arms are to be layed by when there are any more likely means to obtain it: The Olive Trees, true Symbols of Peace, bearing fruit uſefull for mans life, are doubtleſſe more to be eſteemed then Lawrels which only put forth unprofitable berries; and the great advantages which are obtained by Peace, are more to be eſteemed then the greateſt glory acquired to Wars. I have formerly ſufficiently proved this truth, nor wil I longer dwel upon it. The ſecond is, when the eexpences and incommodities of War do inforce a Treaty. There is not any courage which is not obliged to ſubmit to the law of neceſſity, and the impoſſibility of proſecuting an enterprize, how juſt and glorious ſoever, hath exempted the greateſt Princes from any blame. War ought not to be continued but to obtain Victory, which when there is no likelihood of amidſt the ruines of a Country, it is then much more expedient to make a League then totally to fall. The Gods themſelves, ſaith an Ancient, do ſubmit to neceſſity; there is nothing ſtronger then it, and the greateſt vertue muſt ſtoop to it, neither is any valour or prudence obliged to oppoſe it. The third is, when it may reaſonably be hoped that the League will weaken the enemy, whom at that time we deſpair to overcome, and that either by ſowing ſome diviſion among them, or by effeminating them by the diſcontinuation of their warlike exerciſe. The wiſe Pilot doth not obſtinately withſtand the Tempeſt, when he ſeeth his Veſſel extreamly bruiſed, but letting fall the Sails, runneth into ſome ſhelter where he may ride at Anchor, untill ſuch time as the fury of the Winds be abated that he may put to Sea again: Thus is it an effect of diſcretion to lay by the Sword for ſome time when an enemy is ſo potent that there is no likelihood of any thing but loſſe by the proſecution of the War. The fourth is, that a League ought to be concluded, when it will afford the means of taking more advantage. War is a kind of ſickneſſe in the State, and as ſick people are permitted to reſt, the better to recover their loſt ſtrength; ſo I think it cannot but be commendable in a Prince to ſurceaſe the War for ſome time, the better to refreſh his forces, to recruit them, and to raiſe monies neceſſary to maintain them. If on ſuch occaſions it be reaſonable to conclude a Treaty, it will then be very improper to conclude it, when a Country is flouriſhing, and raiſeth more advantages by War then Peace. Moſt certain it is, that ſometimes ſo it happens, and *Hannibal* well knew it, when ſeeing the Carthaginians weep upon the firſt demand of the Tribute granted to the Romans, at the end of the ſecond Punick War, he reproached them, as *Livy* obſerveth it. Ye had much more reaſon, quoth he, to have weep'd when you were prohibited to War againſt ſtrangers, that was the wound which killed you. The Lacedemonians and the Romans were not ignorant of it, it being upon this ground that they would never diſcontinue the uſe of Arms, unleſſe when Fortune deſigning the ruine of their Empires, perſwaded them to taſte the ſweets of Idleneſſe, which opening the door to delight and luxury, might in a little time dul their courages, and make them eaſily conquered by their enemies. This if true, among moſt States it is certainly much more apparent in relation to thoſe who have received their Beings from War, nor can be preſerved but by War. It were likewiſe great imprudence to make a League which might afford an enemy time to recruit. Had King *Perſeus* known the condition of the Romans, he would have been more wary in concluding that Peace with them which he did, as *Livy* recordeth, which gave their Ambaſſadours occaſion at their return to laugh at him, for having ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized by them; for he had then ready all proviſions neceſſary for the War, of which the Romans were altogether unprovided;

vided; so that concluding a League he gave them time to settle their affairs and take an advantage upon him; besides all these considerations, if a League doth not at least serve to obtain an happy peace, it cannot but be esteemed for disadvantagious. For what reason can there be to deprive ones self of power, and to give a weakned enemy leave and leisure to re-inforce himself, when there is not an assurance that it will end in a peace of use and profit? So to proceed were some kind of blindnesse, neither can any one so act, unlesse an enemy to his own interest.

## *The Marquess* de St. Chaumont, *sent by the King into the Country of the Elector of* Treves, *to force his Enemies from the rest of his Towns, and to establish him.*

IF his Majesty shewed any thing of Prudence in preventing the conclusion of any Treaty between the Spaniard and the Hollanders, he discovered no lesse courage in his indeavour to re-establish the Elector of *Treves*, in the rest of those places which his enemies had usurped from him, *Fumay* and *Reveign*, scituated on two Penninsula's upon the River Meuse, had ever acknowledged him for their Soveraign Lord; but the Spaniard whom conveniency seemeth to intitle unto any places which they may master, had clapp'd a garrison into them, designing to fortifie them, to secure the Commerce of that River, and withall to make some enterprise upon the Frontier of *Champagne*. The King could not put up such an injury offered unto the Elector, since he had taken him into his protection, but ordered the Marquess *de St. Chaumont* to march toward *Mezieres*, with those forces which he commanded in *Champagne* to dislodge them. The *Sieur de Chastelliers Barlow*, and the *Comte de la Suze*, were made *Marshals de Campi*, who comming to the Army marched directly away toward those two places. His courage made him wish that he might find some opposition, whereby he might obtain the more glory to his Masters Arms, but making his approaches he understood that the Spanish Garison, notwithstanding all their Rodomontades had marched out the night before without sound of Trumpet, so that instead of fighting, all he had to do, was to receive testimonies of the inhabitants joy, who acknowledging his Majesty for their Protector, did willingly receive the Regiment of *Champagne* into *Fumay*, and that of *Normandy* into *Reveign*. The Marquess *de St. Chaumont*, finding himself obliged to remunerate their good will, by all the favours which he could do them in quartering of the Army, setled so good an Order amongst the Souldiers, that they never took any thing without paying for it, but behaved themselves with great moderation and courtesie. The Enemy did not then oblige him to be more active at that time, and indeed the season of the year was such, in regard of the Snows and Frost, that he could not march without difficulty, so that his Majesty sent him Order to return, and to leave his Forces in Garison upon the Frontier. He returned to spend some time at the Court, whereupon the 10th. of *February*, he and the *Comte Brissac* were created Ministers of State to serve his Majesty in his Counsel, the Spaniards who never sleep but when they have nothing to do, took the occasion of his absence to return into the Country of the Elector of *Treves*, and to do what they pleased, but the King, and the invitation of the Spring, permitting his return, he carried the Army back again, and without much ado forced them to quit the Field. The next thing he resolved, was to assault *Ewrenbourg*, upon which they had seized, whose Garison offered a thousand violences to Travellers, and the adjacent places. The *Comte de la Suze* commanded it to be invested, and comming in person before it in the moneth of *June*, he summoned *Machinister* who commanded it for the *Comte d'Embden*, and upon refusal of a surrender they provided to assault it. The Town was won with little resistance, and the Castle forced within two daies after, there being not above three or four men slain on both parts. Thus the Country of *Treves* was totally reduced unto his Majesty's Possession; nevertheless his Majesty having only secured it for the

Arch-Biſhop the true Lord thereof, cauſed him to be reſtored in his Metropolitan City, about the beginning of *October*, by the *Sieur de Buſſilames*. The Arch-Biſhop indeed finding himſelf unable to make it good againſt the Spaniards, he deſired him to ſtay with him and command his forces, and the *Sieur de Buſſy* having preſented the Keys unto him, he preſently returned them, ſaying, I beſeech you keep them for his Majeſty; his Eminence likewiſe publiſhed a Declaration about the end of this year, commanding his Subjects to acknowledge the King for their Lord, to aſſiſt him in his intereſt, to receive his Souldiers into their Cities, jointly to defend them, and to give unto them the beſt entertainment the places could afford.

## *The principal Obligations of him who taketh a Prince into Protection.*

DOubteleſſe it is honourable for a great Prince to undertake the Protection of another, unable to ſubſiſt by his own force, but though it is honourable, yet it is not without care, if this protection be to his advantage, yet is he obliged to recover whatever is taken from him; and in fine, fairly to reſtore it. To leave him a prey to his enemies were a ſign of weakneſſe, or want of courage, or an abſolute breach of promiſe in the firſt aſſumption. He that for fear of the charge, the ſucceſſe of the War, or any other conſideration ſhall neglect it, doth not only deprive himſelf of that honour which the quality of a Protector ſcribes unto him, but doth likewiſe cloath himſelf with ſhame. Moreover, what expences ſoever he is at on ſuch occaſions, yet he is obliged by Juſtice to reſtore all places into the hands of their natural Prince, he being only, as it were, a Depoſitary; and as the Laws of Depoſition do not permit the appropriating of any thing to ones ſelf, the reſtoring of them, will be as honourable, as the detaining of them will be unjuſt. *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt* dying, committed his ſon heir to his Crowns, then a child, unto the protection of the Common-Wealth of *Rome*, who profeſſing a particular obſervation of their promiſes, were not deficient in reſigning the Kingdom into his power upon his firſt being capable of Government. Thus *Archelaus*, ſeeing his ſon *Theodoſius* very young and unable to ſecure himſelf from the power of the Perſians, ſo played his Game with *Indigertes* their King, that he undertook his protection; and by this means he tied up his Arms by delivering his ſon into his hands. *Indigertes* receiv'd the Tutillage as an honour, and diſcharg'd it with ſuch fidelity that he preſerved *Theodoſius* life and Empire. That I may let you ſee theſe latter ages want not the like examples, *Philip* of *Auſtria*, King of *Caſtile*, leaving his ſon *Charles* but of twelve years age, requeſted *Lewis* the Twelfth by his Will to be his Guardian, and to take the Kingdom into his protection. The King accepted thereof, and in proſecution of his charge, was ſo punctually correſpondent to the Truſt *Philip* had repoſed in it, that he preſerved his States againſt *France* it ſelf, nor would uſurp the leaſt whatever provocations *Maximilian* gave him. In fine, notwithſtanding all reſtitutions or expences, which a King is obliged unto, yet ought he never to refuſe the protection of a Prince bordering upon his Countries; becauſe beſides the glory whereof he deprives himſelf, he inforceth the other to throw himſelf into the protection of ſome one as powerfull as himſelf, who may raiſe advantages by it, and peradventure to his preſudice.

*The Embassie and Negotiation of the* Sieur de Fouquieres, *to the Queen of* Swede, *and the renewing the treaty of Alliance between the two Crowns.*

THe Cardinal representing unto the King, how the affairs of *Germany* were no lesse considerable then those of *Holland*, his Majesty resolved to provide accordingly, and made choice of the *Sieur de Fouquieres* to negotiate those concerns with the Allies of this Crown. The experience this Gentleman had acquired in other considerable imployments, rendred him no lesse deserving of this, then the addresse and dispatch which he shewed in proving those Orders which were delivered unto him; and it was the more needfull to make use of such a man as he was in this German affair, in regard it concerned the curbing in of the House of *Austria's* Ambition, who were become very powerfull by usurping the Protestant Princes States, who were feared by their neighbours, and would have been a terrour to *France* it self, could they have prosecuted their advantages. His Orders were chiefly three; the first was, to testifie to *Christina* Queen of *Swede*, daughter and heir to the late King in the person of the Chancellor *Oxenstern*, and all the Princes of the League of *Leipsic*, what care his Majesty took in their interest, the Passion he had to see them restored who had been despoiled of their Estates; and how ready he was by assisting them to afford them the means of securing their late victories. The second was, to re-unite them and confirm them in the resolution of prosecuting the designs of the League by a new Treaty of Alliance. And the third was to take such course for the management of the Wars, that their Armies might want nothing but might be alwaies ready for action. The Princes had resolved about the end of the last year to hold a Diet at *Haibron* upon *Nekar*, to conclude upon the affairs of the War by a common consent and there it was where the foundation of all was to be layed. The *Sieur de Fouquieres* took Post the first of *February*, that he might the sooner get thither; but the Cardinal knowing such like Assemblies are commonly full of confusion, unlesse each of them in particular be predisposed to reason, perswaded his Majesty to send him to the Courts of divers the chief among them, the better to insinuate unto them how much it concern'd them to continue in Union. He receiv'd Orders accordingly, nor was it of small consideration, because he could easilier dispose them one by one, then in a multitude, nor was he defective of comming with the first unto *Haileron*, to prevent those whom he had not yet seen, and to confirm the others in their resolutions; and being arrived, the first care he took, was to retinue the singular and constant affection which his Majesty had for the common good, and to assure them that they should receive indubitable proofs of it upon any fair occasion. The next thing he did was to illustrate what great assistances his Majesty had contributed to their part; what monies he had sent to the Crown of *Swede* and the Hollanders; the strong diversions he had made in *Italy*, in *Lorrain*, and other places, the great Armies he maintained in his Frontiers to assist them if occasion should require, the great expences he had been at in sundry Embassies, tending only to their advantage. Having thus recollected things past to their memories, he clearly represented unto them the present State of affairs, how needfull it was that they should preserve their union, and take good Order for the subsistance of their Armies. This he did with such vigour and Prudence both to them in generall and particular, that he confirmed divers among them in the first designs of the League, who were then wavering upon the King of *Swede's* death, and inclining to make a Peace with the Emperour. He was not ignorant that private interest is the most sensible part to touch a Prince on, and therefore clearly convinced unto them, that Peace being the only remedy which could cure the distempers of *Germany*, and that that Peace being neither advantagious nor honourable if it did not restore liberty unto the Empire, and the ejected Princes to their Estates, there would be no means to obtain it but by their strict union, which the Emperour not finding any means to break would

would in time despair of being able to support him against their power, the far greater of the two, whilest their confederacy lasted. He had not much ado to confirm them in beleeving the House of *Austria* had long designed to render it self Mistris of all *Germany*, they having too many pregnant proofs to be ignorant of that truth, neither found he much difficulty to insinuate unto them that their union failing would weaken their party, and give the Emperour a fair opportunity to seiz upon the Estates at his pleasure. In fine, they found themselves forc'd to confesse they had no other way left but to be firm, and to strengthen their confederacy by a new Treaty. This advice conduced much to the end of his design, which having happily obtained, he lost no more time, but entred upon the new Alliance, between the King and Kingdom of *France* on the one part, and *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* and the Kingdom of *Sweden*, on the other part, which was concluded and signed by the Chancellour *Oxenstern*. The first Article conteined the grounds of their Alliance, which was for the defence of their common friends, for the securing of the Ocean and Baltick Sea; for the obtaining a lasting Peace in the Empire, by which every one might be restored to his rights. The rest imported that the Queen of *Swede* and her confederates should entertain 30000 foot, and 6000 horse, that the King should contribute every year a million of Livres towards the charge of the War, that the confederates might raise Souldiers in one anothers Countries, that Delinquents and Fugitives should be delivered to their Soveraign Lords to be by them punished; that the Queen of *Swede* should permit the free exercise of the Catholick Religion in all places which she should take, in the same manner as she found it; that the Duke of *Baviers* and the Princes of the Catholick League might be admitted into the Treaty of Neutrality, if they pleased that all other States and Princes should be invited to be of their confederacy; that there should not be any Treaties but by and with the consent of all the confederates, that their confederacy should hold untill there were a Peace concluded, which if broken by the enemies, the confederates should again take up Arms to assist one another. The first Treaty was the foundation of the Union of the German Princes, who otherwise had soon accommodated themselves with the Emperour, yet this was not all, it was necessary to conclude another with all the Princes and Protestant States of high *Germany*; to obtain which, the *Sieur de Feugnieres* used his utmost diligence. The Articles agreed upon were, that there should be a firm and strict union between the Kingdom of *Swede*, and the Electors Princes and Protestant States of high *Germany*; by vertue of which, they were to unite their Forces and to assist one another, untill *Germany* were setled in its first liberty; that the Laws of the Empire should be in force, that the Princes should be established in their States and Possessions; that the Crown of *Swede* should be satisfied for the expences of the War, and that a good and lasting Peace should be setled. Moreover, that the Chancellour *Oxenstern* should have the management of affairs, who to this end should have a Counsel consigned unto him, composed of qualified persons, some Officers of the Crown of *Swede*, and a Deputy of each Circuit of the Empire; that none of the Confederates in particular, should treat of Peace without the joynt consent of the rest; in which, if any one failed he should be declared an enemy; that the Confederates of the four Circuits should furnish the Armies with Victuals, Ammunition, and Artillery; that the Armies should take the Oath of Fidelity to the King of *Swedes*, and the Confederates; that the President with the Counsel, should take great care to retain the Souldier in good Order, and to secure Trade: In a word, that all the States and confederate Princes, should oblige themselves to maintain the Crown of *Swede* in the possession of what they should get in *Germany*, untill the War were ended, and that they were duly satisfied, as well as the confederates, for the losse which they had sustained. This was the substance of the chief Articles of those Treaties, which were looked upon to be so advantagious, that they were the substance of those great Armies, which during this year check'd the House of *Austria's* proceedings. Neither did the Cardinal receive any little glory by it, who by his continual Instructions and Orders, gave life

life to the *Sieur de Fenquieres* motions; glorious for him it was indeed, and the more, seeing he had for witnesses of it the, four Protestant of *Francony*, *Swave*, the upper and the lower *Rhine*, *Amstrudel* the English Embassador, the Chancellour *Oxenstern*, the *Chevalier Raches*, Embassadour of *Swede*; *Le Sieur de Pau* Embassadour of *Holland*, and divers free Lords of *Germany*, who entred the Treaty of Alliance, and who had granted unto them a Deputy to be of Chancellor *Oxenstern's* Councel.

## *That great Enterprizes ought to be prosecuted to the height.*

THe glory of great enterprizes dependeth upon the end, not the beginning, which a wise Prince is bound to drive to the height, without suffering himself to be stopp'd with any obstacles whatever. I do not mean such incounters where the misfortunes of War may oblige a Prince to make a Peace upon what condition soever, to secure himself from an absolute ruine. It is then indeed Prudence to comply, and to take in the Sails, untill a more favourable opportunity permit him to put to Sea; but abating this one exception, a Prince is absolutely obliged to stand immoveable, as a Center, whiles Fortune the Mistris of War, raiseth divers motions in the circumference thereof. The timorous must inevitably meet with impediments in the execution of their designs; but they who are couragious, raise Trophies of glory to themselves, so far are they from being diverted from their resolutions by every wind. Fire doth not only naturally move from the Earth, but consumes all obstacles which hinder its ascent; and a Prince truly generous, is not only excited by his valor to great designs, but likewise to vanquish all difficulties which oppose his glory. I may adde, that this Element would be inconsiderable, without this second quality, nor would a Prince be regarded by his neighbours, unlesse he testifie a strong resolution of surmounting all difficulties. The wise Pilot forsaketh not the Helm at the sight of every storm, but keepeth on his course toward his Port, nor will a valorous Prince relinquish a great design upon every obstruction which thwarts him; but whetting his courage, and stirring up his valour he will bend all his indeavours to carry it to the end he first proposed, well knowing, that all things do in the end give way to him who is constant and resolute in affairs. Though *Julius Cæsar* were oftentimes inferiour to *Pompey*, as to number of Souldiers, yet was he never backward, during the whole War between them, to challenge him to the fight in confidence of the valour and experience of his Souldiers, long trained up in those exercises. *Fabius Maximus* was no lesse confident in the War which he managed against *Hannibal*; for seeing him appear like an impetuous torrent swoln up by fresh waters, whose course is hardly to be stopp'd at first by any obstacle whatever; he quitted not the resolution of overcomming him, but prudently judging that at the long run he might defeat him, without any hazard; he resolved to accost him in all straits and places of difficulty, where himself could not be assaulted but to the others great disadvantage, and by this means he dull'd the edge of his Armies valour, newly puff'd up with their late victory, and was so happy that whiles he continued in that resolution, *Hannibal's* Forces decayed. To such generous examples ought a Prince to conform himself. Prudence may peradventure prompt a man to alter his course, intended for the obtaining of his design, but the Laws of valour do not permit him to relinquish his first design, though he incounter some obstacles in the execution; rather on the contrary, they oblige him to prosecute the end, otherwise he discrediteth himself, and letting his enemies take advantage of his weakness, offereth himself in the end a fit object for their victory.

The

*The King ſendeth the Duke* de Crequy *to Pope* Urbane *the Eighth, to congratulate him according to cuſtome, and to compoſe the differences with the Venetians.*

IT was not enough to provide for the affairs of *Germany* and *Holland*, unleſſe thoſe of *Italy* were likewiſe conſidered, unto which the Cardinal had diſpoſed his Majeſty ſince the beginning of the year. Some perſon of quality was neceſſary to be ſent Extraordinary Embaſſadour to the Pope to render him obedience, nor indeed could his Majeſty longer defer that Complement. That this Embaſſie might ſerve for more then a bare ceremony, the Cardinal perſwaded his Majeſty to imploy ſome perſon capable to ſerve the Pope in the difference between him and the Venetians, and to work his Holineſſe to favour the intereſts of *France*, as occaſion ſhould happen. To this end, he propoſed the Duke *de Crecquy*, as a perſon whoſe great riches were not only able to bear the expence ſuitable to his honour; but withall, who had been a long time experienced in the affairs of *Italy*, and who had addreſs enough to diſpoſe the Pope to any thing, which would be reaſonably deſired. His Majeſty approved of this grand Miniſters choice, and concluded the Duke *de Crecquy*, to be a perſon very proper for that employment, nor was he ignorant that one of the greateſt points of policy, is to proportionate men to buſineſs. His Majeſty according to the uſual Piety of the Kings, his Predeceſſors, gave him order to perform that obedience to the Pope, and making uſe of his uſual Prudence, commanded him to indeavour an accommodation between his Holineſs and the Venetians; and withall, to take occaſion from the troubles of *Italy*, to unite his Holineſs to the intereſt of *France*. The Duke *de Crecquy* accepted this Embaſſie with joy, having ever been of the humour to ſpend his mony upon his honour and pleaſure. The Magnificence wherewith it was proper he ſhould appear at *Rome*, obliged him to ſtay at Court till the beginning of *May*, the better to ſet forth his equipage; which ended, he went by water that he might regain his loſt time by the help of the Winds. Being come to *Rome*, he was receiv'd with all honours due to the Extraordinary Embaſſadour of the Chriſtian King, and eldeſt ſon of the Church; but the garb in which he appeared was ſuch, that ſince the ſtately Triumphs of the Emperours, nothing hath been ſeen like unto it. I will not trouble my ſelf to make a particular deſcription thereof, ſeeing other Hiſtories relate it, intending only to obſerve that which paſſed of moſt conſideration in the management of affairs. All I ſhall ſay, is, he had above five hundred perſons to attend him, Gold and Silver did ſo abound upon his Liveries, his Officers, and among his whole equipage, as if he had been Maſter of the *Indies*. His firſt reception and audience was very ſtately; but that I may come to the effect of his Embaſſie, he firſt kiſſed his Holineſs's feet in his Majeſty's name, and paſs'd ſome Complements of Civility, next them the *Sieur de Boiſſieu*, Lievtenant General of *Grenoble*, who accompanied him in quality of his Majeſty's Orator, made the accuſtomed Oration of obedience, in which the moſt critical could diſcern no leſſe diſcretion then eloquence. He repreſented unto the Pope, that his Majeſty had not ſo long defer'd to teſtifie his joy, for his promotion to the Papacy, but that he might likewiſe ſend with it, the Spoils his Arms had obtained upon the enemies of the Church, together with the proofs of his obedience. Next of all he obſerved to him the great benefits, protection, and aſſiſtance, which the Holy See had from time to time received from the Kings of *France*; in conſideration whereof, they had obtained the honour of Moſt Chriſtian and eldeſt Son of the Church. Thence he deſcended to a more particular deſcription of the ſignal advantages his Holineſſe had receiv'd from his Majeſties Victories, and aſſured his Holineſſe that the defence of his intereſt, would ever be the moſt acceptable imployment for his Forces; and in concluſion, that he might ſatisfie the chief end of his Embaſſie, he told him, that his Majeſty had no leſſe joy at his Holineſſe's promotion, then his

Holineſs

Holineſs had heretofore had at his birth; that imitating the Piety of the Kings his Predeceſſors, he proſtrated himſelf at his feet, and moſt humbly kiſſed them with Proteſtations of honour and obedience due unto him, and that he acknowledged him for Chriſts only Vicar, the Succeſſor of *St. Peter*, and the Arbitrator of the Kingdom of Heaven in all things which concern Salvation, with caution however, that this ſubmiſſion was done out of Chriſtian civility, not duty, to prevent any miſtakes which might induce a belief that this Crown had ſome temporal dependance upon the Holy See. One of his Holineſſe's Secretaries, anſwered him with Complements and terms of honour, that his Holineſs did receive with great joy, thoſe teſtimonies of reſpect and obedience which his Majeſty rendred unto him; nor did the Pope himſelf omit any thing which might expreſſe his content; but the Duke, who chiefly deſigned to induce the Pope to befriend his Maſters intereſts, as occaſion ſhould require, did no longer dwell upon Complements in his ſucceeding Audiences. He offered unto his Holineſſe the Arms of *France* to ſerve him on any occaſions, particularly his own indeavours to compoſe the difference he had with the Venetians; well knowing, that nothing doth more effectually oblige a Prince to the intereſt of another, then to let him ſee that he will meet with advantages by uniting himſelf with him. The difference between them, was concerning the Confines of *Gorre*, and certain Iſlands of the Country beſides; ſome *vis-contre* there had been between the Romans and Venetians in *Ferara*, which was ſuſpected would be get an abſolute breach. The Pope whoſe power is never more conſpicuous then in Peace, was fearfull of it, ſo that he willingly accepted of his interpoſition, and that with much acknowledgement of his Majeſties affection for his intereſt; in proſecution whereof, the Duke parting from *Rome*, went to *Venice* to treat with ſuch as the Senate ſhould appoint concerning this affair. The *Sieur de la Thuylerie*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſadour Reſident with that Common-Wealth, ſo ordered affairs, that both parties did forbear their Arms; by which there was hopes of an accommodation. But before he departed from *Rome*, and after he had obliged his Holineſs by aſſuring him of his Majeſties readineſſe to aſſiſt him, by mediating in this affair; he was not defective in obtaining all poſſible advantages for the intereſt of *France*. He gave his Holineſſe a great inſight into the affairs of *Germany*, and diſcovered to him that their War was not for Religion, but meer State, the only diſpute being for the preſerving of the German Princes, in the enjoyment of their eſtates, and thoſe indubitable rights which belong unto them, that his Majeſty was extreamly diſpleaſed to hear of ſome violences which were offered to certain Eccleſiaſtical perſons, though they were not ſo bad as were repreſented to him; which however was abſolutely contrary to the expreſs words of the Treaty which his Majeſty had made, and by the fault of the Catholick Princes themſelves who would not become Neuters; and that in fine, thoſe dammages which the Church had received would eaſily be repaired by ſuch means as he repreſented unto his Holineſſe, with which he remained very well ſatisfied. He further confirmed him in the knowledge which he had a long time had of the Houſe of *Auſtria's* deſigns upon *Italy*, which tend to the direct ruine of the Holy See; and aſſured his Holineſſe that his Majeſties Arms would protect him, and never forſake him. In fine, deſigning to ingage him in a defenſive League with *France* for protection of the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate againſt the Venetians, or for ſecurity of the Princes of *Italy*. His Holineſs who hath ever more feared then loved the Spaniards, could not be induced thereunto, alledging for his excuſe, that he reſolv'd to contine a common Father between the two Crowns. He was not backward to repreſent unto him, that a father doth not at all act againſt his relation if he ſupport himſelf by one of his children, againſt the violence of another; but the Popes humour, which is naturally fearfull would afford nothing but aſſurances that his Holineſſe's forces ſhould not lie idle if any enterprize were made againſt the Churches greatneſs, or the liberties of *Italy*.

## The Embassies of Obedience from our Kings unto his Holinesse.

THe Piety of our Kings and their zeal to the Pope, have made it a custom to send Extraordinary Embassadours to congratulate them shortly after their promotions, to acknowledge them for Fathers truly spiritual, to assure them of their obedience in that quality, and to recommend unto them the French Church, their persons and Kingdomes which God hath given them. There are ancient examples thereof, and withall, instructions yet extant given to Embassadours sent by our Kings, which declare this obedience to tend only to congratulation and Complement. The truth of this is evident, in the Letters which *Philip le Bel*, sent to Pope *Benedict* the Eleventh, by the *Sieur de Mercueil*, *Messire Guillaume du Plessis Chevalier & Maistre Pierre de Belle Perche*, Canon of the Church of *Chartres* his Embassadors, to offer this obedience to his Holiness. *Lewis* the Eleventh indeed, for some particular consideration, would needs render a little more unto Pope *Pius* the Second, by the Cardinall *d'Alby*, but he was discommended for it by the whole Kingdom. The Court of Parliament made great Remonstrances against it, both by word of mouth and writing, besides the three States of the Kingdom assembled at *Tours*, complained to him of it, as may be seen in the papers presented to him by *Maistre Jean Durrey*, Doctor of Divinity, and Canon of the Church of *Paris* their Deputy. Some Italians I know there are who will needs have this Protestation of obedience to be an homage and a mark of temporal dependance; but the truth is, they only flatter the Pope upon no grounds. For to what end should our Kings have, in temporal things, any dependance upon the Pope; seeing divers of them have acknowledged themselves their Subjects, and confessed it in their writings? As Pope *Gelasius* to the Emperor *Anastasius*, *Pelagius* the First, in his profession of Faith, sent unto *Childebert* one of our first Kings, and *St. Gregory* the Great, to the Emperour *Mauritius*. The like is to be seen, in that of Pope *Innocent* the Third, in one of his Decrees, where he saith, the Kings of *France* in temporal things depend upon no one whatever. But how could the Popes themselves pretend that any such temporal dependance should be without contradicting the belief of the first Fathers of the Church, the Luminaries of our Faith, especially of *Tertullian*, who in his Apology subjecteth Kings unto God alone; and of *St. Hierom*, who expounding that of the Royal Prophet, *Against thee only have I sinned*, saith this great King, useth these terms, purposely to shew that there is none but God above Kings? I could easily adde the testimonies of many others; but I think I shall say enough, if I conclude, that this Protestation of obedience is offered more out of Christian humility, than for any civil obligation or duty, as divers Popes have upon their promotions, sent unto our Kings the Professions of our Faith in authentick form, together with testimonies of their affections. *Boniface* the Eighth, sent his seal'd up in Lead, like unto that of *Pelagius*. *Aden* observeth in his Chronicle, that Pope *Adrian* dying in the year 786. Pope *Leo* who succeeded him, sent two Legats to *Charlemain*, to present him with the Keys of *St. Peter's* confession, and the Standard of the City of *Rome*. *Stephen* the Fifth, upon his promotion, sent Legats to *Lewis* the *Debonnair*, with great Presents, as Pledges of his friendship. There are to be seen in his Majesties Treasory of Records, several Bulls which divers Princes have sent unto our Kings, to acquaint them with their Consecration, and to assure them of their good Will, whereupon *Charles de Lorrain*, Cardinal *de Guise*, performing the obedience to the Pope, in the behalf of *Henry* the Second, *Anno* 1547. amongst other things said unto them, that the Popes were ordained by the Laws of the Church, presently after their assumption, to dispatch Legats unto the Kingdom of *France* for confirmation of the ancient friendship between them.

*Monsieur*

## Monſieur Seguyer *made Chancellor of* France.

AFter the diſgrace which befell the Marquels *de Chaſteauneuf*, of which we ſpake about the end of the laſt year; experience having taught his Majeſty to know of what great concernit was not to beſtow the Office of Lord Keeper, but upon perſons very eminently able both for integrity and all other vertues; he call his eys upon *Meſſieur Pierre Seguyer*, one of the Preſidents of the Parliament of *Paris*, to beſtow it upon him, as a perſon fitted by Heaven for great imployments. His Majeſty was not only pleaſed to ſend him a bare Commiſſion of *Garde Seaux*, as is commonly done, but expedited Letters Patents, to aſſure him of the Office of Chancellor of *France*, after *Monſieur de Haligres* death, well knowing that men of his merit ought to be treated beſide the common Road, though ſuch was the modeſty of that great Miniſter, that he never aſcribed that favour to any thing but his Majeſties own goodneſſe. This choice added much to his Majeſties glory; it was a ſufficient teſtimony of his judgement, intruſting the Sword of Juſtice in his hand, who had ever maintained it by his integrity, nor wanted any of thoſe qualities requiſite in an able man. His Prudence had taught his Majeſty that chief places ought not to be filled but with perſons of an illuſtrious birth; becauſe men of mean deſcent are more envied then reſpected; neither was he ignorant that this man was born amidſt the characters of honour, from a Family whoſe dignities have gone hand in hand with their vertues for many ages; that he was the Fourth of his name who had the honour to ſit upon the *Flowers de luce* in the quality of Preſident of *Mortier* in the Parliament of *Paris*; and that there had not been any man in his family for a long time known, who had not either obtained or deſerved the greateſt imployment of the long Robe. It was ſaid of the Emperour *Conſtantine*, that the moderation of *Auguſtus Ceſar*, the vertue of *Trajan*, the Piety of *Antonius*, were all united in his perſon, to render him worthy of the Empire; and true it is, the integrity, ſufficiency, knowledge, elocution, zeal, and fidelity for his Majeſties ſervice, which were eminently conſpicuous in *Monſieur le* Lievtenant Civil his father, and in the *Meſſieurs* the three Preſidents of his name, were all united in his Soul to make him appear worthy of the chief place of Juſtice. Beſides, if he were honourably deſcended, his Majeſty was well informed that he was not ſatisfied with thoſe bare Titles wherewith his Fathers had adorned him; but that like the Cedars, who though they grow on the tops of Mountains, ceaſe not however to raiſe up their heads, his merit and induſtry had advanced him to the higheſt degree of virtuous men. He was in the common opinion of men, reputed for one of the trueſt maintainers of Juſtice; and indeed, he had diſcharged himſelf with ſuch courage and integrity, that neither the noiſe of greatneſſe, nor the light of riches, could ever ſo blind or affright him, as to ſurprize him. His Majeſty moſt certainly could not intruſt his Seals in any honeſter hand then his. The great Revenues he poſſeſſed, rendred him incapable of that corruption, which is annexed unto a neceſſitous fortune; yet this happy incapacity, conjoined with ſuch virtue made him ſo much the more proper for that office, in regard no one would dare to tempt him with money, who abounded both in riches and vertue. If his integrity made him immoveable in point of Juſtice, the ſolidity and penetrating vivacity of his ſpirit ſecured him from all poſſibility of a ſurprize, theſe two qualities permitting him to incline to no part but that of truth. Diſguiſements and Artifices could never form any Clouds, thick enough, to hide any thing from his judgement. Oftentimes hath he been ſeen to diſguiſe darkneſſes and obſcurities in the diſcoveries of great offences. Withall the Sciences which he hath acquired in an high degree, had added no ſmal perfection to the natural endowments of his mind, for that his family were both learned and honeſt. When age had firſt given him the uſe of Reaſon, his kindred had taught him that Sciences give much luſtre to a man of Eminence; that they not only draw him from a ſtupid and ſavage life, but refine him, furbiſh him, and make him capable of all things more ſweet, more civil,

more courteous, more venerable, and more worthy of honour; and in fine, when he came to a riper age, whereas common ſpirits ſatisfie themſelves with learning ſome one Science conformable to their inclinations, he dived into the ſecrets of all, and became very accompliſhed in them, there being nothing ſo high which paſſed his capacity. He had penetrated into the difficulteſt queſtions of Philoſophy and Divinity, the Law was his uſual employment, the Mathematicks his diverſions, with Hiſtory he was familiar, eloquence was natural to him; for before he had learned the rules of it, his diſcourſes were ſo repleniſhed with the ſtrength of reaſon, with the purity of words, the ſweetneſſe and elegance of expreſſion, that his language was bewitching. Theſe things were not a little conſiderable in the election of a *Garde de Seaux*, who being his Majeſties mouth to expreſs his intentions in all great Aſſemblies, is bound to ſpeak royally, that is, in terms becomming the Majeſty of his Maſter. I will not ſay any thing of his Piety, though that be ſo much the more conſiderable in a Statesman, as it is the foundation of a Kingdomes happineſſe; becauſe it is a ſubject too large for me to ingage in; my diſcourſe of his merit being by accident, nor will I trouble my ſelf to give you a deſcription of the experience he had gotten in the Offices of a Councellour, a Maſter of Requeſts, Judge in divers Provinces, and Preſident *au Mortier*; his conduct and reputation have ſufficiently made it known: only this, theſe things concentring in him, ſeemed, as it were, to conſpire to force his Majeſty to chuſe him Miniſter of his Juſtice; I ſhall adde, that if his Soul was repleniſhed with all theſe qualities neceſſary in a great man, the King well knew the graces had indued his body, with all that could render him lovely, or acquire him reſpect and authority. He was alwaies gravely modeſt, his diſcourſe ſerious, his converſation agreeable and profitable, his patience in all affairs and all pleadings invincible, the complaiſance wherewith he anſwered, was truly admirable, yet ſuch, that he could never be won to abate from Juſtice or his Majeſties ſervice. There need no more to love him, but only to ſee him, the charms of his words rendred that ſeverity which Juſtice obliged him ſometimes to uſe, ſo taking, that none could be offended at it. I would adde more, if the Laws of his Majeſties Hiſtory would permit me, though in ſome ſort it were not to deſiſt from his Majeſty's commendation, ſeeing there is not any thing which doth more apparently denote his Majeſties wiſedom, then the virtues and eminent qualities of his Miniſters, his nobleſt creatures.

### *Qualities neceſſary for a Chancellor, and Lord Keeper.*

SEeing the Chancellor, and the Lord Keeper who holdeth the place of Chancellor, executeth that charge, and ought to ſucceed him, as the chief Officer of the Crown, the eys of his Majeſties Juſtice, the Depoſitories of his Seals, the Miniſters of his Councels, the Organs by which his Majeſty uſeth to declare his intentions and pronounce his judgements; doubtleſs he ought to be eminently qualified with all thoſe parts which may render a man ſignally remarkable. It matters not much whether the Potters who work altogether in clay, be dextrous; becauſe whatever he ſpoils is of ſmall value; but otherwiſe it is, with men who are in the chief Offices of a State, none of their faults are little, all their actions are of conſequence; and for this reaſon ought they to bee repleniſhed with all ſort of perfections. *France* hath ever had, as other States, certain families ſupporters of its glory, who have ſerved like Pillars to uphold its greatneſs, and ſeem to have been deſtined by Heaven to preſerve the beauty of its *Flower de luces*, the puiſſance of its Kings, and the glory of its Crown, againſt the injuries of time. A chief Miniſter of the Kingdom, when deſcended from ſuch an houſe, hath a notable advantage by it, ſeeing his very name carries an Hereditary credit with it, which Plaineth out the way to all great actions; at leaſt I think it fit that his vertue ſhould be authoriſed by the Nobility of his blood, ſeeing his illuſtrious birth will acquire him ſuch an opinion as an upſtart, how prudent or vertuous ſoever, will hardly acquire, but after the ſhewing of many proofs of his deſerts. If Nobility without Vir-

tue

tue be but a ſubject of reproach, in regard a man deviateth from the example of his Anceſtors, it cannot be gain-ſayed but that Virtue without Nobility carrieth little credit with it; but where Nobility and Vertue meet in one ſubject, they advance that man to an high degree, and render him worthy of all eminent dignities. Among the reſt of thoſe virtuous qualities, or indeed in the Front of them, which ought to ſet off a perſon of quality, this I account the chiefeſt, that he be indued with an high natural ability, and that clearneſſe of judgement which diſſipateth the Clouds of falſities, diſcovereth truth, and going before Juſtice, ruſhereth it in as ſome Stars do the Sun. Learning ought to go hand in hand with this ability, ſeeing natural parts without improvement are ſo much the more dangerous, in regard they are ſubject to failings, and like the fruitfulneſſe of a field, which if not cultivated, ſerves only to produce the more Thorns. Amongſt the Sciences, thoſe of Juſtice and Policy are moſt needfull, for that they are the true Objects of Chancellours and Lord Keepers; thoſe are the Fountains, from whence they may derive the maximes of Government, the Fundamental Laws of Monarchy, the Statutes and Cuſtomes, and generally whatever concerns the duty of Magiſtrates, the Office of Judges, and art of Lawyers. To this Doctrine, I may adde Experience, a thing ſo neceſſary in a Lord-Keeper and Chancellor, that without it, the very greateſt lights wherewith their natural parts or ſtudy can furniſh them, are as little uſefull, as the inſtrument in the hand of a workman, skill'd in the Theory, but not the Practick. Integrity ought to accompany him, being the Mother of Loyalty, and the Father of that zeal which all publick perſons are obliged to evidence in the Adminiſtration of their Charges. The Integrity of a perſon of ſmall ability, will indeed ſo far carry him, that the publick good will be the end at which he aims, but he cannot contribute ſo much unto it, as willingly he would, whereas he who is deſtitute thereof, doth moſt frequently look after his own intereſt. It was not the want of capacity but fidelity, which ſo often expoſed the Athenians and thoſe other Common-Wealths of *Greece*, to the fury of Forraign and Civil Wars. Never was that illuſtrious corner of the World ſo repleniſhed with Philoſophers, Orators and great Stateſmen, as when it firſt began to decay; but that unbridled Paſſion which leadeth great men to prefer their own intereſts before that of the States which they govern, hurrieth them into that misfortune which betides the body of man; where the Stomach which ought to concoct nutriment for the individual parts, digeſteth it onely for it ſelf. Eloquence will be of no ſmall uſe to them in many occaſions, where they are obliged to pronounce judgements, and declare their Maſters Wills; it elevateth a man ſo much above others, ſaith the Roman Orator, as ſpeech raiſeth him above his fellow creatures. If it be befitting and uſefull to any, it is particularly to Stateſmen; for there is not any thing which acquires more authority to a man appearing in publick, then good elocution. For my part, I think Eloquence ſo much the more proper for them, in regard it perſwades the people to approve what Wiſedom directeth, what Prudence reſolveth, and what Juſtice requireth; without it, the wiſeſt Counſels have oftentimes been ineffectual. I will not diſ-approve the advancing of rich perſons to ſuch dignities; becauſe riches if lawfully acquired, do give much credit to vertue, ſerve to excite it, and execute their juſt and generous deſigns. I think them very neceſſary for a man who is to ſerve the publick, experience teaching us, that without them, vertue is often weak and languiſhing. Though vertue alone merit before God, it is unactive, unfruitfull, and inglorious among men. To be ſhort, where the Goods of the body, co-habit with thoſe of the mind and fortune, in eminent perſons; it adds no ſmall authority unto them, ſeeing the beauty and Majeſty of the body hath certain attractions to captivate the courage, to inforce reſpect and reverence, and to perſwade men to what ever they pleaſe; inſomuch that the ancients have thought them worthy of Crowns and Empires.

*His Majesties choice of Learned and Religious Prelates in the Cardinal's request.*

THe Church ought necessarily to be governed by Bishops, whose Doctrine and Piety may serve for a guide to the people to instruct them in the ways of Heaven. The State receiveth no small advantage by them. Hereupon, the Cardinal did very wel resolve to perswade his Majesty not to bestow any Bishoprick, but upon persons well-deserving, who might be capable of serving God and the State, especially not to grant them unto children or persons of a licentious life, or such as lay under any ignominy as had formerly been practiced; so that in a few years the face of the Clergy of *France* was much altered, being replenished with persons of ability and virtue. This was put in execution in all vacant places, after the Cardinal's promotion to the Ministery. I shall forbear to speak of it, till the History of this year, because it furnisheth us with many examples. The Cardinal propos'd unto his Majesty, to be admitted into the Bishopricks of *Languedoc*, whose Pastors had been deposed, *Le Sieur Cohon*, for *Nismes*; the *Sieur Grillet* for *Uzez*; the *Sieur Vilazel* for *St. Brieu*. His Majesty whose Piety is no lesse illustrious then his Justice, which rendreth him venerable to all his people, being well satisfied of their merit, concluded them fit for that honour. They were persons who for above ten years past, had appeared in the most eminent Pulpits of *Paris*, to the great admiration of their auditory; and whereas the Doctrine of Preachers ought to be animated by a good life; their conduct had testified for them, that they had no lesse vertue and eloquence then zeal for his Majesties service, to preserve the people in the obedience they ow him, as Gods Lievtenant on earth.

*That the right of presenting to Bishopricks, is one of the most ancient Priviledges of the Crown, and what Bishops ought to be chosen for the good of the State.*

AMong the Rights of this Crown, that of the presenting to Bishopricks, is one of the most signal, as most ancient. The Primitive Bishops of the French Church, who have been the most shining lights of our Faith, have acknowledged it from the beginning of this Monarchy, in the fifth Councel of *Orleans*, where they ordained that none should consecrate any Bishop, without his Majesty's consent, the practice whereof is so frequent in History, that nothing but ignorance can question it. *Gregory* of *Tours* reporteth, that Bishop *Quintianus* being dead, *Gallus* was substituted in his place, and created Bishop of *Overgne*, by his Majesty's means; and that after *Gallus* his decease, there was some design to elect one *Cato*, but that the Arch-Deacon *Cautinus* having prevented the King, and first acquainted him with the news of *Gallus* his death, was constituted Bishop in his place. He likewise reporteth that *Nonnichius* was established in the Bishoprick of *Nantes*, in the room of *Felix*, by the Kings Order; as also *Vitus* in that of *Vienna*, that *Childebert* made *St. German* Bishop of *Paris*, *Clodomir*, *Omatius*, Bishop of *Tours*, *Clotar St. Medard*, Bishop of *Vermandois*, and *Euphronius*, Bishop of *Tours*. History is pregnant with the like examples, so that to cite them were but vain, those already alledged being sufficient to confirm it, which who can question, seeing our Kings have with their Crown received power to dispose of all things, which concern the good of their Kingdom, and tranquility of their people; and that the election of Bishops is not an act meerly Ecclesiastical, but as much reflecting on the good of the State, as the Salvation of Souls? Bishops have a great influence over the peoples sprits, to draw them by the links of Piety and Religion, unto what they please, as experience hath evidenced, in the time of *Lewis* the *Debonnair*, who was almost Deposed by a Faction they raised against him, and as was afterward seen in *Languedoc*,

*guedoc*, where five or six of them fomented a Civil War. The Empire of Souls is wonderfully potent, and its Arms though spiritual, are more to be feared than Pikes or Muskets. The Soul once mastered, the body will soon yeeld, the one is the inevitable consequence of the other; and for this reason it is, that the promotion of Bishops hath ever depended on our Kings, and hath been judged very necessary to elect persons for those imployments, who may, indeed, be able to edifie the people by their Doctrine and example, and alwayes be incapable of indangering the publick. The happinesse of States dependeth much upon Religion, and the splendour of Religion, doth more depend upon the vigilance and care of Bishops, next to the blessing of Heaven, then any other thing whatever. May they not indeed be called the foundation of it? Who doth more effectually fix the people in the fidelity which they ow their Soveraigns, in obedience to Magistrates, in reverence to Parents, in respect to Justice, the rule of their conduct? Doubtlesse it is then very considerable in Government, not to chuse such persons as are incapable of bringing these advantages to a State. I shall not in this place say any thing of the obedience they ought to shew to Magistrates; but only it is necessary that they be honest men; because if licentious they will be apt to do more hurt then good, and to neglect the restraining of the people, not that I shall approve of chusing such persons who are of an indiscreet zeal; for such persons delighting to do too much good, do oftentimes raise great disorders, which themselves are unable to redresse. Preachers are so much the more deserving of this promotion, because the function of preaching, was primitively reserved to the Bishops, who communicated it unto Priests, only by way of priviledge, and that at sundry times in sundry places. The Bishops of the East, did first grant this power to Priests, as may be proved by the examples of *Pierius* and *Chrysostome*, who while they were yet Priests, Preached one in *Alexandria*, the other in *Antioch*, a thing not used in *Affrick* before *St. Austine*, who during his Priesthood had the liberty of Preaching conferred upon him, by Bishop *Valerius*, a thing without President; and in *Gaul* this custom was introduced, about an hundred years after the Council of *Vaison*.

## *The King maketh a Declaration to Depose three Officers, two of the Parliament of* Paris, *and one of the Chamber of Accompts, from their Charges.*

SHortly after, *Monsieur le Président Seguiers*, promotion to the Seals, the ill conduct of President *Cogneux*, the *Sieur Desfondes*, Councellor of the Parliament, and the *Sieur de Monsigot*, Master of the Chamber of Accompts of *Paris*, forced his Majestie to deprive them of their Offices. I have inserted in the History of the fore-going years, the Rebellious acts in which they ingaged themselves; and in this I shall adde, that it being a shame for his Majestie, and unbefitting the reputation of the affairs of *France*, to suffer the chief Officers of the Parliament of *Paris*, and a Master of the chief Chamber of Accompts in the Kingdom, to live abroad in Forraign parts, avoiding the punishment due to their Rebellion, and with the marks of their authority still about them, as if they had been innocent; his Majestie resolved to depose them; for the more orderly doing whereof, he went to the Parliament to sit in the Seat of Justice, and publish a Declaration, with expounding the Ordinance of *Blois* where it is said, that all guilty of High Treason particularly, his Majesties Officers, should never be restored to their Offices: Declared, that it ought to be understood of Officers condemned of Rebellion or Treason, as well by default and contumacy of those who were present at their Tryals; there being no reason to suffer those who had had their hands in conspiracies and intelligences prejudicial to his Majesties service, to injoy their dignities, those rays of his Majesties power; and moreover, that the twenty eighth Article of the Ordinance of *Molins*, more ancient then that of *Blois*, where it is specified, that those

thoſe who are condemned by default and contumacy, may have five years time to acquit themſelves, ſhould not be interpreted in favour of them; his Majeſty requiring, that judgement once pronounced againſt Traitors, though condemned by default or contumacy, ſhould after publication be put in execution, as to the confiſcation of their offices only, without being reſtored either by Letters or otherwiſe. This very Declaration ſuppreſs'd the offices of Preſident *le Cogneux*, and the *Sieur Deſlandes* as guilty of High-Treaſon, whereof they were condemned by contumacy; they were unworthy of any favour, in regard his Majeſty had given them a moneths time to recollect themſelves, and to return into the Kingdom, which they had neglected to do. Beſides, the King publiſhed his Letters Patents to create the like offices, and conferr'd that of the Preſident *au Mortier*, upon the *Sieur de Lamoignon*, formerly Preſident of the third Chamber of Inqueſts; and placed the *Sieur de la Hage de Vanolay*, Councellor of the grand Counſel, in that of Counſellor of the Parliament. His Majeſty cauſed them to take their Oath in his Preſence, and then to take their places. *Monſieur le Comte de Soiſſons*, went in his Majeſties behalf to the Chamber of Accompts, to cauſe the like Declaration to be publiſhed againſt the *Sieur de Monſigot*, and his Letters Patents by which *Le Sieur des Rues*, was eſtabliſhed in the office of Maſter of Accompts. Thus his Majeſty ouſted three Rebellious Officers, and taught the reſt that they having no Authority but what depended upon his pleaſure, they ſhould be ſure to be deprived of it, if once they ſhould be found unworthy by their Revolts.

*Politique Obſervation.*

WHen Kings create Magiſtrates, and communicate part of their power to them; it is not to exempt them from obedience, but to fix their Crowns by new ſupports, and to keep the people by their examples and decrees within the bounds of their ſubjection. To this end only it is, that Kings confer their power upon them, who as they command their people to make their addreſſes to them, to decide their differences; ſo do they no leſſe oblige their Magiſtrates to preſerve them within their bounds, by the example of their ſubmiſſions, and the integrity of their judgements. If Magiſtrates ow the ſecond to the people by their places, they are no leſſe indebted to their Kings, in the firſt, with this diſtinction of obligation, that the good of the State invites them to it, the Order of Monarchy requireth it, and Juſtice it ſelf commandeth it. What preſumpion were it, for the Stars to indeavour to eclipſe the Sun's light, when their own, is but the effect of his? What a diſorder were it, if the inferiour Spheres, ſhould oppoſe the motions of the *Primum mobile?* And what likelyhood is there, that thoſe Magiſtrates who receive their Authority from their Princes to ſupport their Crowns, and confirm their Subjects in their obedience, ſhould flie into Rebellion, and indeavour to draw them to follow their examples? They ought to beware that their diſobedience do not cauſe the *Flower de luces* to fade, and that they do not inſtead of cultivating them with care, to render them more beautifull to the French, and more reſpected by ſtrangers, indanger them by their ill examples, and render themſelves unworthy to ſit upon them. Know they not that their obedience and the integrity of their judgements, is the foundation of the peoples ſubmiſſions? The Rebellion of ſuch men ought not to be connived at; in regard it may not be tolerated without putting all things into diſorder. The People are like clay, without form in themſelves, but eaſily wrought by the Potters. In fine, they behold moſt affairs with the eyes of their Magiſtrates, and ſuffer themſelves eaſily to be directed by their motions; they diſlike what the other reject, and if they ſhould riſe againſt their Soveraign, they would make no difficulty to follow them. In affairs of this nature, Kings are obliged to conform themſelves to the example of the Sun, who finding the Moon to oppoſe her light to his, and indeavouring to eclipſe his light, preſently depriveth her of all her light, and turneth her Chriſtaline into a dark body. Kings ought to re-aſſume to themſelves their Juſtice, which formerly they had

had intrusted with them, and to punish their Rebellions with severity. They who are the most mild, are forc'd by such crimes to draw their Swords of Justice, to prevent the eclipsing of their power, to take the Thunder-bolts of severity into their hands, and dart them against them to reduce them to nothing.

## *Divers Changes of Governours in sundry Provinces made this year.*

THose were not the only Changes which happened this year, there were divers others in the governments of Provinces, some that they might be intrusted with persons uncapable of ingaging in any divisions which were suspected by reason of *Monsieur's* absence, and others for a recompence of several persons of quality which have deserved them, and which I cannot passe by unobserved. The Marshal *de Thoyras*, Governour of *Cazal*, had given some cause of jealousie, though indeed his fidelity was invincible, as hath since been seen; however, that place is of such importance, that nothing ought to be hazarded for the preservation of it. The King sent the Marquesse *de Tavannes* in his place, and gave the Marshal permission to stay in *Italy*, upon some difficulties which he made upon coming to Court. *Le Sieur de Malissi*, Captain of the Regiment *des Gardes*, was at the same time, made Governour of *Pignerol*, the Duke *de Vantadour*, was gratified with the Government of *Limosin*, and having surrendred into the Kings hands, the Lieutenancy of *Languedoc*; his Majesty divided it amongst four, and bestowed it upon the *Comte de Tournon*, the *Vice Comte d' Arpajon*, the Marquesse *d' Ambres*, and the *Vice Comte de Polignac*. *Le Comte de Joncac* was made Governour and Lievtenant General of *Xaintong*, *Angoulmois*, *Aunis*, and the City of *Rochel*, the Baron *de Pont Chasteau*, Lievtenant General of Low *Brittain*, *Le Comte de Palisse*, *Sieur de St. Geran*, was made Governour of *Bourbonnois*, *le Comte de Cheravet* of *Stenay*, *le Sieur de la Serre*, first Captain of the Regiment of *Picardy* of *Jamets*, *le Duc de la Valette* of the Bishoprick of *Mets*, the *Duc de Chaune* of *Picardy*, *le Duc d' Alvin* of *Languedoc*, and the Cittadel of *Montpellier*, *le Marquesse de Seneçay* of *Bourgogne au Bailliage de Masconnois*; insomuch that there are few years which produce so great changes of government.

## *That it is necessary to commit the Government of Provinces and Places, into the hands of trusty Persons, in times of danger.*

IT is very important, when there is any suspicion of civil dissentions, to intrust the Government of Provinces and places with persons of fidelity. I do much approve of the King of *Spain's* rule, who often changeth his Governours. A man must be altogether ignorant of History, if he knoweth not the great services which *Gonzalvus* did the King of *Aragon* his Master, in the Kingdom of *Naples*: However, that wise prudent King, would not alwaies intrust the Government of that place with him; for fear, lest in processe of time, he might keep it to himself. The continuation of the Government of *France* granted unto *Julius Cæsar*, incouraged him to attempt upon the Roman liberty; whereupon, remembring that nothing had made him so ambitious of commanding, as that continuation upon his return to *Rome*, after the *Affrick* War, he ordained that no *Prætor* should injoy his Office, above one year, nor no Consul above two. The Governour who hath long resided in a Province, may make creatures, contract friendships, and so play his game, that he may act the little King, and will be apt to ingage himself to some Revolt, if Ambition, which great men seldom want, should once inflame him. This made the Dictator *Mamercus*, say, the short continuation of Governours is the surest preservative of the publick; besides, the liberty of changing of Gover-

nours, after ſome few years, and ſubſtituting others in their places, is of great advantage, for that a Soveraign may thereby render more perſons capable of great affairs, then if he ſhould alwaies continue them in the ſame places. The memory of new benefits diſpoſeth men to be gratefull, and doubtleſſe maketh Kings to be ſerved with more affection: Great men long accuſtomed do ſo habituate themſelves, that they look upon their Governments as their Demeſne, without any ſenſe of obligation to him who permitteth him; whereas he who is but lately poſſeſſed of them, having the favour freſh in his memory, indeavoureth to deſerve it with more induſtry and affection. This *maxime*, I know will not very much agree with the ſenſe of moſt great men; but ſurely their diſlike reliſheth more of Ambition then reaſon; I may likewiſe adde, that it is little conſiderable to their Fortunes, ſeeing if they acquit themſelves, as they ought, of a place, their merit will be a ſufficient recommendation to attain them others. It were to be wiſhed, that ſuch men in their own concerns, were of *Quintus Fabius Maximus* his humour, who having been five times Conſul; and conſidering with himſelf that his grand-father and great grand-father had often been charged with the ſame Office; and how it was very dangerous to continue great Offices in a family, was very earneſt with the people of *Rome*, to divert them from conferring that honour on his ſon.

## *The Creation of Knights of the Holy Ghoſt.*

THe King had for many years, receiv'd ſo many proofs of the valour of his Nobility, that he could not refuſe them the honour of being Knights of his Orders; and his Majeſty who hath a particular inclination to recompence valour, reſolved to grant them this honourable reward. He was confirm'd in this reſolution by *Monſieur* the Cardinal, who repreſented to him that the French Nobility could not be tied to his ſervice, by any ſtricter Banes then thoſe of honour, and that this would not a little augment that courage and fidelity, which they had as often as occaſion required, diſcovered unto him; ſo that finding himſelf at leiſure about the beginning of the Spring, and without a neceſſity of being over early in the field, he reſolved to perform the Ceremony of the Knights of the Holy Ghoſt, and to fill up all the vacant places. It is impoſſible in ſuch affairs to content all men, becauſe there are never ſo many places vacant, as men who think their ſervices worthy of that honour. All that can be done, is to prefer thoſe who are moſt conſiderable, either for their birth, their ſervices, or the particular inclination of the Prince, who in ſuch things ought to have his own liberty. His Majeſty took this courſe, but that he might totally follow the Orders of the Primitive conſtitution, he gave a Commiſſion to the Cardinal *de Lyon*, great Almner of *France*, and Commander of the Order, to inform him of their Religion, Life, and Works, who were propoſed, and to ſend him his informations ſeal'd up. The next thing his Majeſty did, was to aſſemble the Chapter of the Order at *Fountainblean*, where the Ceremony was performed, and where all the Knights met, and told them by the mouth of the *Sieur de Bullion*, Lord Keeper of that Order, that he ſhould be very glad before the Creation of the Knights, to have their opinions about the Rebellion and Felony of the Duke *d'Elbœuf*, and the Marqueſs *de la Vieville*, who being fled out of the Kingdom, and having born Arms contrary to his Majeſties ſervice; and conſequently broken the Statutes of the Order, had rendred themſelves unworthy of Knight-hood, and deſerved to be degraded; the *Sieur de Bullion*, adding that his advice was, to follow the example of *Charles* Duke *de Bourgogne*, towards *Charles* Duke *de Brabant* his couſin, *viz.* to eraſe their Arms, and that in their Eſcutcheon ſhould be inſerted their judgement and degradation. All the Knights were of the ſame opinion with the Lord Keeper, excepting only the Marqueſſe *de Trajanel*: So that the judgement of their degradation was pronounced and executed before the new Creation. In proſecution of this judgement, his Majeſty cauſed the Role of thoſe whom he would have of this Order to be read aloud, and nominated eight Knights to aſſiſt at the tryal of the proofs

proofs of their Nobility, Life, and Manners; and then proposing the difference which was between those who were Dukes and Peers, and those who were only Dukes, concerning their order and place in the Ceremony; it was ordered that all the Dukes in general should march according to the Order of their Creation, because the Peers hold no place in Assemblies. It was likewise decreed, that if any of those who were named to be Knights, did not appear at the time of the promotion to receive their Order, it should not be sent unto them. The 14 of *May* was the day assigned for the Ceremony, and his Majesty being there punctually followed the Statutes of that Order, and conferred it upon

*Monsieur* the Cardinal of *Richelieu*,
The Cardinal *de la Valette*.
The Arch-Bishop of *Paris*.
The Arch-Bishop of *Bourdeaux*.
The Arch-Bishop of *Narbone*.
The *Duc de Longueville*.
The *Comte d' Harcourt*.
The *Comte d' Alets*.
The *Duc de la Trimouille*.
The *Duc de Vantadour*.
The *Duc d' Alvin*.
The *Duc de Brissac*.
The *Duc de Candale*.
The *Duc de la Valette*.
The *Comte de Tonnerre*.
The *Mareschal d' Estree*.
The *Sieurs de Vaubecourt, & de Senneterre*.
The *Vicomte de Pompadour*.
The *Marquis de Nesse*.
The *Marquis de Gordes*.
The *Comte de Launoy*.
The *Marquis de Varennes*.
The *Mareschal de Brezé*.
The *Comte de Brassac*.
The *Comte de Nouilles*.
The *Sieur de Popaune*.
The *Marquis de Fossez*.
The *Marquis de Bourbonne*.
The *Vicomte de Pollignac*.
The *Vicomte d' Arpajon*.
The *Marquis d' Aluye*.
The *Comte de Saulx*.
The *Comte d' Orval*.
The *Sieur de St. Simon premier Escuyer*.
The *Baron de Pont-Chastrau*.
The *Sieur de Pont-Courlay*.
The *Sieur de la Messeray*.
The *Marquis de Mortemart*.
The *Sieur de Villequier*.
The *Comte de Tournon*.
The *Sieur de la Mailleraye*.
The *Comte de Tianges*.
The *Marquis d' Ambres*.
The *Comte de Parabere*.
The *Sieurs de Montgaurel, & De Liancourt*.
*De St. Simon l'aisne*.

I will not trouble my self to describe the particulars of the Ceremony; it is beyond my design; only for conclusion, I will say his Majesty by this conferring of Honour, shewed that he did as well acknowledge, as know the services of his Nobility.

*Politique Observation.*

THe reward of Services, and the punishment of Crimes are equally great supporters to a State; whereupon *Socrates* being demanded, what Estate could be esteemed the best governed, answered, that where honest men are rewarded, and knaves punished. *Xenophon* likewise thought, that a man being naturally more couragious then fearfull, should be excited sooner to great actions by praise then by punishment. Indeed what will not men undertake, when assured of great riches or honours after a Victory? For this reason it was, that *Plato* in the Fifth of his Republicks, would that all men who behaved themselves couragiously in the War, should be gratified in all reasonable things, nay they were permitted to marry divers women, the better to replenish the Common-Wealth with valiant men.

This licentiousnesse, I must confesse, is contrary to the Laws of Christianity, and Experience hath told us, that it is seldom seen, brave men beget children like themselves; but in the main, the gratifying of valiant men in all reasonable things, is

conformable to the rules of all politick States. Thus *Homer* to give a teſtimony of *Agamemnon's* conduct, doth uſually bring him in at all feaſts in the Greek Army, honoured with an whole Chine of Beef, being the greateſt rarity among them. Upon the ſame example, *Plato* grounded his Decrees for the honouring of thoſe at publick Feaſts, who had given proofs of their valour by ſerving them with the greateſt dainties, and the beſt Wines; and by ſinging of ſongs in their praiſe, to invite others to imitate them. To ſpeak the truth, if the flame dies for want of Wood, generoſity languiſheth if unrewarded. All goeth to rack in that State where men of courage are no better treated then uſeleſſe cowards. It ſhould ſeem the greateſt courages are, as it were, benum'd, where the ſplendour of honour, the reward of handſom actions, doth not incourage them. All that can be further obſerved is, that recompences be proportioned to the qualities of the perſons. Souldiers are more uſually pleas'd with riches then honour, and are more proper to be acknowledged with reward accordingly. The Nobility on the other ſide, are better ſatisfied with honour, *Let them have it.* This courſe did the Common-Wealth of *Venice* take, after that memorable battle of *Tar*; they exalted the Marquis of *Mantua*, from that government, to be general of the Army; and as to thoſe Souldiers who had behav'd themſelves couragiouſly, they increas'd their pay. They gave divers recompences to the Sons of ſuch as were ſlain, Dowries to their daughters, and good Penſions to ſuch as were maim'd. The Romans did much more eſteem the rewards of honour, then any other; and indeed they are more to be eſteemed, becauſe Honour is more excellent then Wealth. There was no Crown more eſteemed among them, then the obſidional, which however was made of Turf, that of Gold inlaid with Stones, was beneath it, becauſe leſſe honourable; there was not any greater honour in their Common-Wealth then that of Triumph, which however brought no Wealth to the Triumpher; for after he had appeared in a Chariot cloathed and attended magnificently, he was obliged to live in the City, in the quality of a private perſon, without other reward then the glory of their actions. *Cneus Ovillius*, thought himſelf more highly rewarded, after he had concluded the firſt Carthaginian War, by the Common-Wealths permitting him to have a Trumpet alwaies march before him; and *Pompey* by the power granted him to wear his Triumphant Robe at all publick Feaſts; and *Cæſar* by the priviledge of continually wearing the Lawrel Crown, then if they had had all the riches of the Empire divided amongſt them.

## *The Inſtitution of the Parliament of* Mets, *after the King had reduc'd to his Obedience, divers Cities and Places of* Lorrain.

AFter the King had reduc'd to his Obedience divers Cities and places of the Biſhopricks of *Mets*, *Toul*, *and Verdun*, and recovered to his Crown divers Lands and Lordſhips, heretofore pulled from it; he thought it neceſſary for the preſervation of the people in Obedience and Peace, and for conſervation of the Rights of his Crown to eſtabliſh a Soveraign court of Juſtice, which ſhould have full power to Judge, without further Appeal, all matters both civil and criminal. His Majeſty was the rather invited unto it, by the earneſt intreaties of all the Orders of the Cities and Provinces, in proſecution of the promiſe made unto them, by the late King *Henry le grand*; eſpecially to redreſſe thoſe great abuſes committed in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, in regard of the inexperience of the Magiſtrates, as to prevent the Dukes of *Lorrain's* uſurpation, who had oftentimes preſumed to give judgement in places, and upon perſons depending on the Crown of *France*. It was reſolved about the beginning of the year. The King ordained a Soveraign court, with the Title of Parliament, in his Biſhopricks of *Toul*, *Mets*, and *Verdun*; the ſeat whereof he founded at *Mets*; both in regard of the commodiouſneſſe of the ſituation; as alſo the populouſneſs of the place, and confluence of the people, which came from all parts; and beſides, that place having been formerly

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the Metropolis of *Auſtracia*, one of the beſt Flowers of this Crown. His Majeſty ordained there ſhould be one chief Preſident, ſix other Preſidents, forty ſix Counſellors, of which ſix ſhould be of the Clergy, the reſt of the Laity, one Attorney General, two Advocates General; and in brief, all Officers uſual in other Parliaments, to execute Juſtice, without Appeal, every ſix moneths, upon the Cities and perſons of thoſe Biſhopricks; as alſo upon *Monzon*, *Chaſteau-Regnaud*, and its Appurtenances; notwithſtanding any Soveraignty they might heretofore claim: Laſtly, deſiring to chuſe ſuch perſons as might be capable of doing actual ſervice in this Parliament, he committed the charge of chief Preſident to the *Sieur de Breiaign*, and of the other Preſidents to the *Sieurs* of *Charpentier*, *Blundeau*, *Pinon*, *Treſlon*, *Vignier* and *Chanteclair*, all men of worth; that of Attorney General to the *Sieur de Paris*, Maſter of Requeſts; thoſe of the two Advocates General, to the *Sieurs de la Greſſiere*, *Remiſort*, and *Fardoil*; they had all Commiſſion to go with four Maſters of Requeſt, and five or ſix who were created Counſellours, to eſtabliſh the Parliament, which they did about the end of *Auguſt*, to the great happineſſe and ſatisfaction of the inhabitants of *Metz*, glad to ſee their City re-aſſume its ancient ſplendour; and true it is, the induſtry they uſed to preſerve his Majeſties right, and the people in their obedience, did not a little conduce to the eſtabliſhment of the Royal Authority in its luſtre.

### *That new Magiſtrates of Juſtice ought to be eſtabliſhed in Countries newly conquered.*

AS Subjects ow love and obedience to their Kings; ſo Kings ow them Juſtice and affection. The debts are mutual, and two incumbent duties, which compoſe the moſt agreeable harmony in States, upon the accompliſhment of which dependeth the good fortune of both Prince and People; which being ſo, a Prince can no ſooner conquer a country, but he is obliged to do them Juſtice; nor is it of ſmall importance to him to execute it by new Judges, and to change the old Magiſtrates. *Ceſar* and *Nero* knew it well enough, by their indeavours to ſuppreſſe the Senate, at leaſt to diminiſh their power when they deſpaired of being able abſolutely to depoſe them. In a word, the Soveraign power being compoſed of the Authority of a Prince, and that of Magiſtrates, to force a country out of the hands of another Prince, and not to change the Magiſtrates, were to be but half Maſter of it; for their Prince having beſtowed thoſe imployments on them, they cannot but preſerve ſome affection for him, nor wil they ever fail to ſerve him, ſo that great inconveniences may thereby ariſe; for as they in ſome ſort ſerve as a Chain to tie the people in obedience to their Soveraign, they will do their utmoſt indeavour to preſerve them in their dependance upon him, from whom they have received their imployments, and with time they are able to cauſe a general inſurrection. A Seat of Juſtice though without a Sword, with the Purple onely, and thoſe other marks of its dignity, doth oftentimes cauſe that which they favour, to be more reſpected and obeyed, then the force of an whole Army, ſo much are the people us'd to ſubmit to its judgements, and to follow its motions; therefore there is nothing of a conqueſt ſecured, untill the Conquerour hath ſetled ſuch Magiſtrates as are affectionate and loyal to his ſervice. That once done, let the people mutiny, make unlawfull Aſſemblies, and be factious, it ſignifies little; eſpecially, if there are any ſtrong Gariſons or Souldiers in pay to quel them. The people do commonly return to their duties, at the only ſight of their Magiſtrates, and they quickly calm themſelves, as toſt veſſels do at the appearance of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; but if they find any to ſecond their inſurrection, they rage more and more, and flie out into all kind of extremities.

*Alpheſton*

## Alphefton *and* Chavagnac, *executed at* Mets *by Decree of Parliament.*

THe exemplary punishment which the Parliament of *Mets*, executed this year upon *Alphefton* and *Chavagnac*, was one of the greatest services which could be rendred to the State. *Alphefton* a notorious Assassinate, came to *Mets* about the end of *September*, with *Saufier* and *Bellanger*, who had both been of the Marshal *de Marillac's* guard. These two Souldiers touch'd with repentance and horrour for the crime, wherein they had been ingaged, made their addresses to the *Sieur de Mommas*, Governour of the City, for the Duke *de la Valette*, and discovered to him, upon what design they were come from the Low Countries. The *Sieur de Mommas* secured them all three, which being signified to the chief President, they were examined, and Processe made against *Alphefton* in the usual form; it was proved, that *Alphefton* having murthered a certain Courier, called *Clairbourg*, for fear left he should discover a design upon *St. Disier*, which he had intrusted with him, fled into *Flanders*, where having made some stay at *Bruxels*, he got acquainted with Father *Chanteloup*, and one *la Roche*, intendent of his affairs, who had ingaged him together with *Saufier* and *Bellanger*, to kill the Cardinal *Duc de Richelieu*, passing through *Chaalons*, where they were to lodge over against him; that they had been assured by Father *Chanteloup*, how that affair had been consulted by persons of Piety and Learning, and adjudged it might be executed with a safe Conscience; that *la Roche* had given an hundred Livres to *Saufier*, as many to *Bellanger*, and a hundred crowns to *Alphefton*, with promise to reward their services better; that *Alphefton* had oftentimes conversed with Father *Chanteloup* concerning that affair; that *la Roche* had caused a Gelding of the Queens Stable to be given him, which was afterwards known to be the same, by the *Sieur de Villiers*, one of her *Querris*. All this was Deposed by *Saufier* and *Bellanger*, and confessed by *Alphefton* himself; so that he was condemned upon the 23 of *September*, to be broke on the wheel for his offence. The Sentence was executed, and as it is very important for the security of Kings and their States, to pardon those who discover things of this nature; *Saufier* and *Bellanger* were acquitted in conformity to the Law prescribed in such cases. Nor was this Assasinat the only Monster which *Chanteloup*, sent abroad to execute that horrible attempt; not long after *Blaise Ruster*, was discovered under the name of *Chavagnac*, and convicted in the same Parliament to have designed the death of that grand Minister, by causing him to read a poysoned Letter; an action so black, and full of horror, that it is hardly credible in a person of his condition, had it not been formally proved, and withall confessed by himself, who for his punishment was adjudged to be hanged. The Parliament of *Mets* could not see *Chanteloup* guilty of such abhominations, without declaring what he was; whereupon they drew up his indictment, and condemned him by default to be broken alive. Thus did God, by his Providence, defend this incomparable Minister from the fury of his enemies, who before they could effect their design, had the impudence to publish in divers places, that it were a piece of conscience to murther him; that the merit were greater then the crime; that it were an act of Justice, and that divers having already contrived, the design was only deterred by fear. Thus did they indeavour to infuse the poison of this abhominable Doctrine, into the minds of some melancholy men, and to perswade them to Dye their hands in the blood of a Cardinal, a Bishop, a chief and incomparable Minister of State. This in a word, is the strangest fury that Hell can lead a man into; but that which was more wonderfull, was to see the Queen-Mother, whose Piety and Clemency had in all her Government been so conspicuous, suffer such persons as were about her, not only to publish, but approve such bloody Doctrines and Sacralegious maxims, and to be obstinate in the keeping him for her only Minister, who made it his busnesse to cut the thread of his life; whose

services

whose services the King her son did every day publish with so many honourable *Eulogiums*, that he ascribed the happy successe of all his enterprizes to his only counsels. This her procedure was totally repugnant to that pretended desire of hers, to return into *France*, and to make her Peace with his Majesty; however they who had the honour to know her, did not at all detract from their opinions of her goodness, knowing her to be by nature as far from this barbarous doctrine, as heaven is from earth, they only wish she had not so easily suffered her self to be surprised by those whom she honoured with her confidence.

*How abhominable assassination hath ever been, and that great men never ought to be drawn into it.*

TO murther a Cardinal is a detestable sacriledge, not onely because it injureth a particular person, but the sacred Colledge of Cardinals, the Pope, and the whole Church. He who murdereth a Minister of State, is guilty of high Treason, as I have heretofore made appear, and generally of all others, it is the most horrible Crime. Murderers among the Israelites were so much detested, that private men were allowed to destroy them, if the Magistrate did not; nay, he who had killed another by accident was in such abhomination with them, that he was banished his Country as unworthy of their conversation and forced to retire to their Cities of refuge, under penalty of being slain, without punishment by him who had undertaken to revenge the death. All nations have chastised it with grievous punishments; those of *Brasil* in particular do so detest it, that if the murderer save himself by flight, yet his children, sisters and cousins are all made slaves to the kindred of the party murthered. Hath not God declared himself an enemy unto it, when he saith, He who killeth his Brother shall dy by the sword. History is full of examples verifying his Divine justice to correspond with his threats. *Plutarch* though having the light of nature onely, writeth that a certain murderer of one *Mitius* a *Grecian* escaping scot free, the divine providence so ordered it, that his statue fell upon him in the publick place, and crushed him to death; but if murder destroy those that are guilty thereof with shame, surely all Princes peccant in this particular are much more blame-worthy; because they do an act contrary to that mercy, justice, generosity, and greatnesse of power which they are obliged to have. Never would the Romans in the flourishing time of their Common-Wealth, permit their enemies to be thus kill'd; and *Tacitus* reporteth, that when the Senate read *Algan destrins* Prince of the *Catti* his Letters, in which he undertook to poison *Arminius* the German Captain, provided they would send him poison, return'd him this answer, that the people of *Rome* used to have satisfaction from their enemies, openly and not by treachery. That I may shew this true valour hath not been unimitated in these latter ages, *Don Rogero Comte de Pallars*, offered *Alphonsus* King of *Naples*, to kill the King of *Castile* his enemy with his own hands; whereunto *Alphonsus* answered, think not, I pray, upon such an action; because were it to put me in quiet possession not only of *Castile*, but of the whole world, yet would I never give my consent unto it.

*The Acts of Hostility committed by the Duke of* Lorrain *against* France.

WHilest his Majesties prudence and courage were taking care for his sundry affairs, the Duke of *Lorrain*, setting by the Laws of honour which obliged him to keep his promises, suffering himself to be transported by an unjust hatred against *France*, took all opportunities to discover his ill will; he was oblig'd by the last Treaty to send his Forces to his Majesty; but hardly was the Treaty signed, and the Marshal *d'Effiat*, one of the Generals of his Majesties Army in *Germany*;

*many*, received the command of them, ere he ſent Order to their Commanders to disband them, that he might give *Mont-Baillon Lorrain* opportunity to gather them together, and lead them into *Alſace* for the Emperours ſervice. Hereupon it was not long before they vaniſhed, excepting the Regiments *de Guerquoy*, to the Commander of which he had forgot to make known his intention. Nor did he forbear to teſtifie that this very Regiment, abiding ſome while in his Majeſties ſervice was diſpleaſing to him; for upon the return into his Territories, after the Marſhal *de Effiats* deceaſe, he disbanded them, that he might beſtow them upon *Vervane* a Subject of his, and Souldier of Fortune, who led them into *Alſace*, where he got into *Maſſenal*, and was defeated by the *Swede*. He was oblig'd to hinder any Levies in his country, made without his Majeſties conſent; but he gave way thereunto, at the ſame time that *Ajax* the Italian indeavoured to get into *Briſac*. The Treaty ingaged him not do any thing againſt the Allies of *France*; and he paſt his word to General *Horn*, not to countenance any deſign againſt *Haguenaw*, which place he under-hand aſſiſted with fifteen hundred men; and without regard had to his word, gave forces to the *Cemte de Salme*, under pretence of diſcharging them, which afforded him the means and opportunity of taking in that place; nor did he afterward contribute to preſerve the place, by ſending Victuals and Souldiers to fortifie that Gariſon. Every one knows he gave leave to *Montecuculi Benti voglio & Naſſau*, to raiſe Forces in *Lorrain*, for three or four moneths time; the two former pretending all that while they would deſert the ſervice; but did indeed ſend them to fight againſt the *Swede*; and the laſt of them, did openly lead his forces into *Alſace*. Moreover, as weak coutages do eaſily paſſe from anger to cruelty, the paſſion he had againſt *France*, and its Allies, tranſported him to many unworthy actions: For more cruel deeds, then thoſe of *Naſſau*, could not be conceived by the wit of Man, who ſometimes was with his Forces at *Sarguemine*, robbing and killing all ſuch French Merchants as he could meet with; he cauſed a murther to be executed upon Collouel *du Bois*, who had very worthily ſerved the *Swedes* in *Germany*; he committed violences in the Territory of *Strasbourg*, in the Dutchy of *Deux Ponts*, and the *Comte de Hanau*; he highly injured the *Comte d' Halberſtein*, taking him in his ſhirt out of his bed, and plundering his houſe without any other difference, but only becauſe he had alwaies been affectionate to *France*; he kept barbarous cut throats, at Saint *Hypolitus*, to rob and kill all ſuch Swedes and French, as paſſed by, but weakly attended. That he might the more abſolutely declare himſelf for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, againſt the Allies of *France*; did he not proclaim, in his Army, by ſound of Trumpet, that no one ſhould preſume to call it any other then the Emperours Army? And did he not cauſe it to march under that notion, unto the Fort of *Gerbaden*, to beat off the Swedes who had beſieged it? Did he not frequently entertain diſcourſes and correſpondencies with the chief of his Officers, with the *Comte de Salm*, *Montecuculi*, *Merode*, and the Marquis *de Celade*? Did he not receive the monies brought by the laſt of them, to pay his forces, with the ſame ſatisfaction and facility, as the Souldiers ſent by the *Valsfeign*, and the confiſcation ſent him by the Emperonr, of all his Neighbour Princes, and Allies of *France*'s lands, who were in the Aſſembly of *Hailbron*? Did he not likewiſe make a League with the Emperour; whereby *Haguenau*, and the other ten Cities of the Imperial Provoſt, together with *Scleſtat* and *Colmah*, were delivered to him for their moſt ſtrict intelligence, though at that very time he was obliged by Treaty with the King, not to ingage himſelf with any Prince, without his Majeſties knowledge or conſent? Nor ſatisfied with that alone, he cauſed the Marquis *de Ville*, to tell the Swedes contrary to all likelyhood and truth, that he might make them jealous of the King, how he acted nothing againſt them, but by his Order, and ſent ten thouſand men to force them from the ſiege of *Haguenau*. Indeed he was the Author of his own puniſhment; for they finding themſelves forc'd to leave their Trenches, march'd out, cut off a party of them, and took his Canon and Baggage. This Procedure did ſufficiently diſcover his Paſſion, but he ſtayed not there, rather as if he had delighted to break all Articles

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of former Treaties, he would not be perſwaded to do his homage for *Bar* and though after infinite delays, he did at laſt ſend Commiſſaries to eſtimate the Demeſnes of *Clermont*; the Propoſitions they made in valuing the buildings and fortifications contrary to the Treaty, which imported that he ſhould pay after the rate of fifty years purchaſe in hand; for the Revenue only, did ſufficiently teſtifie that they came not to perform the Treaty, but under that pretext to break it. Nor was he more exact in obſerving that Article, wherein he was obliged not to give any harbour or paſſage to his Majeſties Subject, who ſhould be out of *France*, contrary to his Majeſties pleaſure, nor to entertain any correſpondence with them, ſeeing he continually treated with thoſe who abuſed *Monſieur* the Duke of *Orleans* his credulity and favour. In general it may be ſaid, that hatred and choller had gotten ſo tranſcendent a poſſeſſion over his Soul, that they forced him to recede from all kind of honour, nay, and to neglect his own intereſt, and all to revenge himſelf againſt *France*, which he hop'd to effect by the Spaniards means, who when he had concluded the Treaty with the Hollander, then in agitation and probability, had ingag'd to aſſiſt *Monſieur* with all his Forces, to invade the Kingdom, to force his Majeſty to ſuch conditions of Peace, as himſelf pleaſed, to compel him to ratifie *Monſieurs* marriage with the Princeſſe *Marguerite*; and finally to ſurrender to him ſuch places as he had made himſelf Maſter of.

### *That Soveraigns are obliged to moderate their Paſſion, principally in point of War.*

IF Choler be blamable in private perſons, it is no leſſe dangerous for Soveraigns, then pernicious for their Eſtates; Prudence ought to be the guide of all their actions, without which they will be inevitably reduc'd to troubleſom inconveniences. Who knoweth not that Choler is incompatible with this vertue, and an enemy to all good counſels? A Prince may ſometimes make Choler as uſefull to him as Souldiers, and may be thereby drawn to a generous impetuoſity to ſurmount almoſt incredible difficulties; but there is a difference betwixt that gentle heat which increaſes courage, and that fire which inflames and ſubdues our reaſon; and therefore a Prince muſt be carefull that he let not his paſſion pervert his judgement, to precipitate his reaſon into baſe reſolutions. He who among Kings hath deſerved the name of wiſe, ſaith, It is better to moderate choler, then to take a City. Now although this Paſſion ſeemeth to carry the ſtamp of courage, becauſe it pretendeth to vanquiſh all, and to ſubſcribe to no man, yet really it is a weakneſſe, which whoever ſurmounteth, is incomparably a perſon of more ſpirit and courage, then he who ſuffereth himſelf to be tranſported by it. It hath ever been the opinion of the wiſeſt Politicians, that cholerick men are no waies fit for government. *Curopalates Commenus*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, did ſufficiently declare how incapable he thought them of it, when being on his death-bed, he ſent for the chief men of his Court, and told them, he thought his eldeſt ſon *Iſaac*, leſſe fit for the Empire, then his younger ſon *Manuel*, in regard of his inclination to anger, which oftentimes hindred him from being Maſter of his own reaſon. A Philoſopher was demanded why he would not meddle with publick affairs? Not, quoth he, that I fear them, but ſuſpect my ſelf; intimating, that his naturally cholerick humour was totally repugnant to the management of State-affairs. Amongſt thoſe misfortunes wherein choler may ingage a Prince, the provoking a Potent King to declare War againſt him, is one of the moſt dangerous; War is never to be undertaken in Paſſion, but to be entred into by the Gate of Prudence, elſe it turneth to the Adventurers ruine. Anger tranſporteth a Prince without giving him leave to compare his Forces with his enemies, without preparing means neceſſary for his defence, or obtaining an happy end, and without any thoughts of deſiſting, or of making any advantagious Peace; but having haſtily taken up his Sword, he is oftentimes ſeen to let it fall with repentance, though too late, becauſe ſuch heady

reſolutions can hardly reſtore him to his firſt ſtate. He that hath once ſet a fire on a Forreſt, is no more able to extinguiſh it, but it runs from Tree to Tree until it hath conſumed all, nay hardly will it be quench'd upon the borders, and that Prince who hath once kindled a War cannot extinguiſh it at his pleaſure, nor can he prevent the ruines, which by little and little attend it, or keep it back from doing all manner of outrages in his own country. Well may Paſſion ingage the weakeſt, but being once heated, it belongeth to the Victorious to renounce it. There are many Princes, ſaith *Polybius*, who egg'd on by an impetuous violence, either to revenge themſelves, or grow great, do attempt many things; but few there are who know rightly how to conduct their enterprizes to obtain an happy end, or have underſtanding or induſtry ſufficient to vanquiſh the reſiſtances of fortune.

## *The King ſendeth the* Sieur de Guron, *to treat with the Duke of* Lotrain.

THough *Monſieur de Lorrain's* behaviour, provok'd the King to fall upon him, both with his own and his Allies forces, yet ſuch was his Clemency which diverteth him from all proceedings of rigour, unleſſe at the laſt extremity, that he ſent to the *Swedes* after the battel of *Haguenau*, to intreat them not to proſecute any further their conqueſts in *Lorrain*, and gave them to underſtand that it was in his Majeſties protection, aſſuring them the ſaid Duke ſhould no more thwart them in their undertakings. The truth is, it was not the Duke of *Lorrain's* intereſt alone which induc'd his Majeſty ſo to do, for he was not ignorant that the neighbourhood of great Conquerours, is alwaies to be feared; yet his Majeſty had this deſign in preſerving him, he well hop'd this preſent aſſiſtance would work upon him ſo much the more, becauſe his danger was ſo eminent. The Swedes were commanded by perſons, who amidſt the proſperity of their Victories, thought no action glorious, unleſſe juſt and conformable to the Treaty made with the King, whereupon they made no difficulty to conſent unto it, but paſs'd their words not to attempt any thing for the future upon *Lorrain*. The Duke in reaſon ought to have been very ſenſible of this Protection, ſeeing in the opinion of all people, though of never ſo little judgement, it prevented his ruine; yet ſuch was his Paſſion, that he took no notice of it. The King ſorry for him, as for a man who would deſtroy himſelf, preſently ſent the *Sieur de Guron*, if poſſible, to open his eys, and to ſhew him how irrational proceedings were; but the Duke inſtead of reverencing his Majeſties goodneſſe, who could not reſolve to ruine him, according as he deſerv'd, hid himſelf, and for ſome time would not ſuffer the *Sieur de Guron* to ſee him. At *Nancy* where the *Sieur de Guron* went to ſee him, he was not to be found, nor could he hear any news of him, whereupon he was forc'd to return upon his way toward *Metz* until the Duke fearful, it ſeems, leſt his Majeſty ſhould reſent his diſ-reſpect of a perſon of quality coming in his behalf, ſent to tell him that he was at *Luneville*; he had not Artifice enough to ſatisfie the *Sieur de Guron* in appearance, but on the contrary, ſuffered himſelf ſo to be hurried away by Paſſion, which had gotten the maſtery of him, that he gave him cauſe to ſuſpect, he only waited a fair occaſion to declare himſelf againſt his Majeſty. The *Sieur de Guron* uſed his utmoſt indeavour to bring him to reaſon; in order to which he layed before him the little Juſtice of his Procedures, and the danger whereunto he expoſed himſelf, if he ſhould ſtill drive on thoſe diſcontents, which he had for ſome years laſt paſt given unto his Majeſty. However, when he found his indeavours ineffectual, according as he had receiv'd inſtructions, he appli'd himſelf to make a diſcovery of his deſigns, which in the Dukes anger he often did. The Duke paſſed many Complements unto him, and made general proteſtations how ready he was to render his Majeſty all reſpect; but when they came to the ground of affairs, his Paſſion would inſenſibly tranſport him to ſpeak ſuch things as did ſufficiently evidence his ill intentions, eſpecially after that light which thoſe of his Court gave, who were gain'd to give intelligence,

telligence, and the *Sieur de Gurin* himself learn'd from the particular converſation of divers perſons, during his ſtay in thoſe parts, he having dexterity enough to inform himſelf of any thing he deſired to know, or had charge to inquire. He was certainly inform'd that the new fortifications made by the Duke at *Nancy*, were to no other end but to ſecure himſelf with his own force, and to defend the injuſtice of his proceedings, under the ſhelter of thoſe bulwarks, inſtead of obtaining pardon from his Majeſties clemency, by a true change of his behaviour; that he had delivered his Commiſſions to raiſe ſtore of horſe and foot, whoſe Randezvouz was to be neer *St. Michael*, the firſt of *July* next following, and that thoſe Forces were appointed to invade *France*, together with thoſe which the Emperor and King of *Spain* had promiſed him. Theſe deſigns were of great importance, of all which he gave his Majeſty advice, as they came to his knowledge. The King unable to put up ſo inſolent behaviour, preſently reſolved by the wiſe Counſel of the Cardinal, to reduce this ſmall Prince by force of Arms to ſuch a paſſe, that he ſhould not be in a condition to attempt any thing, but what would make him be pitied.

*That it is important to ſend Embaſſadours to ſuch Princes againſt whom War is deſign'd, to diſcover their intentions: and how it may be done.*

IF it be neceſſary to be well inform'd of an enemies deſigns, of his humour, of his Forces, of the ſuccours he expecteth, and generally of all things which may ſtrengthen or weaken him, as all Politicians are of opinion; it is no leſſe uſefull to ſend perſons to him, who under pretence of ſome familiarity, may give advice thereof. *Tiberius*, one of the Roman Emperours, was ſo ſolicitous in this kind, as *Tacitus* obſerveth, that he was not ignorant of one of his enemies reſolutions; ſo that he oft-times raiſed great advantages from their ſtratagems. Amongſt all perſons fit for this imployment, none are ſo proper as Embaſſadours; becauſe having the liberty of ſpeaking to an enemy, to his Miniſters and Stateſmen, they may wel diſcover more then men of inferiour condition, who converſe with none but thoſe of their own quality. *Xenophon* reporteth that *Cyrus* ſent Embaſſadours of a certain King of the *Indies*, toward the King of the Aſſyrians, under pretence of making a Treaty of League with him, but in effect to diſcover his deſigns. Not but that I think it neceſſary to ſend with them perſons of inferiour qualities, who may be crafty and capable to find admiſſion every where, to get acquaintance, to inform themſelves of all paſſages, and make their diſcoveries thereof, for ſuch men give no ſmall light to affairs. Thus did *Scipio*, as *Plutarch* obſerveth in his life, that he might diſcover the State of the Carthaginians and *Siphax*.

Merchants uſed to Traffique in an Enemies Country, are not improper for this purpoſe, in regard of their general acquaintance, as *Xenophon*, one of the ableſt Stateſmen of his time, hath declared; but one thing eſpecially ought to be obſerved in employing ſuch perſons, that is, that they be men of underſtanding and fidelity; for if they be defective in the former, their advices will not only be frivolous, but hurtfull, becauſe they may ingage reſolutions contrary to what is fit: and if they be deficient in the latter, it is eaſie to conclude how dangerouſly inconvenient it may be. As to the means which all in general are to uſe for their information, none are better, then thoſe which ingage men to talk much, and diſcover themſelves: Anger hath been ever eſteemed a fit ſubject to work upon, becauſe it depriveth the uſe of reaſon, and giveth only the tongue liberty; and therefore it would not be amiſſe that an Embaſſadour ſhould dextrouſly provoke an Enemy-Prince, or his Miniſters, to drive them into this Paſſion; however this ought to be managed both with ingenuity and reſpect, leſt he ſo far exaſperate them, as to refuſe him any more audience. It will not a little conduce to this end, to viſit ſuch Grandees of State, whom they find talkative; it being uſual with great talkers, to let fall whatever is in their thoughts, juſt as Torrents hurry away all that oppoſe

them. Ladies are very proper to discover secrets, especially where a man may partake of their favours. For this reason did *Augustus* usually make love to his Enemies Wives; and indeed, it is impossible they should keep any thing secret from their Gallants: Nor ought they to be defective in feasting those who know the Country, because Wine is as much an enemy to a secret as love; but especially money makes the Mare go. That is it which discovereth all, and was one of the means used by that great Captain *Gonsalvus*, to inform himself of all his Masters enemies affairs, during his abode in *Naples*, as was to be seen in his account after the War, where to this end he had spent 600494 crowns.

*The King sendeth the* Sieur de la Nauve, *to seiz upon* Bar, *for defect of Homage, and to re-unite to the Crown all his lost Royalties.*

THe King intending to be reveng'd on *Monsieur de Lorrain*, thought good to begin it by seizing upon *Bar*, as the best remedy, in hopes that by letting him see his Majesties resolution, no longer to indure the effects of his hatred; he would, in fine, return to his duty without ingaging himself in greater extremities. Upon this design he caused him to be summoned to the Parliament of *Paris*, to try whether the said Dutchy were not laps'd to the Crown for default of Homage, upon whose non-appearance the Parliament decreed by the Judgement of the 30. of *July*, that a Commission should be issued out to the Attorney General to seiz upon it, and deliver it into his Majesties hands, together with its dependances, untill the said Duke should do his Homage. In prosecution of this Decree, the Parliament gave a Commission to the *Sieur de la Nauve*, one of their most ancient Counsellors, whose ability in learning, experience in affairs, and integrity in the Administration of Justice, together with his birth and manners, were thought capable enough to cause his Majesties name to be honoured in *Bar*, and to re-establish his Authority in that lustre, of which *Monsieur de Lorrain*'s Ambition had deprived him. His Majesty approved of their choice; and the *Sieur de la Nauve*, going to take his leave of his Majesty, and receive the honour of his commands; he gave them another Commission, under the Great Seal, not only to execute the Parliaments Decree, but also to re-unite unto the Crown, the Royal Prerogatives of *Bar*, the grant of which had heretofore been made by *Charles* the Ninth, and *Henry* the Third, to the then Duke of *Lorrain*, without mature consideration of the consequence of such alienation. These things thus ended, the *Sieur de la Nauve*, bent all his thoughts towards *Bar*, together with such Officers, as the Parliament doth usually appoint to attend upon their Commissaries on such occasions. The Officers of the City receiv'd him with all honour, but not long after his arrival, the Baron *de Cononges*, Bayliff and Governour of *Bar*, came to meet him on the behalf of the Duke of *Lorrain*, to intreat him to deliver him a Copy of his Commission, assuring him in the interim, that the Duke had given leave to all the inhabitants and Officers of the City, to obey such commands as he had brought from his Majesty, it being the order of Soveraignty, that the weaker should obey the stronger. This discourse did not at all surprise him, he knowing, that such an affair could not be ended without some contest; and accordingly, hee answered the Baron *de Cononges* without any alteration, that his Commission being to be executed in publick, and himself being to be there in the head of his Officers, as Bayliff of *Bar*, to understand the King and Parliaments pleasure, it would be unnecessary to give him a copy thereof, and that it appertained not to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to give leave to the Officers and Inhabitants of *Bar* to obey his Majesties commands, seeing they having no other Soveraign but his Majesty, no one could have the power to exempt them from that duty which they owed him. The *Sieur de Cononges*, upon this answer, withdrew; and the next morning, the *Sieur de la Nauve* going to the Palace where the Officers of Justice were assembled, took his place, and caused his Commission to be read unto them, which impowered him to seiz the Dutchy

of

of *Bar* for his Majesty, for default of Homage, and to re-unite unto the Crown the rights of Royalty and Soveraignty, which had heretofore been alienated, and which a subject guilty of Felony could not justly injoy; that to this end, he was inabled to alter the Titles of Justice, to ordain that all succeeding Acts should passe in his Majesties name, that they should be sealed with his Arms; that all the inhabitants of *Bar* should have recourse to his Majesty, for Letters of Justice and Favour of Pardon and Grace; that the money should be hereafter stamp'd with the Arms of *France*; and that in general, the same Orders should be established among them, as were observed in the other Provinces of *France*. Then he told them, he thought it unnecessary to exhort them to be obedient unto his Majesty, seeing they were his Subjects born, and that it could not but be glorious for them, to be under a Prince who had taken Justice for the rule of his actions; who for his Clemency, is beloved by his people; and who for his Valour, is honoured of all the World; that the seizure of *Bar* ought to seem the lesse strange unto them, in regard the Duke of *Lorrain* his Majesties Subject and Vassal, in relation to this Dutchy, which belonged in Fee to the Crown, had failed to do his Fealty and Homage, though by the customes of *France*, none but his Majesty could re-install him in it; that his Majesty had for ten years past, expected his submission, though he might lawfully have seiz'd it upon the death of the late Duke; and that this Law of Fealty, should be the more vigorously executed, as to the Dukes of *Lorrain*, in regard they had often failed to do their duties unto his Majesty. As to that which concerned the re-uniting of the Regal Rights to the Crown of *France*; he added, that those Rights being, as it were, a Flower, extracted from that Crown, by the importunities of the Dukes of *Lorrain*, it was the more equitable to re-unite them, and deprive the Duke of them, because he hath so far abused them, that he wanted little of a total usurpation, without considering how our Kings have reserved the last appeal, and Homage, as so many marks of Soveraign Authority, not to be alienated, that there was little reason to suffer them longer in his hands, who had for so many years together delayed and refused to do homage for them; and indeavoured to perswade the World, that those perform'd by his Predecessors, were but so many visits and complements; especially considering, that bounty hath its limits, as well as Justice; and that it is taken for a dishonourable weaknesse in Kings, when it is excessive, or when it perswadeth them to put up abuses offered unto them. In fine, he ordered that the Dutchy of *Bar* should be seized and delivered into his Majesties hands, and that the Royal Prerogatives should be re-united to the Crown of *France*, by the Messengers of the Parliament, who accompanied him to be injoyed by his Majesty, untill he had receiv'd satisfaction in the causes of the seizure. This was the substance of his discourse at the Palace. In the following days, he caused his commission to be read in the Bayliffs court, in the chamber of Accompts, and the Town-House. The Messengers of the Parliament executed the Decree, all the Officers took the Oath of Allegiance unto his Majesty. He did several acts of Justice, required the Clergy to make publick Prayers for his Majesty and the Royal Family, inhibited all Gentlemen and inhabitants of *Bar*, to bear Arms for the Duke of *Lorrain*, regulated some disorders committed by the Provosts of Mareschals, in the exercise of their Office; and in general, setled every thing which he thought conducing to his Majesties service.

### *That Kings never ought to alienate their Demesnes, especially their rights of Soveraignty.*

THough Liberality be so becomming Kings, that it is no lesse beseeming them to give, then to command, yet ought they never to extend their bounties so far, as to alienate their Demesnes. The Revenues of the crown, do chiefly contain two things, the rights of Soveraignty, and the lands which they have reserved to themselves, or acquired by any other way whatever. The rights

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of Soveraignty, conſiſt in the power of executing Juſtice, coyning of money, granting of Pardons, making Peace and War, eſtabliſhing Laws, impoſing Taxes, creating Magiſtrates, and ſending Embaſſadours. As for Demeſne Lands, as it is impoſſible to ſupport the charges of State, without a certain income, Kings have alwaies reſerved ſome of this ſort, beſide their Soveraignty, to ſerve their occaſions. This Demeſne, though of leſſe honour, hath ever been eſteemed ſo ſacred, that Kings at their Coronations have ſworn to preſerve and defend them to the utmoſt of their powers. Indeed it is impoſſible, as *Tacitus* obſerveth, to keep a people in quiet without Arms, Arms without Money, and Money without Revenue or Tribute. Hence it was, that *Nero* having deliberated how to aboliſh all the Tolls of the Kingdom, the Senate though they approved of his Magnificence, yet could not give their aſſents unto that; becauſe the ruine of the Empire would be inevitable, when the Nerves of it ſhould be ſo deſtroyed. If the alienation of ordinary Lands and Tributes, be ſo prejudicial to States, thoſe of Soveraign rights are incomparably more conſiderable and dangerous. Theſe latter Rights are like the Rays of the Sun, inſeparable from the Royal Family, and like the moſt noble parts of the Kingdom, without which it cannot be preſerved in that ſtrength which becomes it. That of the Law, which inhibiteth the alienation of royal Prerogatives, ought to be underſtood more in relation of thoſe, then of Lands; and thereupon hath ordained, that if any thing be alienated or diſmembred, it ſhall notwithſtanding be re-united to the Crown, as ſo many diſtracted members to their body, to reſtore it to its former ſtrength. This hath been alwaies ſo exactly obſerved in this Kingdom, that in the very Penſions of the Sons of *France*, the Demeſnes of the Crown are never alienated, but with expreſſe reſervation of reverting to the Crowns, when the Males fail, and that without any right of Soveraignty; ſo that to grant ſuch royal Prerogatives to a Forraigner, were to treat them more favourably, then the Princes of the royal family; and withall, to indanger a loſs of their Soveraignty. Ambition hath no bounds, and a Prince who hath obtained the priviledge of ſome Soveraignties, may be eaſily wrought upon, at leaſt his Succeſſors, to pretend to them, without any depending upon others; ſo that who ſo is peccant in this exceſſe of Liberality, what doth he but raiſe a power againſt his own, and ſow the ſeeds of diviſion in his Kingdom. Beſides, States be not ſo much for Kings, as Kings for their States, they are no leſſe oblig'd to preſerve them in all their dependances, then the State is obliged to preſerve it ſelf in the obedience they ow them; from whence it is, that to alienate ſuch rights, or any notable part of their Demeſne, is one of the cauſes of their depoſing, in thoſe Kingdomes where it is permitted by the Fundamental Laws, as is obſerved by all thoſe who have written on that Subject; and indeed, he ſeemeth to be unworthy of a Crown, who neglecteth to preſerve it in its intire luſtre.

## *How the Cardinal* de Lorrain *came to meet the King at* Chaſteauthierry, *where his Majeſty ſtayed to demand* Nancy *in Depoſite.*

IT had been not only commendable but advantagious to *Monſieur de Lorrain*, to have been more concern'd at the ſeizure at *Bar*, and to have waited upon his Majeſty to do him homage, and ſatisfie the juſt diſcontents conceived againſt him by his ſubmiſſions; but fortune contriving to deſtroy him, had caſt her Mantle before his eyes, ſo that he continued immoveable in his firſt deſigns. Whereupon his Majeſty, about *Auguſt*, found himſelf obliged to go to *Chaſteauthierry*, from thence to meet the Army, which he had recall'd from the Country of *Treves*, and to carry them before *Nancy*, the better to hinder the Duke of *Lorrain's* Levies; and in caſe he perſiſted in his late Procedures, to reduce him to ſuch a paſſe, that he might be no more in a condition of giving any jealouſie to *France*, or interrupting the forces of its Allies. Whiles his Majeſty was at *Chaſteauthierry*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* came to meet him, and after ſome complements and excuſes

cuſes, beſeeched his leave to make ſome Propoſitions unto him. He told him that he did much condemn his brothers actions, and that he had never had any hand in them; both in regard of the reſpect he owed his Majeſty; as alſo becauſe he foreſaw the iſſue could not but be diſadvantagious; that if his Majeſty ſhould continue in the reſolution to drive this affair to the utmoſt, he concluded his Brothers ruine inevitable, and that for his own particular fortune, he ſhould ſeek no other refuge but that of his royal bounty, beſeech'd him to receive him into his protection, and to permit him to retire into *France*. His Majeſty received him very favourably, and told him, that he ſhould alwaies know how to diſtinguiſh betwixt his and his Brothers actions; that he was ſufficiently inform'd, that he had no hand in his Brothers deport; and that he ſhould willingly afford him all the proofs of as hearty a good will, as the intereſt of his affairs would permit; that he aſſured him of his protection; and that amidſt his Brothers diſgrace, he ſhould be ſure to find all the advantage which could be juſtly deſired from his protection. The Cardinal *de Lorrain*, would have made hereupon certain Propoſals to his Majeſty for the accommodation of affairs, which his Majeſty remitted to *Monſieur* the Cardinal. The ſame day the Cardinal *de Lorrain*, went to viſit *Monſieur le* Cardinal, aſſured him of *Monſieurs* marriage, propoſed to him to break it, to put his ſiſter, the Princeſſe *Marguerite* into his Majeſties hands, and to cauſe the homage of the Dutchy of *Bar*, to be payed unto his Majeſty in the Dutcheſſe of *Lorrain's* name. The Cardinal anſwered him, that the King could not give ear to any propoſition, ſeeing the breach of that match was not in the power of *Monſieur de Lorrain*; that beſides his ſo little fidelity in obſerving the three Treaties lately made with him; his Majeſty had particular information of his evil conduct, and could no longer truſt him without ſome more potent means to oblige him to keep his word; that his faltrings, had three ſeveral times conſtrained his Majeſty to raiſe great Armies, to the great and trouble expence of his Subjects, which made his Majeſty reſolve to put a final end to the War, that there might be no more trouble in it; that the Duke his Brother might not have the boldneſſe to intermeddle in any factions of his State, as he had formerly done, even to the ingaging of *Monſieur* in a match, which did equally offend the dignity of the Crown and Perſon of his Majeſty, being managed without his conſent, againſt the Laws of the Kingdom, and to the countenancing of his invading *France*; and that the only means which could induce his Majeſty to truſt the Duke his Brother, was to Depoſit *Nancy* in his hands, that this was the beſt courſe he could take, ſeeing it would preſerve his Country; and that *Nancy* it ſelf, ſhould be aſſuredly reſtored unto him, if he carried himſelf for the future, as did become him; that in caſe he intended fairly, he need not fear any thing; but if on the contrary, he was reſolv'd to perſiſt in attempts againſt his Majeſty, it would be to no purpoſe to treat; that his Majeſty was poſitively reſolved, to admit of no other conditions; and that *Monſieur de Lorrain* ought to make the leſſe difficulty to conſent thereunto, in regard he was deſpoiled of all his Eſtates, excepting *Nancy* it ſelf, the loſſe of which would be unavoidable, unleſſe he gave his Majeſty ſatisfaction; that this place indeed was ſtrong, but that the Duke being unable to keep the field, and without Revenue, his Majeſty would the more eaſily force him to ſurrender it, in regard he might manage the War againſt him at his own charges; that to ground his hopes upon the alteration of times, was a counſel very pernicious, ſeeing his Majeſty was young, abſolute in his Kingdom; and that his cauſe being juſt there was reaſon to hope that God would continue to proſper his Armies with the like happy ſucceſſe, as he had hitherto done. Hereupon the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, repreſented to him that this condition was ſo hard, that he could not adviſe his brother to accept of it; but at the laſt extremity, ſeeing the chance of War could not reduce him to a worſe paſs then to ſee his Capital City taken from him, and forced to depend upon anothers Will; That he doubted not of his Majeſties intention to perform the truſt of a Depoſit; but that the ſtate of affairs being ſubject to change, his enemies might by

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their ill Offices make his Majeſty believe that he had broken the Treaty; and conſequently, give him occaſion to detain *Nancy*; that he beſeeched the Cardinal to conſider what a ſhame it would be for his brother to deliver up one of the beſt places in the World, in the ſight of all *Europe*, without reſiſtance, and not being forced thereunto; that he confeſs'd his Majeſties Power was great, and that it would be difficult for him to withſtand it; and that finding himſelf between two great Princes, he ought to be the more cautious of his deportment, in regard if he ſhould ſatisfie the King by delivering *Nancy*, he ſhould contract the Emperour's diſpleaſure, from whom he holdeth his Dutchy, which doubtleſſe he would declare to be forfeited by Proclamation of the Empire, with a reſolution to ſeiz upon it as ſoon as ever the affairs of *Germany* would permit him; That indeed he might reaſonably expect his Majeſties protection, but that then it might ſo fall out that his Majeſty might be ſo far ingaged in other Wars, as not to be in a condition of aſſiſting him, by which means his ruine would then be inevitable; and moreover, that he thought it impoſſible to perſwade his brother to Depoſit *Nancy*, unleſſe at the laſt extremity of his affairs. Whereunto the Cardinal anſwered, that he found it not ſtrange that he ſhould alledge his holding of the Empire, and the power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but beſides that, the King did not conſider ſuch pretenſions, he thought that if the Duke of *Lorrain* did well weigh it, he would find no great reaſon to build upon it, becauſe he well knew that thoſe whoſe intereſts he alledged, being the chief Authors of his evil conduct, had not been very ſolicitous to aſſiſt him: That he confeſs'd indeed *Monſieur de Lorrain* was under the Protection of two Crowns; but that the Laws of the very protection, obliged him to deſerve it from the King, by his reſpects and good deportment; and to conclude, by the deſires which his Predeceſſors had teſtified, that his preſervation intirely depended thereupon: That inſtead thereof he had provok'd his Majeſty, broken his faith by infringing of Treaties, taken part with *Spain*, run into all acts of Hoſtility, and to compleat all the reſt of his breaches of promiſe which might offend his Majeſty, had raviſh'd a ſon of *France*, and ingag'd *Monſieur* to marry his ſiſter, whereupon his Majeſty had but too much reaſon to invade his Countries; and that if he did more fear the power of the Emperour, then that of *France*, then at his Gates, he might chuſe what party he pleaſed to defend himſelf by force; but that in caſe he would prudently avoid his ruine, which was inevitable, he could not take a better courſe, then by depoſiting of *Nancy*, which would ſecure his States without any loſs to him.

As for matter of his holding of the Empire, the King was far enough from admitting it, ſeeing he himſelf claimeth the Soveraignty of *Lorrain*, and that the Homage was due unto him; that the Empire had heretofore uſurp'd it from this Crown, but that length of poſſeſſion could not prejudice a Soveraigns right, becauſe great Princes, who acknowledge no other Tribunal upon earth, where they may claim their own, are alwaies permitted to demand their rights from Uſurpers, and to enter them by force; ſo that no time can cauſe a preſcription againſt them; that the affairs of *France* had not heretofore been in a condition to diſpute theſe pretences; but that now God having opened his Majeſty a way to eſtabliſh his Monarchy, in its primitive greatneſſe, Poſterity would have a juſt cauſe to reproach him with negligence, if he ſhould not imploy his forces in the recovery of the moſt ancient rights of his Crown: that *Monſieur de Lorrain* ought to have had thoſe fears alledged by him in his mind, at ſuch time as he was running on to provoke his Majeſty againſt him, but that now having done the injury, his Majeſty could not diſſemble his reſentment: wherefore he was abſolutely reſolved to be reveng'd, unleſs he receiv'd ſuch ſatisfaction that all *Europe* might know to be reaſonable: that his Predeceſſors had ever well-eſteem'd the friendſhip of *France*, and that he himſelf might have reſted ſecure in this protection, becauſe his Majeſty well knew how to defend him againſt any man: But in fine, that the King could not admit of any other condition then the Depoſite of *Nancy*, ſeeing though he already had the

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beſt places of *Lorrain* in his hands, they could not oblige the Duke to keep his promiſe, and that his Majeſty had reaſon to ſuſpect he would not be much more ſolicitous for keeping it in future, after ſo many changes of his reſolution: that his Majeſty chiefly deſired this aſſurance, that he might no more hazard the receiving a new injury, or be neceſſitated (to his great expence) to raiſe a new Army: a thing, peradventure, which might then fall out when the State of his affairs would hardly permit him to attend it, whereas the preſent conjuncture was ſuch, that his Majeſty could not wiſh it more favourable, there being no likelyhood of any thing to divert him; that the Duke of *Lorrain* might be thereby the more readily induc'd to this reſolution; his Majeſty deſired to inform him of the preſent ſtate of his affairs; that that of *France* was ſuch, that it was not only at Peace, but without fear of civil War, all ill Subjects conſpiring to be obedient, the Treaſure being full of money to ſuſtain the charge; and on the other ſide, the Treaty of the Low Countries being broken, without the leaſt hopes of being brought on again, and the Spaniards being in ſo much want of aſſiſtance from their Allies; that the Duke of *Lorrain* could not pretend to expect any from them. As to *Germany*, that the Emperours forces had enough to do, to defend themſelves from the proſperous ſucceſſe of the *Swede*, who was not likely to be ſtopp'd. As to matter of *Italy*, that the Cardinal *Infanta*'s forces, were not yet ready to march, and that admitting they were, yet that they might meet with great obſtructions in the *Valtoline*, the Swedes being advanced thither to hinder their march; and that thus *Nancy* might be beſieg'd, and taken without hopes of any aſſiſtance to releeve it, unleſſe *Monſieur de Lorrain*, had rather Depoſite it in his Majeſties hands. The Cardinal *de Lorrain* found it an hard task to anſwer theſe reaſons, and being retired, all the courſe he took was to beſeech his Majeſty, to give him time to confer with the Duke his brother; and in the mean time, not to make any further progreſſe. The King not only refus'd it, but aſſur'd that he would march before *Nancy*, with the greateſt ſpeed that might be, reſolv'd never to depart, until he had reduc'd it to its obedience.

### *That there ought to be other aſſurances taken then bare words from an incens'd Prince, who hath oftentimes broke his word.*

IT is neceſſary to take other kind of ſecurity then bare words, from a Prince who hath often failed of his word, & eſpecially, who is known to be incens'd, & paſſionately deſirous of revenging the puniſhments he hath receiv'd. His apparent ſubmiſſions in matters of accommodation, are effects rather of his weakneſs then good wil; and as Paſſion rather treadeth under foot the Laws of honor and juſtice, it will afterwards make no difficulty to break its promiſes, if it find any overture to evade them, and re-aſſume its loſt advantage. *Aſdrubal* may ſerve for an example, who finding himſelf ſo block'd up in *Spain*, by *Claudius Nero*, that he muſt unavoidably die with famine in his Trenches, or fall under his Arms in a diſadvantagious battel, ſent him very fair Propoſals of Peace, and in the interim, found away to eſcape his hand. *Nero* indeed angry for being thus ſurprized, for which he had been blam'd at *Rome*, made him afterwards ſuffer in the Marquiſate of *Ancona* for his Treachery; but beſides, that this was not without indangering his whole Army, yet had it been a ſhame to ſuffer himſelf to be deluded by his enemy, under ſhew of accommodation. Pope *Julius* the Second, that he might amuſe *Lewis* the Twelfth, ſent his Nuncio's to Treat a Peace, and conclude it, that he might gain time to make a League offenſive with the Venetians and King of *Aragon* againſt him; but let us look back again into the examples of Antiquity. *Mark Anthony*, held *Fraates* beſieged in *Priaſpe* with full aſſurance of taking it in few days. *Fraates* ſent his Embaſſadours to him, that it was thought a Peace might eaſily have been con-

cluded between them. *Mark Anthony* gave them preſent Audience, and withall, ſent other Embaſſadours to *Fraates* to conclude it; but *Fraates* continuing his Treachery, made great complaints unto them of *Mark Anthony*; and in concluſion, added, that as often as he ſhould withdraw his Army, from the place wherein he was incamp'd, he would be content to make a Peace with him. *Mark Anthony* hereupon preſently withdrew his Forces, without breaking down his Trenches, or carrying away his Engines of War, he had not march'd far from his Camp, before the *Medes* ſallied out of *Priaſpe*, maſtered it, and deſtroyed all his Engines, which he had inconſiderately left there, though peradventure not without hopes that he might be there ſoon enough to defend them, in caſe the *Medes* uſed any Treachery. Beſides, part of *Mark Anthony's* Forces were cut off when he led them back again to the Camp, ſo that he was forc'd to relinquiſh that deſign with ſhame and loſſe, and by his example, taught all Princes not to be over-credulous of an Enemies promiſes.

## *How the Cardinal of* Lorrain *came to meet his Majeſty at* St. Dezier, *and made divers Propoſitions which* Monſieur *the Cardinal refuſed.*

THe Cardinal *de Lorrain*, took his leave of the King upon the 20. of *Auguſt*, to meet his brother, and the ſame day, his Majeſty, who ſeldom loſeth any time in ſuch enterprizes, advanc'd towards *Nancy*; but being neer St. *Dezier*, the Cardinal returned to him, and offered in the Duke of *Lorrain's* name, to deliver the Princeſſe *Marguerite* his Siſter into his hands, in order to the diſſolution of that marriage, and to ſurrender *La Mothe* unto him, one of the ſtrongeſt places of his State. The King carried him to *St. Dezier*, and had two hours conference with him, at which *Monſieur le Cardinal Duc*, the *Sieur de Braſſac Bullion*, and *Bouthilier* were preſent to examine the Propoſitions; but they were thought improper, becauſe they did not deprive the Duke of *Lorrain* of the power to re-aſſume his former deſigns; ſo that his Majeſty return'd him no other anſwer, but this, that he was reſolv'd to have *Nancy*, as a place without which he had no aſſurance for the performance of any Treaty; however, his Majeſty knowing that the Cardinals negotiations were very frank and affectionate to procure an accommodation; he teſtified unto him, that his interpoſition was not only acceptable, but that he had ever a regard to his particular intereſt, notwithſtanding the injuries he had receiv'd from his Brother; and withall, offered him all ſorts of honour and imployments ſuitable to his quality, if he thought good to reſide in *France*. After this he returned to the Duke his brother, to acquaint him with the Kings reſolution; and having told him what extraordinary teſtimonies of favour and good will he had receiv'd from his Majeſty; the Duke at laſt reſolved to ſurrender his Eſtates into the Kings hands, hoping by this means to evade the effects of his Majeſties juſt diſpleaſure, yet took aſſurance from the Cardinal his brother, to reſtore them unto him. He diſcourſed of it with the Cardinal, who having aſſured him, that he would therein do whatever could be deſired; he beſeeched him to return to the King, to tell him, that ſeeing he was ſo unfortunate, that his Majeſty could not beleeve his promiſes, he had reſolv'd to put his eſtates, into his Brother the Cardinals hands; and that he hop'd his Majeſty conſidering his deportment, would the more readily conſent thereunto, becauſe then there was no cauſe of fear, and that he could not receive a greater ſatisfaction from him, then to ſee him reduc'd to the quality of a private perſon, by deveſting himſelf from that of a Soveraign. The Cardinal *de Lorrain*, return'd to his Majeſty at *Pont au Monſſon*, upon the 28. of the ſame moneth, and propoſed this to him, renewing his promiſe of delivering the Princeſſe *Marguerite* into his hands, and ſo to indeavour the diſſolution of that marriage. The King deſir'd him to treat with *Monſieur* the Cardinal, relying

relying upon this grand Minister, whom he knew to employ most of his time in examination of what might be granted, and in prevention of such inconveniences as might probably arise from their Propositions. The Cardinal *de Lorrain* went to meet him, and made the same Proposition unto him, and withall told him, that to give him the greater assurance of his fidelity, and of his positive intention to keep his word; he beseeched him to give him Madam *de Combalet* his Neece in marriage, and to procure the Kings consent unto it, professing that he desired it with a great deal of affection, as a most certain gage of his good will, and a powerfull means to preserve him in his Majesties favour, and protested totally to imbrace his counsels, and to have no other will then his, whereby he might absolutely root out all subject of division between *France* and *Lorrain*. *Monsieur* the Cardinal replied unto him, that as for matter of the surrender of the States of *Lorrain*, he beleeved the King would not divert his brother from it, seeing his particular actions gave sufficient ground to beleeve his behaviour toward *France*, would be such as would give his Majesty all kind of satisfaction; but that this was not to cure the disease, because *M. de Lorrain*, might repent of his surrender, and return into his states, either by open force, or under-hand dealing, and that then the whole businesse were to be begun again; wherefore it were necessary to find out another expedient, and that the Depositе of *Nancy*, was the only secure way which could be taken. This was sufficient to let him know, that it was mistrusted, lest there were some colluſion between them; but that he might not exasperate him, and preserve him affectionate to the accommodation, whereby some advantage might be made upon the conclusion, he would not harp any more upon that string. As to his demand of Madam *de Combalet*, he told him, that he took it for a very great honour, and did not reject it, but that he thought it improper to treat of it at that time, to avoid the report of having ingag'd his Majesty to come into *Lorrain* with a great Army for his private ends, and intreated him not to insert this affair with the publick, though for his part he was no waies averse from it. These words of agreement, were only an effect of his Prudence, which advised him not to estrange this Cardinals good will, but to preserve it to be made use of as occasion should require, for discoursing to the chief Ministers concerning this Proposition; he told them, that neither the present, nor the future age, should have cause to believe, that he had mingled his own interests in this affair, where his only end was the Kings service, and the good of the State; that heretofore the Cardinal *de Amboise*, had made Lewis the Twelfth undertake a War in *Italy*, only upon an ambitious design of being Pope; but that for his part, he should alwaies shun the blame of managing the affairs of State by his own particular Interest, and as to that which concern'd the Princesse *Marguerite*, he assured him that the King would willingly accept thereof; and that the executing of it would give a great stroke to a conclusion, seeing she might much dispose his Majesty to relinquish somewhat of his resolution, because he could not but receive her as a pledge of *Monsieur de Lorrain's* good inclination to be at peace with his Majesty; but he told him, that his Majesty beleeved it was not in their power, for that he was inform'd of what had past. The Cardinal *de Lorrain* made himself ignorant, and assured the Cardinal she was in a place where they could dispose of her; but that only served to make the Cardinal distrust his intentions, who knoweth, that in matters of Treaty, an enemies actions are more to be regarded then his words. After this, they brake up their conference, departed each from other, and the next morning the Cardinal *de Lorrain* took his leave of the King.

*That a wiſe Miniſter ought to foreſee the inconveniences of all Propoſitions made to him in Treaties.*

IT is the property of a wiſe Miniſter, to foreſee the inconveniences of ſuch Propoſitions as are made in Treaties to ſurprize him, and to be carefull that an enemy who hath not been able to get any advantage by War, ſhould not gain it by an accommodation. It is to this end that many have thought Prudence to be more neceſſary for him then valour, becauſe the occaſions of fighting are but ſeldom in War, whereas Propoſitions of Peace are daily made, which if he ſhould admit of to his Maſters detriment, would be no leſſe prejudicial to him then a defeat. To ſpeak truth, this vertue is as needfull for him, as Art for a Work-man, and as the ignorant Workman doth only ſpoil that ſubſtance, which he pretendeth to form; ſo the imprudent Miniſter ruineth the affairs of a State, if he accept of injurious conditions for want of fore-ſeeing the conſequences. Prudence it is which cauſeth him to know the meahs by which he may attain his propoſed end, preventeth his being deceived, ſerveth to regulate his counſels, guideth his actions, maketh him ſpeak in agreeable terms, conducteth all his motions, teacheth him what to do in all Occurrences, maketh him clear ſighted amidſt the Artifices of his enemies, and giveth him addreſſe to obtain whatever he deſires. The Philoſopher ſaith, it is a virtue proper to him that governeth, not that it is unneceſſary for private perſons, but becauſe it is ſo highly neceſſary for Kings and Miniſters, that without it they are no more able to govern a State, than a Pilot to guide his Veſſel without Steer and Rudder. He who is Maſter of it, doth eaſily maſter all others in matters of negotiation; and if his birth hath not made him a Soveraign, yet doth it afford him the means to work Soveraigns to what he pleaſeth; ſo ſaith the wiſe man in his Proverbs, *The pleaſure of a King dependeth upon the Prudence of his ſervant.* To make a right uſe of this vertue, he ought adviſedly to conſider the parts which are propoſed to him, and to bring them to the Touch-ſtone of thoſe maximes which he hath laid down for the ground of the Treaty. To this end, the wiſe Miniſter often retires in private, as knowing, that then he hath full liberty to diſcuſſe the Propoſitions made unto him, and is at leiſure to conſider them, a thing, ſaith *Periander*, able to overcome all things. He is not ignorant, that who ſo taketh reſolutions without due conſideration, is like thoſe liquoriſh men, who charging their ſtomacks over haſtily, do repent it as ſoon as they riſe from the Table; wherefore he taketh great care to weigh the Propoſitions made to him, he applieth the *Hypotheſis* to the *Theſis*, particular affairs, to general maximes; he recollecteth the Experience of things paſt, proportioneth the means to the end, obſerveth if by granting any thing, it may not ſerve the enemy to obtain his pretences, examineth what aſſurance he ſhall find of performance, and generally all other circumſtances: And laſtly, being thus ſecure from all ſurprizes, he is not only in a condition of being not cheated, but in a way of obtaining whatever he deſireth.

*The King beſiegeth* Nancy, *and preſſeth hard upon the Duke of* Lorrain.

DUring the Cardinal *de Lorrains* journying too and fro, and the divers Propoſitions of Peace by him made, his Majeſties Army was not idle. The King gave Order to his Commanders, that they ſhould ſeize upon all principal places, he ſummoned in perſon the Towns of *St. Michael*, and *Ponto au Mouſſon*, which preſently ſurrendred: *Eſpinal* ſurrendred to the Marſhal *de la Force*; *Charmes* to the *Comte de la Suze*, and *Luneville* to the Marqueſſe *de Sourdis*; beſides theſe, *Halon*

*du*

*du Chaſtel*, and the Caſtles *de Conde*, *la Chauſſe*, *Trugnon*, *Malatour*, *Parroy* and *Boncourville*, received the Garriſons ſent to them; ſo that his Majeſty had no ſooner entred into the Country, but he became Maſter of the Field; but that which was moſt of all, was, his Majeſty having cauſed his Army to come to him from the Country of *Treves*, under the command of the Marqueſſe *de St. Chaumond*, and ordered divers other Troops to draw thither, which ſo inveſted the City of *Nancy*, that nothing could get in or out without a good paſſe-port. The Regiment *de Florinville*, deſigning to get in by night, was led by *M. de Lorraine* Huntſmen through Woods, and by unknown waies; yet they could not carry it ſo ſecretly, but ſome French diſcovered them, which ſtrook them into ſuch fear, that flying back again through the ſame Woods, they totally routed themſelves. On the other ſide, the *Comte de la Souze*, kept the Field with ſeven Cornets of horſe, and ſome foot, ſo that nothing durſt appear againſt him: and to re-inforce the Dukes fear, at the advantages which the Kings army took, his Majeſty commanded the Marſhal *de la Force* to purſue him, with 6000 foot, 1500 horſe, and ſix pieces of Canon, and to inveſt him in any place where he ſhould retreat; and withall, to treat thoſe as enemies who ſhould receive him, if they refuſed to deliver him, as an enemy of *France*; ſo that he was conſtrained to retire about *Eſpinal*, where he quartered with ſuch Forces as he could get together, and ſo drew a little nearer to the *Franche-Comte*, where they who had perſwaded him to take the Field, gave him incouragement to hope for certain Fortes, which never came to him. To be ſhort, that nothing might be omitted which might ſhake him, whom neceſſity alone was able to reduce to reaſon; his Majeſty comming before *Nancy*, and quartering at *Neufville*, went in perſon to view the moſt advantagious Poſts for his Army. The Cardinal likewiſe rid the round within Musquet ſhot of the City, the better to judge of the order of the Siege, and then his Majeſty perſonally drew out the circumvalation, which was four Leagues about the Forts and Redoubts, and ſet the Pioneers to work. He digg'd firſt himſelf, and cauſed the work to be followed with ſuch care and diligence, that in five days time the Camp was finiſhed, and his forces under ſhelter. At the ſame time, they began a Bank thwart the River *Meurthe*, which ſtopping the Current, would not only have drowned the neighbouring country, but in a little time have forced it into the City, and compelled the inhabitants to quit it; inſomuch, that the Duke ſeeing the unhappy condition of his affairs, knew not where to hide his head. Every one, in the interim, admired the happy ſucceſſes of thoſe counſels which the Cardinal gave his Majeſty, with ſo much the more aſtoniſhment, in regard they admired upon what ground his Majeſty ſhould reſolve to beſiege one of the ſtrongeſt places of *Europe*, in a ſeaſon ſomewhat forward, without any likelihood of taking it before Winter.

### *That an Enemy in diſorder, ought to be purſued, eſpecially after he hath received a Foil.*

ONe of the beſt effects of military Prudence, is to know how to take advantage of time, how to proſecute an enemy in diſorder, when he hath received ſome foil; and hath ſo much to do in ſeveral places, that he is, as it were, neceſſitated to ſubmit and conſent to whatever is deſired. A Prince thus diſordered, will eaſily grant whatever is demanded of him; and aſſent unto conditions, which at another time he would not. Wherefore it is very expedient in ſuch a conjuncture, to fall upon him reſolutely, and to purſue him ſo hard, that he may not know which way to turn himſelf. Had *Hannibal* known how to have played his Game after the Battel of *Cannes*, he had forc'd the Romans to receive ſuch conditions as he would have impos'd, it being the greateſt blow their Empire ever felt; but he trifling away his time to refreſh his Souldiers, and injoy the commo-

dioufneſs

diouſneſſe of his Quarters, drowned his Fortune in delights, and made no advantage of his good ſucceſſe. A Prince never ought to let good Fortune ſo blind him amidſt his happy ſucceſſes, as to deſpiſe his enemies, or to forbear from proſecuting them to the utmoſt; not that I would adviſe to drive an enemy to extremity, who flies with a great Army, becauſe it might make him couragious, force him to turn about, and as oftentimes it hath happened, to recover the advantage he had loſt, rather he ought to ſet open the Gates, and make a Bridge for him to run away; but otherwiſe it is, if moſt part of his Towns be taken, if he cannot relieve thoſe that are beſieged, if his Forces be not in pieces, and routed in ſeveral places; and if he be ſo ill attended as not to be in a condition of defending himſelf if aſſaulted, then not to proſecute him, were a great overſight: to be ſatisfied with half a victory, and to give him time to rally his forces again, were to break all the rules of War. *Caſar* by his example, ſhew'd all Captains how they ought to behave themſelves on ſuch affairs; never did any thing hinder him in the proſecution of his Victory; but as if Fortune had lent him wings, he flew after his enemies till he had quite defeated them, or obtained ſuch conditions as he demanded. He cannot be ſufficiently commended for his good conduct in *Affrick*, after the defeat of King *Juba*, *Scipio* and *Afranius*, where ſuch was his good fortune, that he routed them all three in one day, and purſued them ſo ſmartly, that he left neither of them nor their Officers, who was not either killed or taken priſoner, nor any of his Towns, which he did not reduce to his power.

## *The Princeſſe* Marguerite *leaveth* Nancy, *and goeth to* Bruxels.

THough the Cardinal *de Lorrain* had aſſured his Majeſty that the Princeſſe *Marguerite* was in his diſpoſal; yet it was well known that the Princeſſe *de Falsbourg* her ſiſter, unable to indure the Propoſitions of delivering her into his Majeſties hands, in order to the nulling of her marriage by Law, had found an invention to ſave her, which ſhe had made uſe of with the better effect, in regard Ambition and Love make all things feaſible to women. It was known that ſhe had habited her ſelf like a Cavalier with Boots and Spurs, well horſed; and in this equipage ſhe left *Nancy*, about four of the clock in the morning, attended by a Gentleman, named *Daviſe*, who had heretofore belonged to Madam *de Remiremont*, together with two others, that ſhe paſs'd through divers Sentinels, and that at laſt being ſtopp'd by one, *Daviſe* made him beleeve that they related to the Marqueſſe *de St Chaumont*, and that by this means ſhe had got thirteen Leagues on horſeback; that meeting with certain Swediſh Troops, ſhe had been compell'd to hide her ſelf in a very thick Copſe Wood, where ſhe much ſcratch'd her hands, and that the next morning ſhe got to *Thiomville*, where at firſt they would not open the Gates, and indeed had abſolutely refus'd her, But for the charms of her beauty, which mov'd great compaſſion in thoſe who beheld her lying on the ground wrapp'd up in Clokes, whiles *Daviſe* treated for her admiſſion; and that at laſt being got in, the Governours Wife of the Town had chang'd her habit. From thence ſhe writ to the *Sieur de Puy-Laurens*, to intreat him, to acquaint *Monſieur* with the manner of her eſcape, and that ſhe ſhould ſtay in thoſe places to expect his commands; but afterward thinking it more proper to go to *Namour*, for fear leſt the way might not be open after her eſcape, ſhe reſolv'd to advance thither. His Majeſty received this news with ſome regret, foreſeeing that her flight might be ſucceeded with troubleſom conſequences, and make the diſſolution of the marriage more difficult: He much blamed the Marqueſſe *de St. Chaumont*, for ſuffering himſelf to be ſurprized, eſpecially after he had been adviſ'd by the Cardinal, to have a great care of all thoſe who ſhould travel upon the Road, becauſe

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ſhe might probably paſſe by him in ſome diſguiſe; to which he return'd this anſwer, that they ſhould rely upon his diligence. *Monſieur Duc d'Orleans*, received no great ſatisfaction from it, fore-ſeeing that this Princeſs would be a new Obligation to tie him to the Low-Countries; but the Laws of Civility, and the conſideration of the Spaniards, whom he was forc'd to content, perſwaded him to ſeem very glad of it. He preſently diſpatch'd the *Sieurs de Fontain Chalendre, de Rames*, and *de Lavaupot* to *Thionville*, who were followed by the Duke *d'Elbœuf*, and the *Sieur de Puy-Laurens*; they met her upon the way, and *Monſieur*, in perſon, went with much affection to receive her, as far as *Marſhe*, and accompanied her from *Namour* to *Bruxelles*, with all the honour and endearments ſhe could deſire. That day that ſhe was to go into *Bruxelles*, the *Infanta*, with the whole Court went to receive her, half a League from the Town, and meeting, they both alighted from their Coaches to ſalute her; the *Infanta* kiſſed her, and then taking her by the hand, led her into her own Coach, where ſhe alwaies gave her the right hand. Comming to the Gate of *Bruxelles*, the Companies of the City gave her a Volley of ſmall ſhot, and the Magiſtrates went to welcome her; ſhe alighted in company of the *Infanta* at the Queen-Mothers, who teſtified much joy for her arrival, and kiſſed her, and after half an hours entertainment, the *Infanta* carried her to her own lodgings, which ſhe had prepared two dayes before, with very rich Furniture, her ſoul being no leſſe repleniſhed with Magnificence then Piety. The Princeſſe *Marguerite* could not forbear the expreſſing her content, ſo ſweet it is to attain any eminent point of honour, after the running of great hazards; but often repeated, that ſhe could never have beleev'd what Hiſtory relateth, concerning fugitive Princeſſes, had ſhe not her ſelf experimented it. The *Infanta* did dayly indeavour to augment her joy, by her great care, and the Preſents ſhe ſent her, in which the quaintneſſe of her fancy, was no leſſe admirable then her liberality.

## *Nothing is more ingenious then Women to attain their Deſigns.*

WOmen of all creatures are the moſt dexterous in contriving their deſigns; their natural ſprightlineſſe of imagination, furniſheth them with a thouſand expedients, and propoſeth all kinds of overtures, with ſuch probabilities of happy ſucceſſe, that they are eaſily inflam'd with a deſire of trying them. This deſire maketh ſo great an impreſſion upon their Paſſions, that in caſe any obſtacle preſent it ſelf to divert them, they never want anger; which ſo diſturbeth them, that they admit of no reſt, untill they have ſurmounted it, and obtain the ends which they propoſe to themſelves. This their violent apprehenſion, augmenteth the fruitfulneſſe of their conceptions; and as the heat of the ayr doth every day diſcloſe new productions in the boſom of the earth; ſo their ardent deſires beget new expedients in their minds, carrieth all their thoughts, conducteth all their motions, guideth all their affections, and ſo diſpoſeth of all their power, that they neither think, deſire, diſcourſe, or do any thing, but what tendeth to their ends; they ſleep with the conſideration of thoſe means which may conduce to their own ends, the deſire of executing them, awakeneth them in the morning; and as they have little diverſions in the day time, they have no greater delight then to diſcourſe with them, in whom they put their confidence. Men who are imploy'd in great affairs, have their imaginary faculties more barren, and granting them to be as fertile as thoſe of Ladies, yet the diverſity of their imployments doth ſo divert them, that it is impoſſible for them ever to be ruminating upon the ſame Subject; but otherwiſe it is with Ladies, eſpecially thoſe of quality, who have nothing to do but to pleaſe their own fancies. I might likewiſe adde, that the defect of Prudence, which

which is evident in moſt of them, is in ſome ſort to their advantage, becauſe it gives them more courage to execute, than the wiſeſt of men, whoſe judgement makes them fore-ſee many inconveniences, which women do not at all apprehend. Beſides, the reſpect which every one beareth to their Sex, ſeemeth to take away all fear from them, by perſwading them that the worſt that can befall them, is but to diſcover their Sex and quality; and that once known, not any perſon of quality will uſe them uncivilly. Amongſt the many inventions which they have uſed to ſave themſelves by flight, or to obtain their deſires, that of changing their habits is one of the moſt frequent. So *Laodice*, the wife of *Mithridates*, unwilling to forſake her husband, when vanquiſh'd by *Pompey*, cloath'd her ſelf like a man, and follow'd him a long time, as if ſhe had had an indefatigable body and courage. *Semiramis* knowing moſt people impatient of the Government of women, left off her uſual habit after her husbands death, and aſſum'd that of the Kings, the better to preſerve the government in her hands, during the nonage of her ſon *Ninus*. Doth not Hiſtory record the ſame of divers Perſian women, who in the habit of Souldiers followed their Husbands to the Wars, between the King of *Perſia*, and *Selim* the Turkiſh Emperour? We read that divers Germans went to the Holy War with the Emperour *Conradus*, cloath'd and accoutred like Cavaliers, with as much valor as Amazons.

## *The Treaty made with* Monſieur de Lorrain, *and how after all his difficulties, he was forced to put it in execution.*

THe advantages which the Kings Army had obtained upon the Duke of *Lorrain* produc'd thoſe effects, of which the Cardinal had given his Majeſty great hopes. He diſpos'd himſelf to grant all that could be deſir'd, according as the Army made its progreſſe. He was forc'd to ſend the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to his Majeſty at *Neufville*, to offer him the new Town of *Nancy*; but his Majeſty being not ignorant that leaving the City in his hands, would give him the occaſion and means to re-commence his imbroyls, when ever thoſe who had ingag'd him, ſhould ſend him a powerfull aſſiſtance, would not be perſwaded to aſſent thereunto. He then ſent again the ſame Cardinal, with full power to deliver him both the Towns of *Nancy* in Depoſite, upon ſuch conditions as ſhould be reſolv'd between him and *Monſieur* the Cardinal. This was as much in apparence as could be deſired; but *Monſieur* the Cardinal, too too well inform'd of the Dukes wavering humour, to truſt him, was not backward to tell the King that he thought it not fit to rely upon it, or to be certain of any thing, untill the Gates of *Nancy* were opened, that his forces might take poſſeſſion of it; ſo that the works of the Siege were proſecuted with all diligence; yet at laſt, the Cardinal having full power from the King to treat, entred into conference with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and concluded a Treaty upon theſe following conditions.

1. That the Duke of *Lorrain*, ſhould renounce all new Alliances, in prejudice to that of *France*.
2. That he ſhould oblige himſelf to ſerve the King, with, and againſt all.
3. That he ſhould not make any Levies of War, during the preſent troubles of *Germany*, without his Majeſties conſent.
4. That he ſhould disband, as ſoon as his Majeſty ſhould receive notice from the Chancellour *Oxenſtern*, that he would not attempt any thing, but withdraw the Swediſh forces from his Countries.
5. That he ſhould deliver the City of *Nancy*, both old and new, in Depoſit to his Majeſties hands, within three days, until ſuch time as his good behaviour, or the pacification of the troubles of *Germany*, ſhould take away all cauſe of ſuſpicion

cion of the like enterprizes as he had heretofore made againſt his Majeſty, and his Allies, as alſo untill ſuch time as the pretended marriage between *Monſieur* and the Princeſs *Marguerite*, were declared null by Law; and that the differences between the King, and the ſaid Duke were decided, each of them in the mean while, enjoying their rights, without prejudice of this Treaty; yet however, that in caſe the War of *Germany* ſhould laſt four years, the conditions of this Treaty being firſt accompliſhed, his Majeſty ſhould reſtore *Nancy* into the hands of the ſaid Duke or his Succeſſors.

6. That the Princeſs *Marguerite* ſhould be delivered into the Kings hands within fifteen days; or at leaſt, that the ſaid Cardinal and Duke of *Lorrain*, ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavour to recover her from whence ſhe was, and to deliver her into his Majeſties hands; and ſhould ſo order the buſineſs, that her retreat ſhould not hinder the diſſolution of the marriage.

7. That the Dutchy of *Bar* ſhould continue ſequeſtred untill ſuch time as his Majeſty ſhould be ſatisfied for the homage thereof.

8. That the Revenue of *Lorrain*, and the States thereupon depending, ſhould be receiv'd by the ſaid Duke, with all ſort of liberty.

9. That he whom his Majeſty ſhould place in *Nancy*, during the Depoſit ſhould have the abſolute command of the Arms, without other obligation then that of receiving the word from the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, in caſe he would make his abode there.

10. That Order ſhould be taken that the Gariſon might not offer any diſtaſt to the Inhabitants.

This was the concluſion, made in the Camp before *Nancy*, the 6. of *September*: Whereupon the Cardinal went to the Duke, to procure his ratification. He brought it, and the Cardinal accompanied by *Janin* his Secretary of State, coming to give his Majeſty aſſurance thereof; there were three days time alotted for execution of the Treaty, and for his Majeſties entring into *Nancy*: But the day being come, the Cardinal *de Lorrain* fell off to delays and excuſes, pretending that his brother had ſent order to the contrary, by a certain Gentleman, named *Giton*; ſo that the whole buſineſſe was to be begun again. However, the Cardinal ſenſible of his own power, and not ignorant of the advantages he had upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, would not totally break off the Treaty, but ſent the Marqueſſe *de Chanvalon* to *Nancy*, to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, with charge to tell him, as from himſelf, that the King found himſelf by divers reaſons, forced to carry his affairs to the height, yet had however ſome unwillingneſſe to put that reſolution in execution; becauſe of the frankneſſe and affection he had teſtified to contribute his endeavours for a reaſonable accommodation. The Cardinal teſtified, that his good will was no whit diminiſhed, & that he would once again ſee what he could work upon his Brother, to induce him to adhere to the Treaty; in order whereunto, he ſent a Gentleman to him, with ſuch effectual expreſſions, perſwading him to ſettle his affairs, then in a declining condition, that he at laſt hearkned to his advice, and ſent the *Sieur de Contriſſon* to his Majeſty, to deſire a ſafe conduct to confer with *Monſieur* the Cardinal at *St. Nicholas*. His Majeſty granted it; but the morning following, thinking it more fit that the Cardinal ſhould go as far as *Charmes* to treat with him, for fear leſt he might have propos'd this conference at *St. Nicholas*, that he might the better get away into *Flanders*, where once being, there was no likyhood of his depoſiting *Nancy*; it was ſignified unto him, that *Charmes* would be a place much more proper for the Treaty, which he accepting of, the Cardinal, and he came thither upon the 18. *Monſieur le* Cardinal, came firſt thither, about five in the evening, accompanied by the Cardinal *de la Valette*, the Popes *Nuntio*, a great many Lords and Gentlemen, and a good party of Horſe and Foot. The Duke came not untill about eleven at night; ſo that finding the Cardinal in bed, and not willing to permit his people to wake him, according as he had commanded, they met not untill the morning following. That day they had two long de-

baces without any concluſion; ſo that every one thought there would be no agreement; but in fine, the Duke perſwaded by the Cardinal's eloquence and addreſſe, ſubmitted juſt as his eminence was bidding him *adieu* at his Lodging, and paſs'd his word to conclude the Treaty which his brother had made, by his Order, without including any other condition, but this, that he might make his abode at *Nancy*, with all honours due to his quality; as alſo, the Cardinal his Brother; and that the Treaty being within three moneths particularly, that which ingag'd him to deliver the Princeſs *Marguerite* into the Kings hands; his Majeſty ſhould reſtore him the City of *Nancy*, without more ado then demoliſhing the Fortifications, if his Majeſty ſhould ſo think fit. *Monſieur le* Cardinal, did the more willingly conſent unto theſe two Articles, in regard he pretended only to put things into a way of reaſon, not to extend the bounds of *France*, which was of it ſelf large enough to obtain as much glory, as his Majeſty could deſire; ſo that both of them having ſigned it, there wanted nothing but the execution of them. *Monſieur le* Cardinal was not ignorant how important it was, not to abandon *Monſieur de Lorrain*, or to leave him to his own honeſty, which poſſibly might have been ſhaken by the natural inconſtancy of his humour. So that he earneſtly laboured to perſwade him to meet his Majeſty in perſon, in order to the performance of his promiſes. He repreſented to him, that it would be the more glorious for him, in regard it would teſtifie unto all Princes, that he had not Depoſited *Nancy* upon compulſion; as alſo of great advantage, in regard it would be an ample demonſtration of his real intentions of ſubmitting his, unto his Majeſties Will: Who would thereupon be the more indulgent of him, and ſurrender *Nancy* unto him, as ſoon as ever he ſhould be aſſured he might be confident of his good deportment. Such were the charms of his words, that they perſwaded him to reſolve thereupon, that upon the 21 they departed together to wait upon the King. Approaching neer *Nancy*, the Cardinal haſted to acquaint the King, before the Cardinal *de Lorrains* comming, with the ſecret of the affair, and to adviſe him of ſuch things as were moſt conducing to his ſervice. All that appeared, was that *Monſieur de Lorrain*, ſaluting the King, bowed himſelf very low made his excuſes with a great deal of ſubmiſſion, aſſured him of the inclination he had to obey him; beſeeched him to forget what was paſt, to pardon him, and to believe that he would punctually perform the Treaty. The King imbrac'd him with a cheerfull countenance, and told him, that he willingly accepted thoſe proffers of his ſervice and friendſhip, that he ſhould forget what was paſs'd, and that he forgave him. Afterwards, he led him into his Cabinet, where the Cardinal was with the chief of the Councel. Their entertainment was for ſome time upon ordinary diſcourſe, and many things were ſaid concerning the Dukes courage and inclination to Arms, which he did not unwillingly hear. The King told him, I muſt confeſſe, I have had an ill opinion of you, and when I found you perform'd not the Treaties, made by the Cardinal your Brother, which your ſelf had ratified, I ſaid you had neither faith nor honeſty; but now in confidence of the promiſes you have made me to perform all, I begin to be of another opinion, and ſhall be ready to teſtifie the deſire I have to love you. *Monſieur* the Cardinal took up the diſcourſe, and ſaid, Sirs, I ſhall willingly paſſe my word for the affection which *Monſieur de Lorrain* hath for your ſervice; and for the deſire he hath to live otherwiſe than heretofore. You ought to forget the occaſions of diſcontent which your Majeſty hath receiv'd, and to believe, that his deportment for the future will be ſatisfactory; he muſt fight under your Colours, and in the head of your Troops. Hereupon *Monſieur de Lorrain* made great complements, beſeeching the King to receive him into his favour. The King re-iterated the aſſurances of his good will; and it being Supper time, his Majeſty cauſed him to be conducted to *Monſieur le Duc de la Valette's* lodging, whom his Majeſty had commanded to entertain him. Notwithſtanding all this, and theſe ſeveral proteſtations made by the Duke of *Lorrain*, to live otherwiſe then he had for the future, yet the knowledge of his humour, oblig'd the King to cauſe him to be watch'd by divers truſty perſons; nor was it without reaſon, ſeeing the very next morning, there

there were many probable conjectures that he intended to ſave himſelf without making good any thing that he had promiſed. The reverend Father *Joſeph*, and the *Sieur Bouthillier*, went to wait upon him, to conclude upon the Orders for his Majeſties entrance into *Nancy*; but he entertained the motions with ſo much coldneſs, that there could be no more doubt of it; however, becauſe it was not abſolutely certain, his Majeſty did forbear to ſeiz upon his perſon. The courſe he took by an admirable piece of Prudence, not to break the Laws of Hoſpitality, yet to prevent his getting off, which would be much to his Majeſties damage, was the commanding of divers truſty perſons to be near his Lodging, who without ſhew of miſtruſt, might watch that he eſcaped them not. Indeed it had been a ſhame for the King to have ſuffered the Duke to have mock'd his Majeſty by an eſcape of that nature; and it had been as much weakneſſe as inconſiderateneſſe not to have ſtop'd him in his flight. It was abſolutely neceſſary indeed to obſerve the promiſe of ſecurity given him, for his comming to execute the Treaty; which in caſe he refus'd to do, the King was not oblig'd to his word; and the Duke relying only upon the faith of his Treaty, might and ought to be ſtop'd; ſeeing the non-performance of it made him an enemy as before, and he could not be arreſted untill he had openly declared himſelf; but his evaſion diſcovering him ſufficiently, it had been imprudence to have ſuffered him to paſſe into *Flanders*, without ſecuring his perſon.

### *That Prince who after a Treaty attempteth to break his promiſe, may be ſecured as an Enemy.*

THat Prince who after a Treaty made, either reſolveth or indeavoureth to be worſe then his word, declareth himſelf an enemy to him with whom he treated, and as ſuch he may lawfully be accounted; for the breach of promiſe is one of the greateſt indignities which one Prince can offer another. Amongſt Gentlemen, it is a juſt ground for the cutting of Throats in Duels, and Soveraigns look upon it, as one of the moſt lawful occaſions of War. By Treaties of Peace they are made friends, the breach of which makes them enemies; and conſequently, they may freely be taken by the ſame Law, whereby it is permitted to ſecure an enemy where ever he be found. It is without reaſon that the infringers of them ſhould alledge their ſecurity, ſeeing themſelves have broke it. The Duke *de Bourgogne* who ſeized upon *Lewis* the Eleventh, in the Caſtle of *Peronne*, is commended for it in Hiſtory, as an act of Prudence, becauſe the King had provok'd him to it. They had appointed that City to treat a Peace, which was concluded between them; but *Lewis* the Eleventh, too little ſincere in his proceedings, having ſent Embaſſadours to the *Liegeois*, to perſwade them to take up Arms againſt the Duke, upon a great many fair promiſes which he made them; and the *Liegeois* revolting upon his Majeſties firſt motion, the Duke fully inform'd, that this rebellion proceeded from his indeavours, ſet guards upon him to hinder his eſcape. The truth is, if any miſ-fortune befall thoſe that break Treaties, they may thank themſelves, and it had not been amiſſe for their own ſecurities to have remembred the counſel of *Eccleſiaſticus*, who ſaith, *The ſin of him which deceiveth his Brother, ſhall fall upon himſelf. He who diſſembleth, ſinneth doubly, and who ſo ſweareth in vain, ſhall not be juſtified, but his houſe ſhall be filled with diſhonour.*

### *His Majeſties entrance into* Nancy, *and the Orders therein eſtabliſhed.*

THe Duke of *Lorrain* ſeeing his Artifices availed little, and that he muſt think of nothing but performing his promiſe, did at laſt, upon the 24 of *Sept.* command the Gates of *Nancy* to be opened for his Majeſties forces. The Marſhals of his lodgings went to prepare his Quarters, and the Gariſon of *Lorrain* being marched out, in number 2300 foot, and 230 horſe only, which was not enough, by a third part, to make good the fortifications: His Majeſties Army en-

tred the place, and divided themselves into the several quarters of the City, according as they were commanded. The 25. the King accompanied by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and all the persons of quality, who had followed him in that expedition, made his entrance. The people indeed at first, seemed but ill satisfied; but when they saw the admirable Order which his Majesty had preferibed, to prevent their receiving any injury, they made Bonfires before their doors; the morning following, the Queen came thither to partake of the Kings joy, for having mastred one of the strongest places of *Europe* in so little time, and without losse of blood. The King went to receive her, at the Port of *St. John*, where the Regiment of *Picardy* was imbattelled; and shortly after her arrival, the Duke *de Lorrain*, accompanied by the Cardinal his brother, and the Princess *de Falsbourg*, went to do their devoirs to her, with more civility then joy: And thus was *Nancy* the Metropolitan City of *Lorrain*, whom the force of her Bastions, and the largenesse of three great Moates seemed to render impregnable, taken as soon as besieg'd. It might have held out at least two years; but his Majesty assisted by the sage advices of the Cardinal, as he himself hath testified, took it in fourteen days. The addresse of this grand Minister, forced the Duke to keep his word, and to Depofit *Nancy* for some time, fearing lest he might have lost it for ever. Hardly had fame published this siege, but she was oblig'd to make known the taking of it, confirming the custom of Poets and Painters, who represent victory with wings, to signifie that the actions of fortunate Princes, are as swift as the wings of birds. Conquests have been atchieved beyond hope, and the dispatch wherewith the King hath obtained, some rendreth those example of History now credible, which before were thought miraculous. Nor was the Order which his Majesty took to keep this place, the least considerable thing in this expedition: He committed the Government of it to the *Sieur de Brassac*, a Gentleman of quality, newly return'd from an Embassie from *Rome*, whose sweetnesse and modesty was as capable of perswading the Inhabitants not to mislike the change of their Master, as his fidelity and vigilance of assuring his Majesty of his well keeping it. He assign'd him between seven and eight thousand men to guard it, chosen out of the best Regiments of his Army, with expresse command to keep them in such order, that the inhabitants might receive no discontent from them. He commanded the Magazeens to be stored with Ammunitions of all sorts, he converted the fortifications which served for a Communication between the new and the old Town into a Cittadel, where the Garison might be secure, in case the inhabitants should mutiny, for the preventing of which he disarm'd them. His Majesties presence being of no longer use in that place, he return'd towards *Paris*, not with that State and Pride, wherewith the ancient Emperours caused themselves to be ador'd by the people, at least honoured with costly triumphs, after the obtaining of their victories, but with much modesty, though it was his glory never to have undertaken any expedition, so without acquiring new Palms.

### *What Orders ought to be taken in a place newly conquered.*

THe affection of the people being the strongest chain wherewith a Soveraign can bind his Subjects to his Empire, it cannot be doubted but that the testimonies of his bounty and clemency, ought to be the chiefest Orders established in a City newly conquered, seeing they do most of all serve to excite that Passion. If they be not affectionate to him, his Victory will be like a Plant without a root, and as a small wind doth easily blow down a Tree not well fastned, so the least occasions of revolt transport them to shake off the yoak of their obedience. Interest is the most potent charm to captivate their spirits; and if a Prince can but once win them into his government, by making them taste any sweetnesse or advantage more then in that of their former Prince, there is then nothing to be fear'd. The French in the time of one *Vespers* lost *Sicily*; and in a small time the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Dutchy of *Milan*, and all because their government was so rigorous, that the Princes had no incouragement to be loyal to them, or to defend them. The conduct of the Romans being full of sweetnesse and moderation,

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begot them the affections of the Sagentines and Italians, after they had conquered them, who had preserved them in their Soveraignty, whereas the harsh usage of *Hannibal* caused him to lose them, almost as soon as he had vanquished them. I will adde some few particular Orders fit to be established in a City, or among a people newly conquered to hold them in allegiance. It will not a little conduce thereunto, to render them exact justice in their affairs, and to procure them plenty of all kinds of provision, to countenance Piety, to caresse the Nobility, and to gain the learned. Religious men ought not to be neglected, they ought rather to be courted and honoured by bestowing Alms on them, and preserving them in the just injoyment of their priviledges; for they have the conscience of the people in their hands, and the credit which they have acquired by their good life, procureth them so much authority, that whatever they do or say, is thought well done, well said, and fit to be followed. But especially it being not in the power of the best and wisest Princes, to work by all the testimonies of their goodnesse, upon the affections of a people naturally brutish, unreasonable, and insensible of benefits, there ought to be no small care taken in leaving a strong garison among them that may aw them, and curb them in case of insurrections; not but that their Commanders ought to be charged to keep them in such order and moderation that the Inhabitants be not oppress'd by them. Besides they ought to be dis arm'd of all those things which may tend to insurrections by Arms, I mean souldiers, warlike Engines, such men as are capable of making parties, and the command of all Towers and strong places. Thus did *Cæsar* upon the surrender of any City, he commanded their Horses and Arms to be delivered; and that all men of any valour or credit among the Inhabitants, should be given him in hostage, knowing that this was the true way to secure them from any insurrection, it being not enough to disarm them, unlesse they be depriv'd of men of credit and counsel, such as are able under hand to procure others, and all such Souldiers as are likely to be active. The Carthaginians made it appear by experience, when the Romans had totally disarmed them, they finding a way to forge every day in their City an hundred Targets, and three hundred Swords, besides Darts and Engines for throwing of Stones, and to make ropes of their Wives hair for want of Hemp. To conclude, men of spirit and War, are more to be feared then Weapons, and there ought to be more care taken to secure such men in a City, then all the Musquets, Pikes, and Pistols.

## *The indeavours of* Feria *and* Aldringuer, *to secure* Nancy, *rendred vain by* Monsieur *the Cardinal's Prudence.*

AT the same time that the King disposed his Armies, to hinder the unjust enterprizes of *Monsieur de Lorrain*; the house of *Austria* provided *Aldringuer* in *Germany*, and the Duke *de Feria* in *Italy* to meet neer *Constance*, and from thence to march into *Alsace*, and *Lorrain*, to secure him from ruine. The Duke had intelligence thereof; and for this reason it was, that he used many delays and indeavours to get into the Low Countries', hoping that if *Nancy* could hold out six weeks or two moneths, these two Armies might come in good time to defend his interest. Upon this score it was, that the Cardinal who knoweth how to remedy inconveniences before they happen, pressed so hard upon him, that he forc'd him to conclude the Treaty, perswaded his Majesty to send the Swedes to come to meet *Feria* and *Aldringuer* to hinder their march into *Alsace*, and to leave the Marshal *de la Force* in *Lorrain*, with an army of twenty thousand men. He had order to hinder any insurrections or enterprises which might be made by the Dukes indeavours, as also to send such assistance to the Swedes as they should desire, the better to give a check to the proceedings of these two Generals. The strict intelligence between the King and Swedes, obliged Marshal *Horn* to march towards *Feria's* Quarters; and as there is nothing seems impossible to Conquerors, he used

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his utmoſt to get into *Conſtance*, a place by which the Duke of *Feria* muſt of neceſſity paſſe into *Germany*; but the approach of his Army, and the irruption which he might have made into *Wirtenberg*; together with the ſtrong aſſiſtance which the beſieged had received; as alſo the improbability of cutting off their Commerce by the Lake, forc'd him upon the Duke *de Rohan's*, preſſing him on the Kings behalf to draw off; ſo that *Feria* and *Aldringuer* joyned their Armies together. In the interim, *Bernard Duc de Wimar*, to divert them from entring into *Alſace*, beſieged *Ratisbone* and took it, as alſo *Stroubinguen*, with ſome other places upon the *Danube*: However *Feria* and *Aldringuer* proſecuting their deſign, paſs'd the *Rhine*, and march'd into *Alſace*, by the Territory of *Baſle*. The Marſhal *Horn*, and the Palatine *de Birkenfield*, receiving intelligence thereof, followed them ſo cloſe, that having paſs'd the *Rhine* at *Straſbourg*, they ſoon got before them neer *Colemar*, with a reſolution to fight them; but their Generals who had no other deſign then to aſſiſt the Duke of *Lorrain*, would not ingage, but drew off the further, when they heard the Marſhal *de la Force*, had ſent to offer the Swedes ſome Forces. *Aldringuer* ſeeing there was no good to be done, re-paſs'd the *Rhine* at *Briſac*; and the Marſhal *Horn* without loſing any time, repaſs'd it likewiſe, and purſued him ſo briskly, that he defeated part of his Army; ſo that finding himſelf too weak, he got into *Briſac*; where the Duke *de Feria*, who remain'd in *Alſace*, infeſted by the Palatine *de Birkenfield*, and the *Rhingrave Otho*, came to rejoyn with him, and both together paſs'd over the *Svave* to ſeek a better Fortune, but found it not; for the Duke *de Feria* died ſome moneths after, without effecting his deſign, and the moſt of his forces disbanded for hunger, cold, and diſeaſes: This was not the only advantage the King made of the Swedes, the intereſt of his Allies, being no leſſe dear to him than his own; for he imploy'd them to ſuccour the Duke *de Wirtenberg*, and the *Comte de Hanau*, who had put themſelves under his protection, into whoſe countries thoſe two Generals of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who take all for enemies that favour not their deſigns, had a great deſire to enter to refreſh their Souldiers, by giving them leave to plunder it, but they aſſiſted them with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that they received no damage that year. They were not indeed alone imploy'd in the defence of thoſe two Princes, for the Marſhal *de la Force* ſent by his Majeſties order, part of his Army into ſome of their Towns; the Marqueſſe *de Bourbonne*, one of the Marſhals *de Camp*, marched with ſix hundred men into *Morbelliard*, belonging to the Duke *de Wirtenberg*, and ſecur'd it from all violence, by his valour, prudence, vigilance, and zeal for his Majeſties glory, four fortifications able to ſecure any place. The Marſhal likewiſe ſent other Forces into *Buſwiller*, *Suſwiller*, and *Neuwiller*, belonging to the *Comte de Hanau*, who knew how to defend them. Thus were the Allies of *France* protected, the Duke of *Lorrain* unreliev'd, and *Monſieur le* Cardinal, acquired the glory of having by his counſels and management of the Allies of *France*, ſtop'd the courſe of thoſe two Armies, which were marching into *Lorrain*, to trouble his Majeſty in the poſſeſſion of his conqueſts.

### *That it is wiſdom to aſſault an Enemy with the forces of allied Princes in his march.*

A Prince who ſeeth his enemies Army reſolute to aſſault him amidſt his new conqueſts, doth a great deal better to prevent him by meeting him, than to expect him. I have in other place given the reaſons. This courſe did the Romans take in all their great expeditions, excepting in the War with the *Gaules* and ſecond *Punick*, which they could never terminate until they had paſs'd the Sea and Alps with their Armies. He who would ſpare his Troops, or employ them in other deſignes, ſhall do it beſt if he ſend to ſtop his march, and ſo to divert him either in his own Countrey, or in the paſſages by the interpoſition of his Alleys, that he may not be able to advance. Thus *Hannibal* deſpairing to overcome the Romans

mans in *Africk* with *Antiochus* to go fight them in Italy, which succeeded very fortunately. Thus likewise *Genſericus* King of the Vandals being routed by *Baſilius Patricius* in a great Sea-fight, perſwaded the *Oſtrogoths* and *Viſigoths*, to invade the *Roman* empire, by which means he ſecur'd himſelf from the imminent danger of being taken. To adde ſome reaſons to examples, is it not true which *Craſus* ſaid to *Cyrus*, when he exhorted him to aſſault *Thomyris* in her own Countrey, if you expect your enemy to come to you, he'l commit a thouſand devaſtations, and in caſe you ſhould looſe a Battle, he will not be content with the Victory, but will proſecute it to the overtunning of your whole Country? Beſides there is little hazarded by cauſing him, to be aſſaulted in his march by Allies or in his own Country, for it preſerveth an Army entire againſt a time of need. Beſides if he be aſſaulted by his neighbor Allies, they will be alwaies better acquainted with the waies and paſſages, and may eaſily be aſſiſted with proviſions and recruits. An Enemies Army likewiſe marching through anothers Coutrey where he findeth oppoſition, muſt neceſſarily diminiſh his forces by ſickneſs, fighting and the like, whereas his will remain in its full vigour, and conſequently the better able to reſiſt him. Thus will he be able to obtain his deſign, which is to prevent his comming into his Countrey, a thing of the more advantage, in regard he may effect it without danger, and preſerve his Army freſh to aſſiſt his Alleys, in caſe they are unable of themſelfs to make good the paſſages.

### *Divers journeys made for the accommodation of the Queen Mother and Monſieur.*

THough the Queen-Mother and *Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans*, had for the two laſt years run into great extremities, by the perſwaſions of ſome people, whoſe advices they too much credited; yet ſuch was the Kings tenderneſs for them, that he took great care to bring them to themſelves, and to perſwade them to return into *France*. The Queen-Mother had been for ſome time ſick, and the King to teſtifie how much he was concern'd in her health, upon his firſt hearing of it, preſently diſpatch'd the *Sieurs Rioland* and *Piette*, very famous Phyſitians to uſe their utmoſt care and induſtry for her recovery; and alſo often ſent ſeveral Gentlemen to viſit her. The Cardinal did not a little contribute to thoſe his cares, nor did he omit any opportunity to teſtifie unto the Queen-Mother the earneſt deſire he had to ſerve her, ſo that at laſt ſhe was forc'd to yeild her ſelf, in ſo much that it was verily thought ſhe would quickly have re-aſſum'd her former ſentiments of love for the King, and confidence in the Cardinal; but for thoſe damnable counſels which thoſe whom ſhe honoured with her ear, infus'd into her, eſpecially Father *Chantelouppe* who unable to make himſelf conſiderable, unleſs in broiles did alwayes prefer a ſtorm before a calm. He could divert her from oftentimes ſending unto the King to aſſure him of the inclinations ſhe had to be neer him, and of the paſſion ſhe had for his, though he wanted no artifice to prevent the effects of it, glory and welfare. There need no other proof beſide the inſtruction under his own hand, which ſhe gave unto the *Sieur de Laleu* when ſhe was ſent to the King: nor was he deficient to ſecond the affection which this great Princeſſe had for the King by his fair words, as alſo to ſuffer her to write unto the Cardinal to aſſure him that ſhe would honour him with her good opinion, it being only the better to cover his deſignes; but he well knew the King unleſs he had loſt his judgment, which rendred him ſo admirable in all affaires could not ſuffer him to return with her, to be of her counſel after the diſcovery made by *Alpheſton* and *Chavagnac*, of his deſign to murder this grand Miniſter. He not onely confirm'd the Queen Mothers inclination by thoſe of his cabal, in the reſolution of keeping him neer her as a faithful very fit ſervant, and one whom ſhe could not forſake without prejudice to her reputation and affaires; but the inſtruction which he gave the *Sieur de Laleu* obliged her to give ſecurity in that behalf. It is true indeed that thinking

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to cover his malice with a ſpecious vaile, he beſeech'd the Cardinal to exclude him as unwilling, that his perſon ſhould hinder a good accommodation, but that only ſerv'd the better to ſet him forth, ſeeing it was moſt certain that his exclusion would hinder the Queen-Mothers return, and that on the contrary it was only to make the Cardinal more odious unto her, whom he knew not to be ſo imprudent, or diſaffectionate to his Majeſties ſervice, as to ſuffer his return. He knew diſtruſt to be the greateſt obſtacle in the Accommodations of Great men, who were never to be reconciled, but by a mutual confidence, whereupon he labour'd nothing more, then to infuſe it, into the mind of this Great Princeſſe, as the very ſame inſtruction of the *Sieur de Laleu* teſtifieth, which required him to ſay, that her Majeſties returning into France, would hazard all, that the Cardinal would deſtroy her when he pleas'd, without her being able to prevent it, or to hurt him, in caſe ſhe had a mind to it, and that ſhe doubted whether the Cardinal had not ſome diſtruſt of her, though he had above twenty times declared unto her, how paſſionately deſirous he was of her return, ſo that it was eaſy to be known by this Procedure of Father *Chantelouve*, that with one hand he did proſecute the accommodation, and with the other obſtructed it, and that he could not better be compar'd then to him, who calling all people to quench a fire doth underhand endeavour to make it burn the more. This was not the only teſtimony that the Courts of *Bruſſels* made evident of the misfortunes, whereunto Grandees are expoſed, when they ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported by ambitious Miniſters, who prefer their own before their Maſters intereſt. There were no leſs eminent proofs hereof in the treaty, which was negotiated by the *Sieur D'Elbene*, whom the King permitted to come often from *Bruſſels* to the Court, to conſider of the means to draw him out of the Spaniards hands. Had Monſieur known he might have been ſecure in France, that the King deſir'd nothing with more paſſion, than to ſee him partake of his glory and recreation, and that his Majeſty lov'd him like a Son; he would not have ſtaied 24. Hours in the Low-Countries, but would have forc'd through all obſtacles to have got away, however the *Sieur Puy-Laurens* who had a greater intereſt upon him than any other, fearing belike to receive the puniſhments due, for his raſhneſs in carrying *Monſieur* 3. ſeveral times out of the Kingdom, and unwilling to loſe the advantages which he expected from his affection, had artifice enough to perſwade him the contrary, and to tranſport him into extream diſtruſts. He made him believe that there was no aſſurance for him in *France*, that he ſhould no ſooner be there, but he would be clap'd up in the Bois de Vincennes, or his houſe fill'd with ſpies, which would make it worſe than a priſon to him, that the King did not much care to withdraw him from the Spaniards, but only for fear leſt he might enter with an Army into *France*, that his Majeſty had no other paſſion for him; but that of jealouſy, Soveraigns being not well pleas'd with the ſight of their Succeſſors, and that he never ought to permit the King to place any perſons about him in his counſel, who might give an account of his affaires, making him to look upon all of that quality, as ſo many ſpies who would keep him in perpetual vexation, and to make themſelves conſiderable, with his Majeſty, would raiſe continual diſtruſts upon him, and would in fine ſo worke, that he muſt be laid up in ſome Caſtle, till ſuch time as he was to receive the Crown. He was not ignorant how importantly neceſſary it was for Kings, to be abſolute Maſters of the wills of the Princes of the bloud, and to be inform'd of all their deſignes of concernment; he well knew that if a perſon of underſtanding ſhould have been placed neer his Maſter, he would in a little while inſinuate himſelf into his confidence and favour, and with all that ſuch a man might diſcover to his highneſs, how he had only brought him, and kept him ſo long in the Low-Countries for his own private intereſt, which would quickly expoſe him to an abſolute ruine. What likelihood was there that he would give *Monſieur* any counſel, tending to peace or ſweetneſs, knowing moſt aſſuredly that he oftentimes egg'd him on to ſuch diſcourſes as offended the King and the Cardinal, even to threaten him, as is well known to thoſe who treated with him. To ſay the truth, if there was no great truſt to be repos'd in *Chantelouve*, conſidering

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ing the extremities into which he had run, and the inalterable resolution wherein he had fixed the Queen-Mother not to forsake him; surely there was not much more confidence to be put in *Puy-Laurens*, upon the score of his inclination, and for fear lest he might once again make use of *Monsieurs* person, to raise another civil War in *France*, or lest he might a fourth time carry him out of *France*, upon the least cause of mistrust. There was the less reason to trust him, because his Soul was possess'd by Ambition, a Passion which imboldneth men to undertake any thing; and *Monsieur* honoured him with such extraordinary favour, as impower'd him to carry him where he pleas'd; so that thus to recall *Monsieur*, with one from whose presence he would never be perswaded to depart, were to raise a fire in the bosom of *France*, which was at that time the more heedfully to be preserved in a strict union; in regard Forraigners had raised great advantages, from the divisions by them fomented, in the royal family. In short, what likelihood was there to permit him to continue neer *Monsieur*, unless he changed his procedure and humour, so long as he had the boldness to treat with the King in that manner as he did, rejecting the conditions upon which his Majesty desired *Monsieur* should return, and proposing others, as if he had treated between Soveraign and Soveraign, presuming to drive on his own interests, instead of casting himself at his Majesties feet, whom he had so highly offended? Surely this could not have been done, without a great blemish to the Kings honour, by discovering so much weakness in the sight of all *Europe*, as to be compell'd to receive the Law from a Subject, who deserv'd rather to be punish'd by the rigours of his justice. The common people who had not insight enough to dive into these consequences, seem'd to wonder that *Monsieur*, and the Queen-Mothers accommodation, could not be ended after so many journies to and fro; but all wise men well satisfi'd with the reasons of it, could not sufficiently admire the Kings Prudence, in making use of that authority, which the Laws give all Soveraigns over their Parents, when the interest of their State is in question, and in not precipitating their return; which, considering the ill inclination of those whom they honoured with their confidence, could only serve to trouble the Kingdom, and hinder the prosecution of the *Lorrain* expedition.

### *That it is great discretion not to precipitate accommodations, where there is any danger in the State.*

IT is great wisedom not to hasten any Treaty wherein there may be any danger to the State. It is most certain in general, that precipitation is an enemy to wise counsels, that instead of ending affairs it imbroileth them, and that it hath alwaies been receiv'd for an ill servant, because being blind and without foresight, it seldom makes any Treaties which are not disadvantagious; but most particularly true it is, in such Treaties as are concluded where the parties are not well dispos'd to keep a Peace though they seem very plausible at first sight, yet are they seldom of long continuance, by reason of the sharpnes remaining in their minds when they are concluded, which coming to increase by some new discontents, division presently re-assumeth her first place, and thus instead of any satisfaction from it, there oftentimes arise more causes of repentance. In effect they ought to be the further from ending affairs, because the easinesse of concluding them, hath often begotten more distrusts among great men, than if there had been great difficulties in the making their peace. Hatred doth easily revive among Princes, and they sooner forget any thing then injuries they pretend to have received, which though for some time they dissemble, yet are they never deficient to testifie their resentments, when they find opportunity proper for it. There were heretofore divers accommodations made between *Lewis* the Eleventh, and *Charls Duc de Bourgogne*, which seemed to settle their States in peace, but as they were oftentimes made more by necessity on the Dukes part, which rather forc'd him then inclin'd him to live in friendship with the King; the main business was still to be begun anew; nor was any thing but death able to

Give a period to their divisions. How often hath the house of *Orleans* and *Bourgogne* been reconcil'd, yet always to little purpose, because the Princes not laying by the hatred which was between them, did presently fly out again upon the least cause of suspicion. *Henry* the Third, wrought nothing upon the Duke of *Guise* by pardoning him, for he forbore not to prosecute the enterprizes which his Ambition suggested. They who are little acquainted in State-affairs, are not very solicitous of the great trouble which is in making Peace between Princes, but think that it is enough so they are made friends; yet it may so fall out that great inconveniences may arise from want of care, when civil Wars break out again, which they re-ingaging in may indanger the whole State, at least afford Forraigners great advantages. It is much better that Grandees should continue out of the Kingdom in discord and impotency, than in the Court or in some Province, where they might easily raise Cabals and insurrections. I think that rash considerations may not more fitly be compar'd to any thing then to too quick a digestion, which as Physicians say, repleniſheth the body with many crudities, the causes of divers diseases; and it often happens that such considerations like jealousies and new differences, serve only to sow the seeds of civil Wars; so that better it is to defer the resolution of them for some time, than to precipitate them into a short continuance, and a production of new broils.

## *Differences between the Arch-Bishop of* Bourdeaux, *and the* Duc de Espernon.

ABout the end of this year there happened great disputes between *Messieur Henry de Sourdis* Arch-Bishop of *Bourdeaux*, and the *Duc de Espernon*, Governour of *Guyenne*. The Arch-Bishop whose *Genius* is capable of all kind of imployments had charge during the siege of *Rochel*, of some men of War in this Province, by a particular Commission exempted from all other dependances; and the Duke who was of an humour never to let feathers be pluck'd out of his wings, did not a little resent it, though for the present he dissembled it, expecting an opportunity to shew it with the more advantage, which did not so soon offer it self, the Arch Bishop being imployed at Court, and at *Poitou* in his Majesties service; but as he had no lesse memory then courage, he preserv'd the memory of it untill the latter end of this year, at which time the Arch-Bishop return'd to *Bourdeaux*. The custom of this City, is that the Jurats go to wait on the Arch-Bishop at the Bridge as often as he cometh from the Country. The Duke to prevent him of this honor, sent for them that afternoon, that he should come to Town, and entertained them either upon some affairs which he was willing to conclude of by some other devices, until the Arch-Bishop was arrived at his Palace. The Jurats indeavoured to make their excuses to the Arch-Bishop for their not receiving him, but he was not very well satisfied with it, no more then with a trick the Duke put upon him, some days after, in the quality of * Capital *de Buch*, who by vertue thereof may take the first Panier of fish, which he pleaseth, paying for it in the Market called *la Clie*, where all the fresh fish is sold, and is opened and shut by particular Officers who have the charge of it. Now the Master of the Arch-Bishops Palace comming to the *Clie* to buy fish, was refused to be admitted, upon pretext that the privilege of the Capital *de Buch*, had not as yet been served. This affront was more prejudicial to the Arch-Bishops table, then person; however he complained of it with formalities of justice, which served to exasperate the matter. For the Duke moved at it, put the same affront on him some few days after, upon a time when he had designed to entertain the Jurats and other Officers of the Town, by sending his Guards to hinder the opening of the *Clie*, and the Arch-Bishops servants comming to force it were beaten. It was further reported, how that the Duke to prevent the Arch-Bishop receiving fish from any other place, had set guards upon the Passages which led to the Arch-Bishoprick, with order to search those who should go in, and to take away their fish if they had any about them. The Arch-Bishop provok'd at this procedure re-iterated

*Which is an Office that hath Precedency to buy before any in the Market.*

red his complaints to the Attorney General, and the Jurats, and made them sign divers instruments protesting to complain unto the King, accusing certain men cloth'd in Coats of sad green, with white crosses, but without declaring them to be the Dukes guards. These second complaints were no more to his advantage then the former; on the other side, the Duke commanded *Naugas* Lieutenant of his guards, to take an occasion to meet the Arch-Bishop in the streets of *Bourdeaux*, and to present his guards unto him, beseeching him to take notice of those who had displeas'd him, and assuring him that he had never given any command with design to offend him, or to stop the Passages to his Palace. *Naugas* wanted not a fair opportunity to execute what he was commanded, and going with twenty of his Masters guard, met the Arch-Bishop in *St. Andrews* Cloister, as he was returning from the City in his Coach. He stop'd the Coach-man, and took the Horses by the bridles; and told him confusedly in the uproar that was then made, that he came in behalf of the Governour Duke, to present to him those men cloath'd with sad green, and white crosses, and to tell him they belong'd to him, to the end he might know those whom he pretended had offended them; assuring him in the *interim*, that he had not commanded any one to displease him. This passage made a great noise, being of great scandal to some, though others laugh'd at it. The Arch-Bishop seem'd highly to resent it, and having assembled his Clergy to propose the injury offered his person, and to take their advice upon it; it was concluded that *Naugas* should be Excommunicated; but before the Publication of it, to send two Canons, two Curates, and two men in Orders to the Duke, to complain unto him of his guards; and to understand if it had been done by his command. The Duke receiv'd his Deputies with civility, but that he might not transgress in his answer, he desir'd that they would give him their desire in writing. The Arch-Bishop was acquainted therewith, who thereupon assembled his Clergy the second time; and the result was to to publish the next morning, being All-Saints day, the censure of Excommunication against *Naugas* and his adherents. *Naugas* advis'd of this censure, appeal'd against it as an abuse, gave notice of his appeal to the Arch-Bishop, and the Duke having assembled in his house all the Professors of the Canon Law; together with a great many religious, to have their advice upon this censure, where he propos'd to them the matter in his own form; whereupon the most part of them were of opinion, that there was some exception to be taken against the censure; and said that all the forms being not observ'd, they thought that those against whom it was pronounc'd were not oblig'd by it. The Duke presently published their opinion by sound of Trumpet; at which the Arch-Bishop was so angry that without considering the impossibility for those religious persons, not to wait upon the Duke being sent for; that they had not given their judgement; but upon the fact as he had propos'd it unto them, and that this their advice was not definitive, only a bare testimony of their opinions, like those of Lawyers; which are usual in all affairs, and upon judgements wherin his Majesty himself is concern'd, he resolv'd to chastise them with rigor. This advice was conformable to that which the Bishop of *Nantes*, a Prelate whose reputation is clear, his life without blemish, and whose conscience is without compare, gave the Duke upon the same fact propos'd unto him by his Letters, sent to him for fear lest those Doctors and religious men, might be led by complaisance to incline too much to his interest, however such was the Arch-Bishops discontent, that he issued out a sentence whereby all those who had been of that opinion which the Duke had published, were condemn'd as guilty of his person and dignity, were interdicted their charges and Ecclesiastical functions, prohibited to Preach the Word of God, to hear confessions, administer Sacraments in the Dioces of *Bourdeaux*, commanding the superiour Provincials, to chastize them, and expel them out of the Convents of *Bourdeaux*. The heat of his discontent was such, that it transported him so far as not to have any respect to the priviledges granted to Religious Orders, by the Holy See, by which all Prelates are inhibited to make any censures against them, upon penalty of drawing that Excommunication their own head, which they intend to inflict upon others. The Religious hereupon appeal'd from this sentence to the Pope; alledging that it had been decreed against them without au-

hority; but the Arch-Bishop unwilling to put up the lie, assembled the superiors of the Religious houses in his Palace, to condemn that opinion which they had given in favour of *Nauges*. The Duke having notice hereof, design'd to prevent this assembly; to which end, he commanded the *Chevalier du Guet* of the City of *Bourdeaux* to beset the Arch-Bishops Palace with his Archers, and to hinder any Religious person from entring in, pretending it might disturb the publique Peace, for which by his charge he was oblig'd to provide. The Arch-Bishop was very sensibly displeas'd to see his designs so forcibly countermin'd, and not resolved so to relinquish them, he went in person to the Religious, to carry them to his Palace, a resolution which was the cause of all the misfortune that happened, what had pass'd till then being look'd upon by most people, only as a gallantry of spirit. The Duke having never learn'd patience enough to suffer the Arch-Bishop to incroach upon his power, by any Ecclesiastical priviledge, went to meet him in person with his guards, and some other Gentlemen, at the entrance of the Cathedral Cloister, and the Arch-Bishop coming thither, he went up to him, spoke some angry words, struck off his Hat and Cap, and as some witnesses depos'd in the information taken, by authority of Parliament, put the end of the stick which he had in his hand, to his breast. This Procedure made a great noise in the City, and the Arch-Bishop losing no time, the very next morning, being the eleventh of *November*, assembled those of his Clergy, and by common consent Excommunicated the Duke and his Assistants, interdicted the Cities and Suburbs of *Bourdeaux* and *Cadillac*. The Parliament seeing this great trouble, did what they could to make an accommodation; but it was to little purpose, all they could obtain was that the Parliament might hear masse in the Palace Chappel. He likewise sent to the King informations of what had pass'd, whereupon his Majesty sent order to the Arch-Bishop to take away the interdiction, and to the Duke to go to his house of *Plassac*, which is out of the Dioces of *Bourdeaux*, to expect the Popes resolution, to whom the decision of that controversie properly belong'd, seeing they had appeal'd to his Holiness, which hung in suspence about five or six moneths, nor was it ended untill the yeer following, till when I forbear to say any more of it.

### *That much respect hath been alwaies given to Prelates and Bishops.*

THe Function of Prelates and Priests is so eminent and holy that all people, nay Emperors themselves, have been oblig'd to respect them. *Plutarch* alledging the cause, saith, it is because they pray to the Gods not only for themselves and friends, but for all mankind. The Romans in the times of Paganism, did so much honour them, that the Priests of *Jupiter* going in the City, had a *Lictor*, and a *cella curulis*, and condemned *Curio Cornelius Prætor* of *Rome*, for having injuriously disputed with *Æmilius Lepidus* the High Priest. *Alexander Severus* had so great a respect to them in such causes where religion was interessed, that he was not offended when their judgements were contrary to his; and how respectfully did *Alexander* treat the High Priest of the Jews, when in his fury going to *Jerusalem* with a design to ruine it, he met him comming in his *Pontificalibus*, he was not only appeas'd; but as the History saith, worshipped God in his person with a great deal of reverence. All Pagans in general have next to their Kings ascrib'd the chief place to their Priests, and held it a great crime to offend them. If the light of nature hath induc'd them so to respect them, Christianity obligeth us to honour them much more, seeing Bishops are receiv'd for Fathers and Pastors of the Church, for the Successors of Religion, and the Pastors of Jesus Christ; they ought to be respected as the Law of well-living, as certain rules of good works, as Angels who have intelligence of the mysteries of our faith, and who are more purified by the flames of the Holy Ghost; they ought to be respected as persons of an eminent dignity, who ought to have their minds rais'd in the contemplation of heavenly things, to live in a noble scorn of al earthly things, as so may bright stars, whose lustre is never sullied by the Clouds of Vice, as heavenly men who have familiar converse with God,

God, as living books of the true Doctrine, as the true Organs of Christianity, and the *Idea* by which the people ought to frame their lives. *Constantius*, the great, said, he did not consider them as common men, but as so many Thrones where the Divinity inhabited; for which reason, he would not indure that any should speak of them slightly, and threatned those with death who offended him, as is to be seen in History, and chiefly commanded all governours of Provinces especially to honour them. I shall likewise add, a particular care in punishing those who injure them. History is full of examples which the brevity of these maximes give me not leave to insert. I shall only add, that Prelates no render themselves worthy of this extraordinary honour, are oblig'd to contain themselves within the limits of their condition; because as the shadow cannot be without the body, so it is unreasonable to pretend to glory, without meriting it by virtue.

## *An Edict to abate superfluous expences.*

THough the Forraign Wars undertaken by his Majesty of late years consum'd great sums of money, and forc'd the King to levy great Taxes, which did not a little diminish private mens Revenues; yet such was the fruitfulnesse of *France*, that they found means to satisfie their natural inclination of going richly cloath'd. His Majesty disli'd the ill deportment of many, who notwithstanding the great necessities of the State, did not cease to make superfluous expences in Stuffs, Embroideries, gold and silver Laces, Bone-lace, and other like vanities, not to be permitted but in a full and long Peace: It was the more needfull to redress these disorders, because for the satisfying of such extreme curiosities, there was a great deal of silver transported out of *France*, which thereby was much impoverished, whereby his Majesty was disabled at a time of need to raise monies for the supplying of his occasions, or to exact those contributions which the glory and interest of his State did really require. These reasons oblig'd him to make an Edict in the moneth of *December*, by which the wearing of any Stuffs, Embroideries, gold and silver lace, or any bone-lace of above nine Livres the Ell, was prohibited upon pain of confiscation, and six hundred Livres to be levied on them, on them who should wear it, and a thousand Crowns upon the Merchants who should sell it. His Majesty knowing how powerfull the example of a Soveraign is amongst his people, taught the French by his habit how to follow this rule, and was so carefull in it, that this Edict was better observed then any of the like quality had a long time been.

## *That Edicts inhibiting superfluous Expences, are profitable both to Soveraign and People.*

EDicts which forbid vain Expences, are no lesse profitable to Soverains than the people, especially in times of War. Private mens plenty is the Princes treasure, which he may make use of in time of necessity; and if it cannot be preserv'd without frugality, which prohibiteth the use of unnecessary things; so there is no way better to lay the foundations of it, then to establish it by law. It is impossible he should make War without laying extraordinary contributions on the people, at least for the maintenance of an Army in that honour so things is needfull. How should the people assist him at a time of need, if superfluous expences should exhaust their Wealth. They may indeed be so preis'd that any thing may be extorted from them, but that must be by force, whereby not only their ill will, but a thousand imprecations follow their monies. It may be objected that great men who are the most subject to these expences, do not pay any aid or aid to their Soveraign: But I reply that being implor'd in the War where a great masse of money is consum'd, they contribute more then the people to the publick charge, and by consequence ought to live in the more order and frugality. Nobility impoverished cannot serve when occasion requires, but is forc'd to keep at home, whereas they who preserve their wealth, by the means of a well regulated expence, may put himself in an equipage to

appear

appear in an Army in a quality becomming their honour. Exceſſive expences are uſually made in ſuch commodities as come from forraign Countries, nor can a Soveraign permit the uſe of them without enriching him, from whom they are brought to the impoveriſhment of his own; which State, if it be an enemy, or powerfull enough to render it ſelf ſuſpected, it were not only to deprive his own of the means to reſiſt him, but to give new force to that Forraigner to attempt upon him. In fine, the neceſſities of man are ſatisfied with ſo little, that it were very unreaſonable to make vaſt expences upon commodities of no uſe, and from which there is not that ſatisfaction to be receiv'd as in convenience. Content your ſelves with that which is enough, ſaith *St. Auſtine*, the reſt ſerveth only to make the life more burthenſom, inſtead of refreſhing it from care, and ſuperfluous expences, which are made for the obtaining of an apparent honour, have very troubleſom conſequences.

*A Difference between the Biſhops and Religious, decided by a Judgement from the Counſel.*

ALthough the Cardinal had made up by his admirabl dexterity in the foregoing yeer, ſome differences which were mov'd between the Biſhops and Religious by perſwading the latter to condiſcend to ſome Articles, to which no man elſe could have brought them; yet ſo it was, that ſome troubleſom ſpirits publiſh'd books, ſome for one part, and ſome for another. The main ground of the quarrel, was concerning a word which was found in ſome manuſcripts of a Canon of the ſecond Counſel of *Orange*, and not in others. They who were for the Religious, raiſed this conſequence from it, That Confirmation was not abſolutely neceſſary after Baptiſm: Thoſe on the other ſide, unable to ſalve the matter, maintained the contrary. All that the Laws of Hiſtory permit me to ſay, is, that the conſequence rais'd by thoſe for the Religious, was very dangerous; becauſe it might be infer'd that the Biſhops in *England*, might be eaſily paſs'd by, ſeeing all the exerciſes of Chriſtianity, might be practic'd there by the Catholicks, excepting confirmation only. The heat of this diſpute did ſometimes tranſport them beyond the bounds of Doctrine, and to fall foul upon ſome Subjects, which could not but give ſome advantage to Hereticks, and trouble the Conſciences of many tenderly affected, and diſturb the publick quiet. The courſe at firſt taken was, to prohibit the Printing of Books of this nature, without leave obtain'd from the grand Chancellery; but the Doctors of Divinity of *Paris* not ſatisfied therewith, ordered in one of their Aſſemblies that the books of *Pere Sirmond*, made to maintain that word, ſhould be re-examined; ſo that this was the occaſion of publiſhing without priviledge certain books repugnant to that Chriſtian peace and charity, which ought eſpecially to be between Eccleſiaſticks. The King took notice thereof, and not to leave it unremedied, commanded *Monſieur le Garde des Seaux* to take care in it; who order'd that the books printed and publiſhed under the name of *Pere Sirmond*, and *Petrus Aurelius*; the two chief of the parties, ſhould be examin'd by nine Doctors of Divinity, prohibited them upon penalty of corporal puniſhment, to determine any thing in their Aſſemblies concerning theſe books, and all Book-ſellers to ſell them without permiſſion under the Great Seal. Some Prelates more zealous then wiſe in matter of the Kings priviledge, complain'd of this Arreſt, pretending it was not the cuſtom for Kings to intermeddle with the Doctrine of the Church; but they were not long unanſwer'd; for *Monſieur le Garde des Seaux*, was too well acquainted with the King his Maſters power, and too wel vers'd in the reading of good books, to be ignorant how Kings and Emperors have alwaies taken cogniſance of affairs of this nature, and determin'd them in order to the good of their State, and the continuation of the publick quiet.

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## *The Power which Kings have in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.*

THe Power which Kings have in Eccleſiaſtical affairs. Though God hath chiefly put the Scepter into the hands of Kings and Emperors to exerciſe a temporal power over their people; yet cuſtom obligeth them to know that they have no ſmall authority in Eccleſiaſtical affairs. There need no more ancient example then that of *Conſtantine* the firſt Chriſtian Emperour. Doth not every one know that he call'd himſelf Biſhop of ſuch things as paſs'd out of the Church, that writing to the Biſhops, he told them he took part of their miniſtry to be the more careſull of the Church? And in fine, he undertook the management thereof, with ſo much zeal and Prudence that his actions acquir'd him the Title of Founder of Law and Religion, as is to be ſeen in an ancient inſcription. It was with no little trouble and care that he quieted the Church in the time of *Arius*, that he aſſembled divers Counſels upon his Doctrine, and that he prohibited the reading of his books. To ſhew that his procedure was without uſurpation; every one may ſee in Hiſtory that the Popes themſelves, and particular Clergies likewiſe, have from time to time, made their addreſſes to Emperors to be by them countenanc'd in affairs which happened unto them. The Clergy and Monks of *Conſtantinople*, beſeech'd *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* to be ſolicitous of the Church, and to ſuppreſs Hereſies. Whereupon thoſe two Emperors commanded *St. Cyril* to examine the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*. The Biſhops of the Counſel of *Conſtantinople*, beſeech'd *Theodoſius* to confirm their Decree; and Pope *Boniface* acknowledg'd ſo great a power to the Emperor *Honorius*, in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, that he intreated him to make a Decree to prohibit all kind of under-hand dealing in the Election of the Popes. I could eaſily prove this cuſtom by the examples of ſucceeding Emperors; but I had rather ſhew that our Kings have uſually done the like: For *Clovis* the firſt of thoſe that imbrac'd Chriſtianity, made divers Ordinances for the miniſtery of the Church, as he himſelf hath written in a Letter to the Biſhops of *France*, to be ſeen at this preſent intire and undefac'd for above eleven ages. He aſſembled the Biſhops of *Orleans* in a Counſel, where it was prohibited to admit any of his Subjects to be Clerks, without his Majeſties permiſſion, and at their intreaty, he confirm'd their Canons. I will go a little further, and ſay, that Eccleſiaſtical perſons being born Subjects of a Soveraign Prince; their Kings have receiv'd power from God with their Crowns to determine their perſonal cauſes, where the good of the State may be intereſſed, a thing not to be doubted of; that the power of judging, is inſeparably annex'd unto that of the Soveraignty; and that he who is a Princes Subject, is of neceſſity to ſubmit to his Juſtice; and that Eccleſiaſtiques cannot deny themſelves to be Subjects, ſeeing as hath been already ſaid, the greateſt Popes themſelves have not made any difficulty to put themſelves in this rank; as *Gelaſius* in a Letter which he writ to the Emperor *Anaſtaſius Pelagius* the firſt, in profeſſion of his Faith, which he ſent to *Childebert* one of our firſt Kings; and *St Gregory* to the Emperor *Maurice*. What reaſon can they pretend to reſiſt it, ſeeing Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and St. *Paul* have acknowledg'd themſelves to be ſubject to their power. Did not Jeſus Chriſt tell *Pilate* by way of acknowledging his Authority, that he could have no power over him but what he receiv'd from heaven? whereupon *St. Auſtine*, and *St. Bernard*, expounding thoſe words ſay, that *Pilates* ſentence, though very unjuſt was not uſurp'd, becauſe he had a lawfull authority. So likewiſe *St. Paul* thinking himſelf happy to walk in the ſteps of his Maſters humility, did not appeal from *Feſtus* his Tribunal, to that of *St. Peter*; but to that of *Caſar* acknowledging his power and authority of judging in that affair then in queſtion. Nor are the Diſciples greater then their Maſters.

*The End of the Second Part.*